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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

of

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

VOL. LVII

1957

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With Plates A—Q

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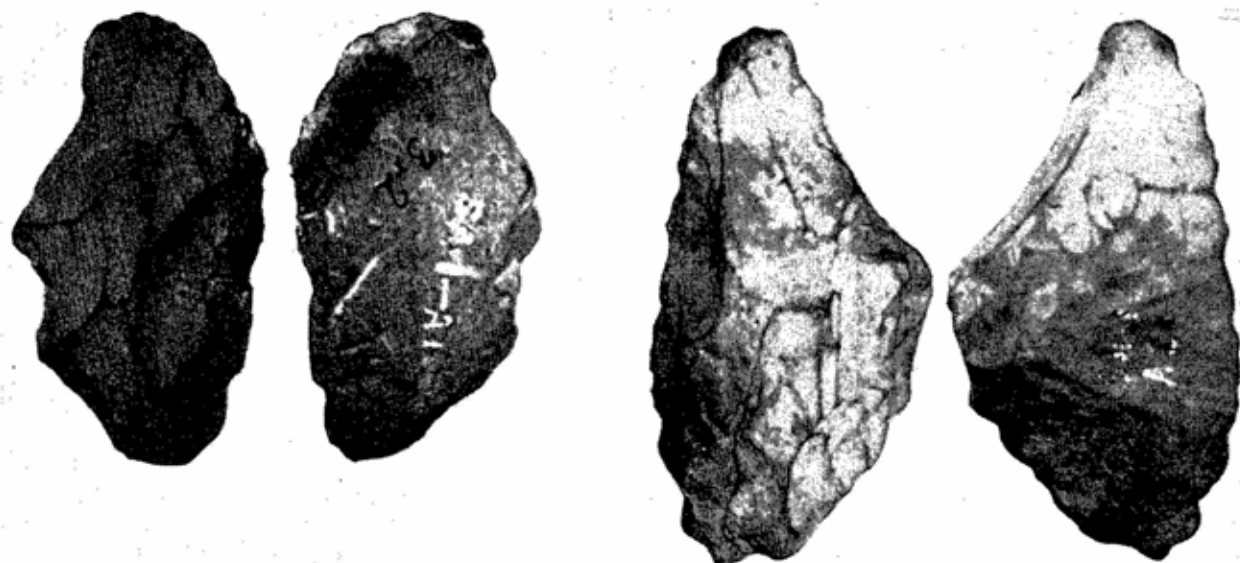
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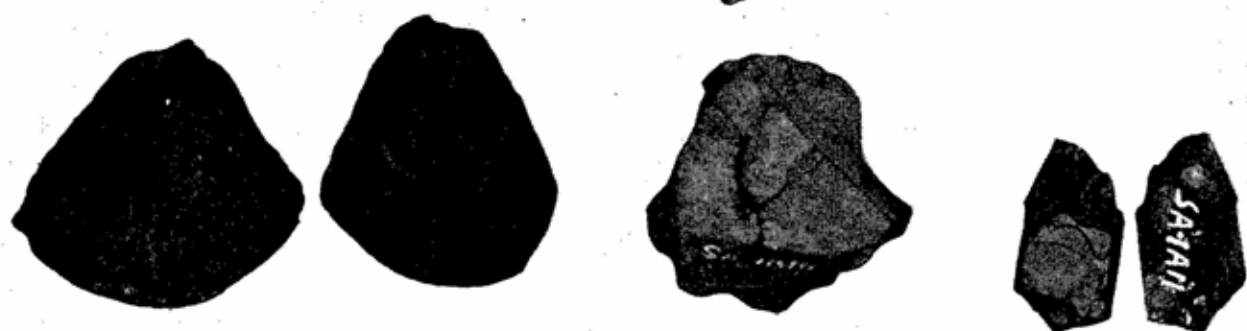
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(a, b)



(c-e)



(f-h)



(i-iii)



STONE OBJECTS FROM GONGENYAMA III, CENTRAL JAPAN

About $\frac{2}{3}$ natural size

SOME STONE TOOLS OF EARLY HOABINHIAN TYPE FROM CENTRAL JAPAN*

by

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Introduction

One of the weak points in research on the so-called pre-Jōmon or non-ceramic cultures in Japan is the fact that the finds were rarely compared and brought into relation with the known pre-neolithic cultures discovered around the Japanese islands. The pioneers of pre-Jōmon research have restricted their efforts to classifying and naming the finds, so to speak, within the scene of Japan. To a certain extent this is justified by the insular feature of the Japanese past, especially if one supposes that the pre-Jōmon cultures were partly or almost totally included in the Pleistocene. Nevertheless, the beginnings of the Japanese past have to be derived from the Asiatic mainland directly or by the passage over the archipelago in the south or the north or both. Since, according to Japanese geologists and palaeontologists, the land connexions or land bridges occurred during the early Pleistocene and once more during the middle Pleistocene, palaeolithic man could have entered Japan only in these early periods. In practice, it is the middle pleistocene land bridges which here come into question. For the entire following period until the end of the Pleistocene and even the post-Pleistocene the development was a mere insular one and may have gone ways rather different from those followed on the mainland and the other islands. Therefore, Japanese finds may now reveal hardly any similarities to or affinities with contemporaneous industries met with around Japan.

For the northern island, Hokkaido, a late pleistocene land connexion has recently been postulated on the grounds of *Mammontius primigenius* finds¹ and, more recently, even the existence of palaeolithic man in Hokkaido has been taken for granted.² However, the extreme deepness of the channel between Hokkaido and the Japanese main island of Honshu made the connexion of these two islands at any time during the Pleistocene impossible; this is further proved by the different fauna and flora of the two islands.

It cannot be denied that the earliest, or pre-Jōmon, industries at first sight exhibit some peculiar traits, and this is not surprising if we remember that Japan was for a long time separated from the mainland. But this should not put a stay to our comparative studies as they may well reveal deeper similarities pointing to either affinities, or traditions, or survival. In earlier papers I have undertaken to demonstrate some similarities and affinities between finds from Japan and a certain industry of south-eastern Asia.³

In this paper I hope to be able to establish some further similarities or relationships on the basis of striking likeness of the leading types.

* With Plate A and two text figures

Discovery and Finds

In autumn 1950, Mr. T. Aizawa,⁴ a local archaeologist and a pioneer of pre-Jōmon research, when observing an area near the city of Isezaki in Gumma Prefecture, Central Japan, where construction was going on, succeeded in discovering three locally as well as stratigraphically different sites. Each of them yielded a small number of stone objects and all the three were remarkable for their complete lack of ceramic objects. The latter fact is in obvious conformity with the occurrence of the sites in strata deeper than those in which the ceramic cultures are formed and alien to the Jōmon layer throughout Japan.

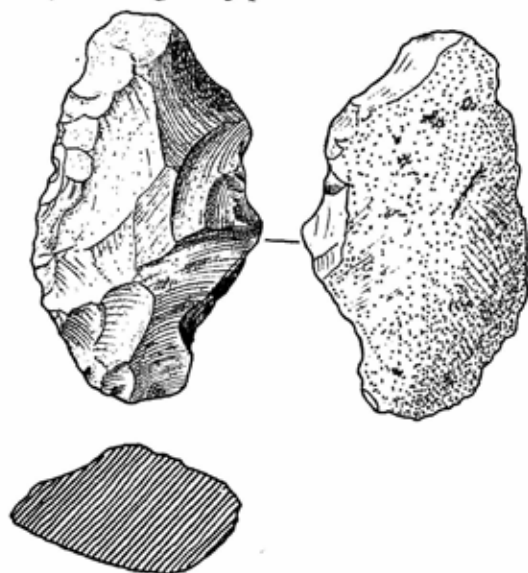


FIG. 1. PEBBLE TOOL FROM GONGENYAMA III

About $\frac{2}{3}$ natural size

The three sites were located at the foot and on the lower slope of a hill called Gongenyama and have been named after this hill. In the present paper I am concerned with only one of the Gongenyama sites, namely, the stratigraphically highest one.⁵

Gongenyama III, the stratigraphical situation of which we will describe later, yielded a total of 18 stone objects. They can be classified into pebble tools (2), hammerstones or fabricators (1), cores or nuclei (2), flakes and flake tools (10), blades and blade tools (3).

Pebble tools. The specimen illustrated in Plate Aa and fig. 1 is made on a pebble of dark grey andesite and measures 8.5 centimetres in length, 5 cms. at its greatest width and 2.5 cms. in greatest thickness. Its shape is almost oval. The back is formed by the cortex of the original pebble and lacks special reworking. There are only a few irregular

detachments along the border. The upper surface alone has been entirely worked over by rather coarse flaking which in part has damaged the oval contour of the specimen. Along the less damaged lateral border somewhat finer flaking can be seen which suggests that the artifact had a scraping function similar to that of a side scraper. However, since the sharp edge of the opposite border is hardly fitting for use as a handle, the artifact seems to have been a uniface hand-axe-like tool.

The other specimen (Plate Ab) is produced on an oval pebble of yellowish-grey andesite measuring 10 cms. high, 5.5 cms. wide, and 2 cms. thick. The upper surface is likewise flaked all over, but in a less coarse manner than in the first specimen. Further the somewhat finer secondary flaking runs all round the border except one part which



FIG. 2. HAMMERSTONE OR FABRICATOR FROM
GONGENYAMA III
About $\frac{2}{3}$ natural size

seems to be broken off by some accident. The other side, as with the first specimen, is formed by the smooth water-worn surface of the pebble, though not entirely; from one border very coarse flat chippings proceed which have taken away nearly half of the cortex. It is difficult to say whether these chippings were intentionally made when manufacturing the specimen, or are due to use of the tool, or to natural agencies. As in the case of the first specimen one is doubtful about the proper function of the artifact. It will be safe to speak only of uniface pebble tools.

Hammerstone or fabricator. The single specimen of this kind (Plate Ac and fig. 2) is of dark grey andesite and has the shape of a neat trilateral pyramid. The lower part, which in using the tool was held in the hand, exhibits the cortex of the originally almost round pebble. The pebble has been cut down from roughly three sides resulting in the form of a blunt pyramid. The length of the tool is 4.5 cms. At the blunt end or tip the specimen shows many signs of bruising obviously caused by use.

Cores or nuclei. Both specimens display rather parallel flake scars. One of them is half-broken (Plate Ad). The clearly basal fragment still measures 4.5 cms. in length, and 5 cms. in width. The material is grey shale. The other (intact) specimen (Plate Ae) is a small oblong, somewhat quadrilateral nucleus of dark grey andesite. It measures 3.5 cms. long, 2 cms. wide, and 1 cm. thick, and greatly resembles a micro-nucleus.

Flakes and flake tools. The majority of the finds, totalling 10, represent flakes of different types, ranging in size from 3.5 to 6.8 cms. The largest one, being fragmentary, may originally have been twice as long. The material is mostly

grey shale, in two cases andesite and in one a kind of agate of blackish colour. About half of the specimens are true flake implements exhibiting secondary flaking along the border. They seem to have been used as scrapers (Plate Af-h). At least two types of scrapers can be recognized—side and end scraper. Of the unworked primary flakes one specimen (Plate Ai) shows near the broader end some regular detachments which may be accidental.

Blades and blade tools. Three true blades are contained in the collection (Plate Aj-l). The material is grey shale and in one case blackish chert. Only one of the specimens, made on yellowish-grey shale and measuring 3.5 cms. in length, 1.8 cms. in width and 0.7 cm. in thickness, exhibits secondary flaking along both lateral borders of the upper surface (Plate Ak). Both the others are fragments of rather well struck blades (Plate Am).

Stratigraphical Situation and Age

The site is located on the south-western slope of the Gongenyama hill, which is coated with several sedimental layers. At the site the layers are in descending order as follows:

1. Humus or black earth mixed with loam (40 cms.)
2. Soft yellowish-brown loam (40 cms.)
3. Hard yellowish loam (60 cms.)
4. Dark brown clay (40 cms.)
5. Volcanic mud with andesite blocks (about 4 metres)
6. ?

The finds described were gathered from the lower border of the hard loam bed.

As regards the geological age of this cultural layer and of the loam bed in general, we ought first to say that the soft and hard loam essentially form one bed. They belong to the upper part of the so-called Kanto loam or red earth formation.⁶ This formation comprises a complex of deposits of volcanic origin. According to the common opinion until recently held by Japanese geologists they represent wind-blown deposits of volcanic ashes erupted from the volcanoes around the Kanto plain in the later stage of the Pleistocene.⁷ As long as no archaeological finds were made from the loam formation, these deposits were believed to be sterile of cultural remains. Hitherto practically only the humus or black earth bed had yielded archaeological remains, which were always associated with ceramics. That fact was easily explained by the volcanic activity and moreover by the theory proposed by several geologists that the ashes were deposited into the sea and had become land by subsequent uplift.

Since the year 1949 an increasing number of archaeological finds have been reported coming from still other horizons of the Kanto loam formation.⁸ They were always characterized by lack of pottery and have therefore been ascribed to pre-Jōmon or non-ceramic cultures. It was sometimes claimed by the discoverers, mostly on the basis of the stratigraphical situation, that these finds were proof of a Japanese Palaeolithic.

Under the influence of the new finds the earlier theory of the pleistocene formation and age of the Kanto loam or

red earth has been revised by geologists as well as geographers and is at present being studied by a special Kanto loam research group. A unanimous opinion about the geological age of this formation has not yet been reached by scholars. The opinions held today range from attributing the whole Kanto loam to the Pleistocene to placing the pleisto-holocene border somewhere in the loam formation.⁹ The main difficulty for a decisive dating is the fact that no fossil remains were found either together with the archaeological specimens or in the Kanto loam formation at all. It seems that the high acidity has destroyed all such remains.

Whatever dates may be finally assigned to the upper or uppermost part of the Kanto loam formation, all evidences now available point to a geological age for our site (Gongenyama III) near to the pleisto-holocene border, or at latest, to an early post-pleistocene age. Therefore, to compare and eventually to relate our finds with any industry outside Japan we must look for a corresponding industry of the final palaeolithic or mesolithic age.

Early Hoabinhian Resemblances

I see this corresponding industry in a mesolithic industry of south-eastern Asia, namely, the early Hoabinhian. There is a striking resemblance between the two Gongenyama pebble tools and a variant of the typical Hoabinhian stone implement, the so-called Sumatra type. This Sumatra type is a uniface tool made by flaking an oval pebble on one side only, so that the other side is formed by the smooth water-worn surface of the pebble. It is usually larger than the typical Hoabinhian biface pebble tool. They have been found in middens along the north-eastern coast of Sumatra and, in great quantities, on the surface of the ground in northern Atjeh (North Sumatra).

Flaked unifacial pebble tools have been excavated by H. Mansuy in caves in the Bacson massif of Tonkin as early as 1906, and later by M. Colani at sites round Hoabinh. At Bacson as well as at Hoabinh the earliest layers were characterized by these unifacial flaked pebble tools which in quality of workmanship improved and in their size decreased from the older to the younger deposits. They were replaced more and more, at Bacson, by edge-ground tools, at Hoabinh, by bifacials and edge-ground tools.¹⁰

The Hoabinhian is known from a wide area comprising Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Sumatra, and is the dominant mesolithic culture there. The edge-ground type, a pebble tool one end of which is ground on both sides to form a trenchant edge, has frequently been called the 'protoneolithic.' The term protoneolithic, according to M. W. F. Tweedie, implies an evolutionary transition from a mesolithic to a neolithic tool. It is by no means certain that these implements do represent such a transition. They do not even appear to be confined to the later stages of the Hoabinhian.¹¹

A typical feature of Hoabinhian assemblages is the presence of pounding and grinding stones. Usually they are worn and bruised in such a way as to give some idea of how they were used. Simple bruising of the tip or edge

of a pebble is evidence that it may have been used as a fabricator to make flaked tools. This typical feature also occurs, as we have seen, in our small assemblage from Gongenyama.

The double resemblance of the uniface pebble tools and the fabricator with the Hoabinhian industry, and specifically its earlier stage, is undeniable and striking. This resemblance is still enhanced by obvious contemporaneous occurrence and even a geographical one in a wider sense.

Thus the question arises how the early Hoabinhian may have reached Central Japan. There are wide areas between, continental as well as archipelagic, which have not yet yielded Hoabinhian traces to establish an expansion of the Hoabinhian so far afield.¹² Or should there exist a mere outward resemblance without proper connexion, an independent development in distant areas during nearly the same period? The typological resemblance is evident, and the contemporaneous occurrence as well as the possible geographical connexion cannot be denied. For these reasons I am inclined to suppose some latent relation. Further discoveries may shed more light on this problem, which concerns not only the Japanese past but also that of south-eastern Asia.

Notes

¹ Masao Minato, 'Zu den Mammontenfaunen Hokkaidos,' *Jap. J. Geol. and Geog.*, Vol. XXVI (1955), pp. 105-13.

² Shuta Takeuchi and others, *Tarukishi Remains*, Hakodate Municipal Museum, 1956.

³ J. Maringer, 'Einige faustkeilartige Geräte von Gongenyama (Japan) und die Frage des japanischen Paläolithikums,' *Anthropos*, Vol. LI (1956), pp. 175-93; 'A Core and Flake Industry of Palaeolithic Type from Central Japan,' *Artibus Asiae* (in the press).

⁴ I wish to thank Mr. Tadahiro Aizawa once more for kindly permitting me to study the material and to make photographs and drawings from the specimens.

⁵ The two other sites have been reported in earlier papers. See note 3.

⁶ Hiroshi Toya, 'Sofuto Rōmu to Hādo Rōmu (Soft loam and hard loam),' *Kwantō Rōmu*, No. 3 (1955), p. 6 (in Japanese); Sōsuke Sugihara, 'Jōmon-bunka Izen no Sekki-bunka (Stone Age Culture before the Jōmon Culture),' *Nippon Kōkōgaku Kōza (Manual of Japanese Archaeology)*, No. 3, Tokyo, 1956, p. 8 (in Japanese).

⁷ Fumio Tada, 'Kwantō-Rōmusō to Senshi-jidai no Ibutsu (Kanto loam and Prehistoric Remains),' *Kōkōgaku Zasshi (Journal of the Archaeological Society of Nippon)*, Vol. XXXVI (1950), pp. 26-35 (in Japanese with English resumé); Tokio Shikama, 'The Japanese Quaternary: Its Outline and Historical Review,' *Science Reports of the Yokohama National University*, Ser. II, No. 1 (1952), pp. 29-53; Fumio Tada, 'Kwantō-Rōmusō no Kenkyūshi (History of Kanto loam Study),' *Chikyū Kagaku (Science of the Globe)*, No. 16 (1954), pp. 1f. (in Japanese); Sōhei Kaizuka, 'Kwantō-Rōmusō ni tsuitero ima made no Chishiki (Former Knowledge about the Kanto loam),' *ibid.*, pp. 2f. (in Japanese).

⁸ A list of the main sites compiled in historical order is given by Chōsuke Serizawa, 'Nippon ni okeru Mudokibunka (On the non-ceramic Culture in Japan),' *Zinruigaku Zasshi (The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon)*, Vol. LXIV (1956), pp. 117f. (in Japanese with English resumé).

⁹ References (all in Japanese) in S. Sugihara, 1956 (see note 6), pp. 5-9.

¹⁰ M. W. F. Tweedie, *The Stone Age in Malaya*, Monographs on Malay Subjects, No. 1 (Singapore, 1953), pp. 12 and 74f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹² According to H. Otley Beyer, 'sparsely in Luzon, but not certainly in any other islands, another rather more primitive Late Palaeolithic or Mesolithic culture type, exemplified in several

chronological stages by the large "Hoabinhian" and "Sumatra-type" implements, has been found associated in a few places with so-called "Melanesoid" skeletal remains. There is, however, no certainty that these large-implement cultures were spread as a single culture wave or even by a single racial type, although there is no

doubt that they were produced by a people very different in character from those who spread the microlithic cultures' (*Philippine and East Asian Archaeology, and its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population*, National Research Council of the Philippines, Bulletin No. 29 (1948), pp. 16f.).

A NOTE ON DESCENT GROUPS IN POLYNESIA

by

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2 Now that the study of corporate descent groups is well advanced, and interest has been awakened in the existence and function of 'bilateral' systems, it seems appropriate to reexamine material from Polynesia.¹ In such a study it is simplest to start by consideration of the criteria conventionally assigned to lineage structures. Lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society. Empirically, lineages in the African field have been treated as exogamous. Descent groups in Polynesia for the most part offer a contrast to practically every one of these criteria. In Tikopia they are unilineal but in most other Polynesian societies they are not. They are formed by segmentary process but the level of segmentation does not in itself necessarily have structural significance. In most Polynesian societies a person is a member of some descent group of some scale, but in at least one, Tonga, by no means every member of the society is a member of a 'lineage.' In no Polynesian society are the descent groups fully exogamous; even in Pukapuka, where the matrilineal sub-lineages are said to be exogamous, the lineages themselves are specifically stated not to be so.

Discovery of these facts is not particularly new. But the interest in the exploration of the varieties of unilineal systems has meant that for the most part the more general significance of the Polynesian units as descent-group variants has tended to be overlooked. To use them effectively at this stage, however, some reconsideration is necessary.

Two pieces of evidence may be revived here. In 1929 I drew attention to the curious structure of the Maori *hapu*, pointing out that it contravened the then generally accepted principle of unilineal transmission of membership of a descent group. I referred to this group as ambilateral in type.² I pointed out that such a group had two characteristics, that it was non-exogamous in distinction from the current view of the 'clan' (which term had often been used to describe *hapu*), and that it was not unilateral since both parents were eligible for purposes of descent-group affiliation. In the same year E. W. Gifford described for Tonga what he termed 'lineages,' an equivalent for the Tongan term *ha'a*, which previously had been described as 'tribe, class, family.'³ Gifford cited what he called the splitting of major lineages into minor ones and likened the

whole system of lineages to a tree with trunk, limbs and twigs. He pointed out three interesting facts. One was how a minor segment (a 'limb') becomes huge and flourishing while a major segment (the 'trunk') ceases to flourish. This process was linked with chieftainship, since a succession of chiefs who could command authority was necessary as a nucleus for the lineage. 'Without such chiefs it appears to wilt and die and its membership gradually aligns itself with other rising lineages.' The second point was that not all members of Tongan societies in his day belonged to lineages. Some commoners seemed not to be aware of their lineage and even some modern descendants of former powerful chiefs were in this position. Thirdly, Gifford explained the mechanism of descent. He first described the lineages as 'patrilineal.' But he qualified this by saying that though tracing lineage through the mother was not considered 'appropriate,' it did sometimes occur, usually when it gave greater prestige or because the father was a foreigner. If a person were annoyed at something, he might shift his allegiance from his father's to his mother's chief, which in effect would mean shifting his *ha'a*. Moreover, he pointed out that the process of realignment of allegiance from a dying to a flourishing lineage contravened the theoretical rule of patrilineal descent.

Later, I took up this main theme in regard to the flexibility of Polynesian descent.⁴ In general, I noted how in Polynesia descent, i.e. membership of a named kinship group, is usually not unilateral, but is conditioned to a large extent by residence. For the Maori I stated specifically that descent and the formal structure of the kinship grouping can be understood only by reference to residence and land holding. I suggested that the patriliney of Tikopia may be correlated with a 'patrilocal' form of marriage settlement, whereas the ambilaterality of the Maori and the mechanics of absorption from female into male side of the house of Samoa and Tonga are correlates of the tendency to 'uxorilocal' settlement at marriage. I also used the generic term 'ramage' to describe the various Polynesian descent groups, primarily because of their branching character.

From the synoptic viewpoint one may organize the Polynesian material in various ways. But one of the most important distinctions is that between descent-group systems which do not allow choice in affiliation as regards membership through male and female, and those which do.

The former may be termed *definitive* descent-group systems, the latter *optative*. Taking as a criterion the rigidity of descent-group principle, one may single out two Polynesian societies of *definitive* type. One is the single unilineal system of Tikopia with patriliney as its established theory. Patriliney is indeed operative in practice for all normal occasions. The other is the double unilineal system of Pukapuka in which a set of matrilineal units ('lineages') operates in conjunction with a set of patrilineal units. Varying from these are *optative* systems such as those of the Maori, Tonga or Samoa, in which the major emphasis is upon descent in the male line, but allowance is made, in circumstances so frequent in some societies as to be reckoned as normal, for entitlement to membership through a female. In such societies there are no purported matrilineal units. But looser analogy with Pukapuka is presented by Ontong Java, in which descent units with patrilineal predominance are combined with house-and-garden-owning units of matrilineal character and with normal uxorial residence.⁵ A similar structure seems to exist in Tokelau.⁶

In considering Polynesian descent groups, there are three main concepts to be discussed. One is the concept of attachment to the group, the tracing of linkage with a particular descent group by the principle of *affiliation*. Another is the concept of the *constitution* of the group, the notion of what is meant when it is said that a person 'belongs' to a particular group, is a member of it. The third concept is that of the *formation* of the group, the process whereby new groups arise.

The principle of affiliation is of particular interest in Polynesia because of the relative lack of importance attached in most of the societies to the particular parent through whom it is traced. In theory as regards field of choice there are three possibilities:

- (a) Unilaterality by tracing affiliation consistently through *one* kind of parent only to the exclusion of the other.
- (b) Bilaterality by tracing affiliation through *both* kinds of parents equally and consistently.
- (c) Ambilaterality, in which, in any one generation, *both* kinds of parents are feasible for affiliation but some selectivity is possible, with difference of emphasis.

This opens up a range of variants. If affiliation is traced through both parents who are themselves members of different descent groups, then their child is a member of these two groups. Such a claim may in fact be made, as often occurs among the Maori. A person will say that he 'belongs' to both Group A and Group B, or that he is half Group A and half Group B. In practice, however, the claim to membership of one group tends to be emphasized at the expense of the claim to membership of the other, either permanently or varying according to context. When affiliation is traced through one parent only but it is immaterial which, the descent-group membership established may be unalterable. But an alternative, as already indicated, is that a person may switch from one group to the other as circumstances dictate. Such reversible affiliation is probably more common than the unalterable or

irreversible type. I should doubt if irreversible affiliation occurs in the ambilateral field in Polynesia.⁷ Finally, since exogamy is not characteristic of Polynesian descent groups, there is always the possibility that both parents may belong to the same descent group. The child thus has a double bond of affiliation. He does not need in such societies to emphasize one type of affiliation against the other, although for status purposes within the group he may stress the tie through father rather than through mother, or *vice versa*. (This gives a virtual though not theoretical bilaterality.)

One point about ambilateral affiliation is that a descent-group tie traced through the father in one generation may continue through the mother in the next generation and so on, using males and females as links without set order. The descent-group structure at any given moment looks like that of a lineage, as Leach has pointed out, though it lacks consistent unilineality.

In Polynesia, unilateral affiliation occurs in respect of the Tikopia *paito*, as also with the Pukapuka patrilineal *po* and *wakavae* and matrilineal *uua* and *keinanga*. Ambilaterality occurs among the Maori, the Tongans and the Samoans and also very generally in Polynesia.

As regards the constitution of descent groups, what are the implications of the choice found in ambilateral systems? A unilateral system of affiliation provides invariant group membership and presumably a less flexible group structure. An ambilateral system provides for variant group membership and presumably a more flexible group structure. This flexibility is seen, for example, in the Tongan situation where, taking advantage of the possibilities of choice, persons of relatively low status realign themselves with those of higher status and correspondingly give more impetus to the waxing and waning of lineage magnitudes. Again, the variant possibilities of group membership in the ambilateral scheme may tend to a more dispersed sense of responsibility. If not leading to divided allegiance, the possibilities of transferable allegiance in regard to one's descent group tend to modify the structural principle of the unity of the lineage group. What in unilineal descent systems must be provided by conflicting ties of neighbourhood and political attachment, is given freer range within the very structure of the descent-group system itself in Polynesia. The ultimate outcome may not be so different, but the details of process are different. But the flexibility of Polynesian descent groups has its limitations. For the most part, while an individual may choose fairly freely the descent group in which he wishes membership, once his choice is made he tends to abide by it. Only rarely does he change. His ties with other groups remain dormant and in succeeding generations they tend to atrophy. With the Maori there is traditionally a tendency for claims to descent and land rights to 'grow cold' after a few generations if they are not revived by residence. Hence the variant structure provided in theory by ambilaterality is much less so in fact. The descent configuration is different from that of a unilineal lineage structure but the operational effects are very similar.⁸

From the point of view of an individual the mode of laterality in descent affiliation is of first importance; he is

primarily concerned with the parent tie by which he is attached to the group. But from the point of view of analysis of a social structure the mode of lineality is equally important: group responsibility, claims and rights are concerned with the lines along which membership is transmitted from one generation to another.

Individuals are concerned with the principle of descent in their societies, in particular as regards status and rights—when they have to decide between competing claims or when they wish to establish a special relation to someone in a previous generation. But bearing in mind the need for economy in the handling of social resources, it is highly improbable that persons will be allowed to claim or establish membership in any wide series of descent groups through both parents and their ancestors. In other words, bilaterality is a feasible operational procedure; consistent, complete bilineality is not. It is for this reason that in speaking of 'bilateral kin group' it has seemed necessary to distinguish by name as well as in fact between two different types. One is the type illustrated by the Tikopia *kano a paito*, which is bilateral—but not bilineal—and is ego-oriented, having no persistence beyond the single generation. The other type of bilateral kin unit is of a corporate order, with specific functions in regard to land holding, status rights, etc. Here it is possible that completely bilateral groups may function for two or even three generations in descent from a common ancestor, both males and females consistently and invariably being reckoned in tracing membership. But unless birth and marriage are highly restricted or there is a high degree of endogamy, such bilinear continuity is unlikely. Unequal stress on the parental tie is necessitated by the ordinary conditions of living and handling resources. There may be a bias in favour of a tie with the male parent or through males generally and this patrilineal emphasis, though not exclusiveness, is characteristic of most Polynesian societies. Or again, the issue may be left to contiguity. Where the parents are from different villages residence tends to crystallize in one. It is clearly simpler to attach oneself to the group of the parent who is living in 'his own' village. Thus, a descent group behaving in most respects like a lineage tends to be formed.

I attach no great importance to terms as such. But considering the wide distribution of descent-group systems where there is some selectivity of parentage as a basis for membership, it would seem appropriate to have a set of terms to describe such systems. It would seem useful to include among such terms the following:

Ambilateral for the mode of attachment in which both parents are feasible as links in group membership.

Ambilineal for the maintenance of group continuity through the generations by using male or female links without set order.

Ramage for the kind of group constituted by using both/either parents as links in group membership.

In former publications I have used *ramage* to include the Tikopia unilineal descent group. This, I think, is better described functionally as a lineage, keeping the term

ramage for those descent groups which are not unilineal. Ramage would then be defined as a corporate descent group of a non-unilinear (ambilineal) character, membership being obtained ambilaterally, i.e. through either parent according to circumstances. Such a group ethnographically is normally found to be non-exogamous.⁹

Now consider the constitution of such a group. What is meant by saying that a person 'belongs' to a kin unit? One such concept is that of *recognition*, in which the person himself and—of equal importance—other members of the society, ordinarily speak of him and regard him as properly associated with that group. (This is essentially a process of social classification.) Such recognition is commonly given by use of the group name. But the other concept into which recognition is almost at once translated is that of rights and obligations. The operation of status rights becomes one of the conditioning factors in the working of ambilineal descent. While most Polynesian societies, including those of the Maori and the Tongans, allow membership in a descent group through females, they attach greater importance for status purposes to descent through males. The Maori stress the prestige of chieftainship, boasting of unbroken descent through a line of firstborn sons; they also emphasize descent through males in the exercise of public privileges in oratory in general assemblies. Similar stresses in Tonga explain Gifford's opening statement that in Tonga patrilineal descent theoretically and largely in practice determines 'lineage' membership. As rank and status decrease, it becomes less important whether the individual's tie of membership is through male or female, and in the idiosyncratic case of Tonga the tie may be so reduced in importance that people of low status are ignorant even whether it exists. (This is as far as membership in the major named *ha'a* is concerned; they presumably belong to small unnamed descent groups.) From this point of view the Polynesian *ramage* is a unit of political significance, though it usually also involves ritual and other social rights, obligations and services outside the political field.

One question in regard to rights and obligations concerns the lack of exogamy. It may be argued that the difference between exogamous and non-exogamous lineage structures is not very important because with the latter there is always some degree of incest ban on unions between close kin, and the distinction is, therefore, only a matter of degree. But where a person's mother's and father's descent groups are identical there is a constriction upon the social circulation of goods and services, which do not go out to another group and therefore do not serve to enlarge and maintain social ties. The whole system of pattern reciprocities may be affected. The Tikopia, for example, recognize this overtly.¹⁰ Moreover, the absence of exogamy means that when an intra-group marriage has occurred, the offspring will have a more limited set of kin in typical roles. When a marriage has been exogamous between Groups A and B, members of Group A provide the father's kin, those of Group B the mother's kin. When social support of any scale is needed and normally the parents' groups are mobilized, the child of a non-exogamous marriage has a more restricted field of support.

The importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality is now fairly clearly understood, and in respect of ambilineal groups has recently been reexamined and clarified by Goodenough.¹¹ But a distinction can be drawn between theoretical and operational membership of such a group. In a unilineal group system, a person living in one place may be regarded for local purposes, especially the exercise of land rights, as a member of a kin group, the rest of whose members live elsewhere (this is the situation in Tikopia). Residence is irrelevant as a determinant of descent-group membership, but residence is, of course, very important for operational purposes. People who have plenty of land tend to cultivate themselves those parts of 'their' lands which are nearer to their homes. In a completely bilineal group ('unrestricted bilateral' in Goodenough's term) the same is possible. But in an ambilateral group, a ramage, theoretical and operational limitations of land rights tend to coincide. Residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence. Conditions here vary. In some communities several generations must pass before absentee land rights can be extinguished. Among the Maori, for instance, a change in residence traditionally implied a diminishing validity for a land claim. But it should be noted that in some Polynesian communities, e.g. Rarotonga and Maori, the institution of a new political and legal system has facilitated some change. New markets for products have given a more pronounced economic value to land. Peaceful conditions have allowed people to move about more easily and maintain multiple residence. Record of title has given a legal validity to what otherwise might have been disputable. The result has been to allow the operation of dispersed land rights to an extent apparently much greater than in traditional times. In this respect the land operations of ambilateral groups have tended to resemble those of lineages, though as yet there does not seem to be any sign that in the Maori system, for example, rights through women are tending to become more restricted than rights through men.

A few words about processes of group formation.

Anthropologists speak with confidence about the process of lineage segmentation, yet it must be remembered that most of the evidence is inferential rather than observed. It rests largely upon the interpretation of genealogical and other social data. Actual observation of changes that have taken place over a period of time during which documentary or other evidence about such segmentation was available has been scanty. One line of enquiry in the Polynesian field would be to take the classic material of, say, Elsdon Best on Tuhoe *hapu*, now nearly half a century old, and trace the changes in segmentation and rearrangement since Best's work. I discussed briefly 'progressive segmentation' among the Maori,¹² but it would be interesting to ascertain how far segmentation of Maori ramage is, in fact, progressive.¹³

One may distinguish here four concepts. One is the *segmentation model*, the anthropologist's description of what he understands to have taken place as a type of process.

Then there is the *segmentation charter*, the local type of what the people themselves, or sections of them, regard as the 'historical' order of events. Then there is *operational segmentation*, the way the descent group splits for various social ends, recombining where necessary for other ends. Finally, there is what may be termed *definitive segmentation*, the irreversible process leading to the formation of new groups which do not then recombine. This process, progressive in character and sometimes described as 'poly-segmentation,' may also be described as *gemination*, referring to the way in which budlike growths become detached and develop into new individuals. This term might perhaps be most aptly used for those cases of segmentation in which connexions with the parent descent group are lost, so that what have been sometimes called 'truncated lineages' occur. This is a process which historically would seem to have taken place in many of the smaller Polynesian communities with the growth of population.

Segmentation is not a process which is difficult to understand. What is sometimes difficult is to relate the segmentation model of the anthropologist to the operational segmentation of the society—the way in which the actual descent groups order their personnel for social purposes. Here it may be suggested that segmentation in any social structure is not an automatic process but is related to the available resources. The relation cannot be simple but it would appear that increasing pressure of population upon land is likely to lead to a speeding-up of the segmentation process for operational purposes, though not necessarily in terms of the structural frame.

Notes

¹ I am indebted to a personal grant-in-aid from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation for facilities in the preparation of this article.

² Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1929), p. 98. Cf. J. D. Freeman, *MAN*, 1956, 93; Rodney Needham, *MAN*, 1956, 170.

³ E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 61 (1929), pp. 29ff. Owing to the curious editorial practice of the then Director of the Bishop Museum, all glottal stops were omitted from these publications. The more correct way of writing this word would be *ha'a*.

⁴ Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia* (1936), pp. 579–88, 596–8.

⁵ This specific matrilineal-group recognition in Pukapuka and Ontong Java suggests relationship with the recognized matrilineal descent groups of Micronesia—these islands are relatively close.

⁶ H. Ian Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (1934), pp. 109–14, 118–22; Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 150 (1938), pp. 221–33; Gordon Macgregor, *Ethnology of Tokelau Island*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 146 (1937), pp. 42, 46–8.

⁷ That form of ambilaterality in which the choice of one parent for descent-group affiliation bars out affiliation through the other parent has been categorized by J. D. Freeman as utrolateral connexion. See J. D. Freeman, *Iban Agriculture* (1955), pp. 5–7, and cf. Freeman and Needham, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Edmund Leach, *Social Science Research in Sarawak*, Colon. Res. Stud., No. 1 (1950), pp. 61f., 72f.; Edmund Leach, 'Some Features of Social Structure among Sarawak Pagans,' *MAN*, 1948, 103.

⁹ Cf. Vernon Sheddick, *Land Tenure in Basutoland*, Colon. Res. Stud., No. 13, 1954, pp. 18-19. Marshall D. Sahlins, 'Esoteric Efflorescence in Easter Island', *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LVII (1955), pp. 1047ff.

¹⁰ Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia*, p. 339.

¹¹ W. A. Goodenough, 'A Problem in Malayan and Polynesian Social Organisation', *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LVII (1955), pp. 71-83.

¹² Raymond Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹³ In Tikopia, after a generation, segmentation seemed to have occurred only at the lower levels.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

The Informal Organization of a Village of Chinese Vegetable Farmers in Northern Malaya. By William

3 H. Newell, M.A., Department of Social Anthropology, Manchester University. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 4 October, 1956

The Chinese Teochiu vegetable farmers of Sungei Derhaka, a village in the Central district of Province Wellesley in Northern Malaya, all speak a common language of China and originate from the same districts of Canton Province, south of the River Han. Of the 94 heads of families in the village, the four most numerous surnames are Dang (14), Dan (16), Lim (10), and Li (8). The remaining 46 families share 16 surnames. There is thus no one dominant clan in the village. The Chinese village contains three associations, membership of which is open to all villagers and not to outsiders. These associations are the school association, an association for the worship of the High God, Tian Dih Kung, and an association for the worship of Ho Hian Dih, a village protective deity.

As individuals, villagers may belong to extra-village associations such as secret societies, temple societies or marketing groups. Only two villagers belong to clan associations and none belong

to dialect or village associations centred on the market town of Bukit Mertajam.

Within the village, between the three village associations and the household, there are no associations, membership of which is open only to a few villagers with special qualifications. This is in marked contrast to the villages from which the farmers came in China where clan, music, irrigation or other associations were of major importance.

To bridge the gap between the village and the local household there are numerous informal groups which form and reform in accordance with the mutual feelings (*gaanchyng*) and needs of the villagers. The main outward tasks in which this aid is manifested are in carrying pigs and fowls to the main road, cutting sugar-cane and excavating wells. The mutual aid exhibited in these tasks is an outward expression of feeling between the persons concerned and not a temporary *ad hoc* arrangement based on bargaining.

The Teochiu Chinese of this part of Malaya, while continuing to give lip service to the traditional Chinese systems of village organization, have in reality organized their village on the basis of *gaanchyng*, a principle known in China but there used to a less extent in village affairs.

SHORTER NOTES

V International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences: A Report on the Ethnomusicological

4 Section. By Dr. K. P. Wachsmann, Uganda Museum, Kampala

A section of the V International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which met at Philadelphia in September, 1956, was given to ethnomusicology. Those who attended the sessions during the two days set aside for this comparatively recent branch of study will probably have taken home with them a picture of a new horizon and—to continue the simile further—will have been equally impressed by the vast distances revealed in this new field and the absence hitherto of a sense of direction among the explorers.

It is just because of these difficulties that the sessions on ethnomusicology were so important, and one must congratulate the Society for Ethnomusicology on having organized them: the meetings took place under its auspices and there was a general meeting of its members to discuss the Society's constitution.

The papers presented at the Congress reflected the wide range of interests which students of folk music have come to accept as natural in their subject. Two papers were read on the most urgent problem of notation. Charles Seeger proposed to solve it for music with the aid of electronic apparatus, while, for dance, Gertrude Kurath suggested a notation based on Rudolph Laban's script. 'Ethnomusicology, its Problems and Methods' was the subject of Mieczyslaw Kolinski's paper, and Mantle Hood discussed practical issues of a syllabus in ethnomusicology for students of music or of anthropology. Klaus Wachsmann described

two essentially different lines of approach to music in Uganda along which work at the Uganda Museum is carried out, and spoke of cross-cultural and intra-cultural norms.

David McAllester and Willard Rhodes concentrated on aspects of Red Indian music. The former, in describing 'The Role of Music in Western Apache Culture,' used sociological material; the latter demonstrated musical phenomena in 'The Christian Hymnology of the American Indian,' and contributed an interesting example of a musical tradition absorbing foreign elements. Peter Seeger showed a sound film on the manufacture and music of the steel drum orchestras of Trinidad. The film was a forceful demonstration of what happens to music when different traditions meet, and how such an encounter may give rise to new ideas. The instruments were made of the bottom part of a forty-gallon oil drum, are tuned to the western chromatic scale, and played very much in the style of the xylophones. Considerable technical skill is required in hammering out segments of different sizes in the bottom of the drum, each of which is to sound a different note. This certainly is not a traditional or folk technique; it would be interesting to learn more about the factors which gave rise to this new craft. Seeger extended his interest in culture contact rather too far when he also showed pictures of life in an American High School, which had adopted the making and playing of the oil drums as a hobby.

Edwin G. Burrows read a paper on 'A New Use for Songs,' and José Cano Marqués on the 'Bandas des Musica civiles populares dans la Région de Valencia' (which your correspond-

ent unfortunately could not attend. Bruno Nettl described the music of the Cheremis and Helen Hartness Flanders compared the subject matter of a Sumerian text with the ballads 'The Scolding Wife,' the 'Edward Ballad' and 'The Red Robber,' of which recordings were played. Perhaps these twelve papers did cover too wide a field, and at conferences of this kind it may be found desirable in future to limit the scope of the programme.

It was characteristic of the audiences at these lectures that, with the exception of a few academically competent ethnomusicologists, there was more curiosity to hear music performed than to obtain an insight into its make-up through analysis and discussion. This curiosity also accounts for the great attraction which the documentary film shows exercised at the Congress. For ethnomusicologists there was an interesting series of sound films of Bushman music and Bernard Fagg's recordings of the rock gongs recently discovered by him in Nigeria. An afternoon was kept free for all sections of the Congress to enable members to watch 'The Hiawatha Wampum Belt of the Iroquois League for Peace,' a dance performance in the beautiful gardens of the University Museum. A small group of Congress members was fortunate in being able to attend an *ad hoc* performance of Professor Petri's tapes made in North-West Australia of the music of the aborigines. Mention must also be made of welcome opportunity to attend sessions of the ethno-linguistics section which had some marginal interest for musicians. All this added up to an extremely valuable experience.

It is also likely to set a pattern for future meetings. Listening to authentic recordings and watching live performances by ethnic groups is, after all, an important part of ethnomusicological study. Activities of this sort are also likely to bring home the fact that ethnomusicology need not be looked upon as just an academical exercise for musical anthropologists, but that it is a matter of very real concern for musicians amongst the 'ethne' themselves. Bela Bartok, for instance, had no doubt about the issue when he referred to ethnomusicology as 'that work which is so very important for me' (Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Bela Bartok* (O.U.P.), 1953, p. 87). He had no illusions; some years earlier he wrote in a very bitter mood: 'There is nowhere in the world a real interest in this branch of music-science—possibly it has not that significance which some of its fanatics ascribe to it' (*ibid.*, p. 59).

The Congress at Philadelphia has given proof that anthropology has a stake in 'music-science.' We are still waiting for musicians and for the institutions in which they work to rise to Bela Bartok's challenge; no other profession could meet it.

A Lala Initiation Ceremony. By A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *Nigerian Administrative Service. With four text figures*

5 The Lala are a very minor tribe in that tribal congeries, the Adamawa Province of Northern Nigeria. Included among the Yungur-speaking peoples of Adamawa, the Lala are today centred along the Song-Ga'anda axis and in the Lala district of Numan Division. At one time they were held to include both the Gabin and Yungur, but the Government anthropologist pointed out that this was an incorrect classification: Gabin and Yungur are separate languages, and the Gabin speak the same language as the Hona, who were never considered to be part of the Lala group. The Lala refer to themselves as *Binna*, Lala being the name given to them by the Fulani rulers, just as they call the pagan inhabitants of Cubunawa district Higi although the people themselves prefer the name *Kakhumu*.

The Lala hold an annual *wasar nika*, a corn-grinding ceremony to celebrate the arrival at puberty of a girl. I was fortunate enough to be on tour during one of these occasions and since, even in the nineteen-fifties, there is apparently no record of this Lala rite, I

have written up the notes made in my diary at the time in the belief that this account may be interesting and informative. I advisedly say 'fortunate,' because only at such communal ceremonies is it possible to come across more than a handful of Lala at once: they are indeed, to quote from Burns, 'cow'rin, tim'rous,' shy and shunning all company. Their neighbours, the Longuda



FIG. 1. TWO OF THE WOMEN GRINDING CORN
One has an infant strapped to her back.

and Kanakuru, mock them, claiming that the Lala is so anti-social that he eats his food alone, in his cornbin, lest he be surprised at mealtime in his own house. Be that as it may, I did catch two Lala youths cooking their meal hidden in the middle of the bush, though they were barely 400 yards from their compound.



FIG. 2. THE CHIEF PLAYS THE DRUM
A piper stands behind him, and on the right are corn and beer.

The meal, incidentally, consisted of a cooking pot full of field mice, popped in one by one as they were trapped.

The Lala female puberty ceremony is held in the largest village in the area, and people gather from all the surrounding hamlets to take part. The climax is the *zane* or incision of the final tribal markings on the girls who are then, as is the case with the majority

of puberty rites, considered eligible for marriage. These scarifications are a *sine qua non* of marriage among all the Yungur-speaking tribes. There are three distinct ceremonies for a girl. The first marking, when she is still an infant, consists of scarifying the abdomen round the navel. The second incision takes place when a girl has reached the age of puberty and is made on the



FIG. 3. BEFORE THE DANCE

arms and the back of her neck. The final rite occurs a year later, at the *Kaza* festival just before sowing starts, and consists of scarifying the buttocks and thighs. All these markings are done by a special woman, who on this final occasion receives as her reward two hoes from the girl's father and corn and beer from the mother.



FIG. 4. THE DANCE
Some of the women wear earplugs.

The *wasar nika* which I here describe is the ceremony, lasting for a couple of days, which leads up to the final epidermic incision. It should, however, be noted that there is less rigidity about the scarification these days, a feature of decline common to so many tribal customs. For this ceremony a large, circular *rumfa* (shelter of grass-woven mats) had been erected in the middle of the village, with a *zana*-mat roof simply laid flat on top of the

matting walls. Inside, in the centre, was a tall, mud pillar, about six feet high and three feet broad. One side was smeared with a local black paint and on the other the varnish was terra-cotta with white markings superimposed. These drawings were decorative but did not appear to be in any way symbolic.

Round this centrepiece, at a distance of about eight feet, there had been built a two-inch-high mud flange, baked as firm as concrete, and set round it were the grinding stones, 43 in all. These grinding stones, a common sight throughout Adamawa Province, are ordinary stones about 18 inches long and 10 inches deep, often oval in shape. The corn is placed on top and ground with another stone, so that the grinding stone itself rapidly becomes worn down and assumes the concave form of a slice of melon. Behind each stone, facing the centre of the hut, knelt a woman, her knees resting on a few leaves to reduce the discomfort of the sand. Some of the women were venerable greyheads, with breasts shrivelled like dried figs; others were in early motherhood and carried a child strapped to their back; others again were in the very flower of youth, and a few were children of six or eight years. If they wore anything, it was a diminutive fringe of leather thongs to cover (if the word is not too strong) the unshaven pubes, but many were quite naked. Some of the younger girls wore pegs in their ears, about the thickness of a couple of pencils laid together and perhaps four inches long. The elder women carried their traditional silver pipes, which they smoked with noisy relish during their intervals of rest from the grinding.

Each grinder had a thin grass cord round her wrists, binding them together so that it was easier to handle the upper grinding stone. Kneeling, but not sitting back on their heels, they all moved backwards and forwards in perfect time, grinding the corn with each forward movement. This precise time, which would have delighted the heart of any metronome-mad sergeant-major, was kept by a regular beat from the three drummers seated at the foot of the central pillar and by the singing of the grinders. The tune was always the same, but the words were provided by two other women who shuffled round and round inside the circle, improvising words which were sung antiphonally.

Gradually, as the rhythmic grinding continued, small heaps of ground corn began to mount up in front of each woman. When her calabash of corn was finished, she would get up and dance round the circle, stamping her feet with immense vigour and waving her empty calabash in the air, till she arrived at the entrance to the shelter. Here stood countless calabashes of corn, each a different species according to whether it had been provided by the mother or father or maternal uncle, etc., of the girl whose puberty was being celebrated. Meanness in the furnishing of corn supplies would bring untold shame to the girl, but on this occasion there was no hint of avarice. Having refilled her calabash, the grinder would dance back to her place. This might have been taken by another worker, in which case the first woman would leave the corn for her relief and sit down, behind her, for a rest.

The smell of sweat, as the grinders jerked their glistening bodies rhythmically to and fro, mingled powerfully with the aroma of corn. The drummers, accompanied by male pipers, were also allowed reliefs, and the Chief of Lala himself would now and again take over one of the drums, which greatly enhanced the prestige of the celebrant. There were three drums. One was played standing up, a long instrument as tall as the shoulders of the player; the other two were played sitting down.

This corn-grinding was kept up throughout the day. Towards evening one or two youths came in and were allowed to grind, but their hands, unaccustomed to such work, quickly blistered, and they departed amid scornful laughter. The women then hurried out of the *rumfa* and performed an ecstatic, impromptu

dance, which I suspect may have been as much for my benefit as for the wellbeing of the initiate. They then returned to the shadows of the hut and continued their grinding.

Authority in the ordinary Lala household is emphatically female. To say that it is the woman who wears the trousers would be a sartorially exaggerated metaphor, though the phrase adequately describes the family discipline. It is not uncommon for the women to neglect their husbands for two or three days, so that the menfolk have either to cook their own food or else go hungry. On this occasion two young men told me that they had had no food since the previous evening and mournfully added that their wives would not be returning home till all the corn had been ground at the ceremony. Once this was done, beer-brewing was the next stage, considered to be the highlight of the festival for the participants; and since everybody joined in this carousal, the only male hope was to get so drunk that the pangs of hunger would be drowned!

I had to ride back to Divisional headquarters early next morning and was therefore unable to witness the actual ceremony of scarification. There is no cause to suppose that it differs greatly from that described by Meek (*Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria*, Vol. II, pp. 446-50) in his chapter on the Yungur-speaking

peoples. The dominant feature is that this rite, to which the *wasar nika* had led up, is an essential preliminary to marriage. Among the Lala there has always been an absolute prohibition of marriage to a boy who has not undergone the Hono initiation rites (of endurance; the characteristic circumcision of so many initiation ceremonies is not practised here) and to a girl who has not had her triple body marks fully incised. Both ceremonies are a passport to marriage.

Anthropological Field Research in Progress and in Plan

The Hon. Editor of MAN finds from consultation with 6 other anthropologists that a demand exists for occasional notes in MAN giving summary information about current or projected field expeditions which are wholly or partly concerned with anthropological research. He would greatly welcome information from persons concerned in such projects whether in tribal or industrial areas (including Great Britain and Europe), and in any subject which is within MAN's purview, and particularly hopes that university anthropological schools will ensure that all their relevant activities are brought to notice in this way. Full information about the projects will be welcomed, although publication will normally be in abstract.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Land Tenure in Basutoland. By Vernon Sheddick. *Col. Res. Stud.* No. 13. London (H.M.S.O.), 1954. Pp. 193, plates, maps. Price £1 5s.

In the mountainous country of Basutoland agriculture and livestock provide the main sources of production, and the nature of the tenure of the land is vital to the future of the country. For this reason the High Commissioner invited Dr. Sheddick to Basutoland to conduct a fact-finding survey of the country's land tenure, the outcome of which is the volume under review.

There is a good general introduction, an interesting discussion on the nature of Basuto customary law, and several excellent plates. In addition much information appears here which appears nowhere else, and a good deal of work must have been devoted to its collection.

Having said this, I am unable to say anything further in favour of this book.

It is idiosyncratic and pretentious. The author seems to find it necessary to change nomenclature and spelling wherever it is possible to do so. 'Fields' become 'production units'; 'Principal Chiefs' become 'Provincial Governors' (!); 'headmanships' become 'rural areas'; 'mabocella' or 'spareveldt' become 'the Public Enclosures System.' In addition there are terms such as 'diadic,' 'utility regions,' 'upland plateaux,' 'fratricooperation,' the meanings of which are obscure.

One of the more confusing idiosyncrasies is the author's use of the term 'Koena.' As normally used in Basutoland this term refers to the crocodile totemic grouping. It is sometimes used in this sense by the author. But more frequently he uses it as a synonym for the whole Southern Sotho people. And at times he uses it as a tribal name. It is thus confusing to find the author speaking about what is usually known as 'customary law' as 'Koena law.'

As to spelling, the author clearly felt that standard Southern Sotho spelling was not adequate, and felt for instance that he had to change *joang* into *jwang*. This originality would have carried more authority if the book were not full of Sotho words simply spelt wrongly. I instance *mohloare* for *mohloare*, 'Semina' for 'Semena,' *tokolosi* for *thokolosi*, *mupello* for *moupello*, *lenthobo* for *letobo*. It would have been more impressive if he had not in one phrase used two different idiosyncratic letters to express one sound—'Kwete le buima' (p. 148).

This, plus the use of a turgid and inaccurate style, makes the

book useless for those for whom it was originally intended—the administrative officers in the Basutoland service.

Its obscurity is not an unmixed disadvantage, for the book is full of serious inaccuracies. I instance a very few from the many pages of notes which lie before me. 'The special building technique' of the Khoakhwa, who use a pole-and-wattle construction, is by no means peculiar to them. The author says that 'rights of a more exclusive nature are held by every married adult' (p. 11). 'They have a right to . . . some fields to cultivate.' This implies a right which can be vindicated at court to these things. Yet this is not so. No Mosuto can go to court to get an order compelling his chief to allocate to him a land to plough. It is purely within the discretion of the chief, who has a duty to allocate the arable land to the people in the fairest way possible. He says further: 'Should a family fail to make use of its fields over a number of years . . . then they forfeit their titles' (p. 11). But the law reads: 'It will be at the discretion of the Chief or Headman . . . to take away a land or lands from any native who . . . fails for two successive years properly to cultivate or cause to be cultivated . . . (L.L. I, 7 (3)). The law is an exact description of what happens: the matter is again within the discretion of the chief, not, as the author says, automatically decided by absence. Again, in several places in the book the author states that failure to pay taxes leads automatically to forfeiture of arable land (e.g. p. 33). In fact no case of this was known to exist in 1952, after the end of the investigations on which this book was based.

The author speaks of 'the occupying Boer Republics' (p. 8) when he means the Orange Free State alone. He makes the extraordinary statement that the Act of Union of 1909 deprived the Imperial Government of its main interest in the preservation of the Basuto State, there no longer existing the need for a strong buffer state between the Boer Republics and the Colony of Natal. Even omitting the position after the defeat of the Republics in 1902, the statement is odd enough. The author on one page makes the following remarks: 'citizenship rights . . . remain with the individual . . . for so long as they continue to be good citizens'; and a few lines lower: 'There are no instances known to the writer of people being deprived of citizenship as a formal act.'

There is no standard practice with italics; some Sotho words being in roman, and some in italics. The author says that 'hats . . . are made . . . from . . . tooane (a helio-chrysum)' (p. 38). The only correct statement in this sentence is that *tooane* is a *helichrysum*,

though even here the spelling is wrong. 'Any form of cash cropping is strictly speaking a violation of basic land law, though not necessarily of modern practice' (p. 35). Which land law? I know of none. It is well known that in the early days on the diamond fields, in the seventies and eighties, the Basuto sold large quantities of fodder and grain both there and in the Orange Free State. The author makes the incredible statement that in South Africa 'extensive profitable agriculture is possible (west of the 25° isohyet, or approximately Basutoland's western frontier) with any degree of reliability only where the rainfall is supplemented by water from other sources' (p. 47). Another sweeping and unsupported statement is at p. 70: 'No hut, however mean, may be occupied without its first being protected by magical means.' This conflicts with the accurate observations made at the beginning of the book about the fluidity of Basuto customs. At p. 126 the author states that 'a man who plants private trees with special permission on public land [which land is not public?] has the sole right to those trees . . . during his lifetime.' So far so good. But he continues: 'He does not possess automatic rights of transmission in respect of this property,' meaning that his son does not inherit trees as he does his father's personal property. This is not my experience, and it is fairly certain that a 'tree garden' is regarded by the Basuto as being in the same class as vegetable gardens and residential sites—heritable property. Another extraordinary remark (p. 166) is that the 'self-styled intelligentsia . . . wish to secure land rights without being dependent upon father or chief.' I have never heard educated Basuto styling themselves the intelligentsia: nor have I heard of a Mosuto who hoped to get a land without being dependent upon a chief.

To end this sad list, I would like to mention the most important matter on which, in my view, and in the view of the Paramount Chief and of the Basutoland Government, the author is wrong. At p. 158 he says: 'Grazing in cattle-post country . . . cannot be denied to any stock whose owner is a subject of the Provincial Governor.' This states unequivocally that the cattle-post country (the half to three-quarters of Basutoland which is usually known as 'mountain area') is divided up into chiefdoms, and that the people of one chief may not graze their stock in the area of another chief, unless by special leave. The author says that his personal experience suggests that the practice is as stated in his book, despite the official government view. Now the government view is based on Sotho law, which firmly lays down that the cattle of any member of the Sotho people may graze anywhere which is open to public grazing. There have, it is true, been cases where chiefs have arrogated to themselves the right to exclude cattle of other chiefs. But wherever this has been discovered it has been put an end to. Even assuming the existence of fair numbers of undisclosed cases, it is surely incorrect to lay down in the text of a handbook on land law that a practice, condemned as illegal by the highest administrative authorities in the land, is the rule. In fairness to the author I would say that he cites the official view. His view is supported by Ashton (*The Basuto*). In many cases therefore the law is not observed. But it remains the law, and the author should have said so.

This is an injudicious book. It is almost useless for the purpose for which it was commissioned. It will do the reputation of the anthropological discipline no good. It is full of errors. It is badly written. It is a book which, when once laid down, is almost impossible to pick up again.

PATRICK DUNCAN

African Figurines: Their Ceremonial Use in Puberty Rites in Tanganyika. By Hans Cory. London (Faber & Faber), 1956. Pp. 176, 163 text figs. Price £3 3s.

Mr. Cory has, in his short preface, posed the dilemma of the student of the sociology of art objects: does one begin with a

collection of objects and document it? Or does one analyse the social relationships and the culture, and illustrate it? Mr. Cory has selected the first method, but has given us leave to wish he had followed the other.

The book consists of 163 photographs (clear, but undistinguished) of clay images and figurines which are used in the puberty rites of four almost unknown Bantu tribes of Tanganyika: Sambia, Zigua, Nguu and Pare. There is a short introductory section; the bulk of the book is a description of the figurines. They are classified first by tribe, then into those used for boys' initiation rites and those for girls', and finally under such general headings as 'figurines conveying a lesson,' 'figurines accompanying punishments,' etc. Each photograph is accompanied by the words of the song which the figurine illustrates, and by an explanation of the meaning and use of both song and object. There is a final chapter, called 'Appreciation of the Figurines' which gives information about the makers of these objects and further ethnographical information for understanding them. We are, in these pages, referred back to the photographs, so that in a sense we 'go through' them twice; it might have been easier for the reader had all the information been put in one place.

These figurines and their use in initiation ceremonies are highly secret. Mr. Cory has obviously got the confidence of the tribesmen whose works he is describing. He has produced an interesting book on a formerly unrecorded subject. We can enjoy it and the objects even though we cannot agree with the author that they are of artistic as well as ethnographical importance.

PAUL BOHANNAN

Wall Patterns on Hima Huts. By C. M. Sekintu and K. P. Wachsmann. **Folk Musicians in Uganda.** By K. P. Wachsmann. Kampala (Uganda Mus.), 1956. Pp. 10, 4 text figs. Pp. 10. Price 3s. each

These two pamphlets are the first of a projected series of Occasional Papers to be published by the Uganda Museum.

The first, *Wall Patterns in Hima Huts*, is little more than a catalogue of 60 motifs used in the wall-decoration of Hima huts with, in most cases, an interpretation of the motif and its native name. These patterns are in black and white plastered mud, and recall the fondness of the Inter-Lacustrine Bantu (to use Mrs. Trowell's term) for black-and-white decorations, especially on baskets. A study of the meanings and distribution of basketry motifs, and the extent of their development and change in the past 50-odd years would be a most welcome subject for a future occasional paper in this valuable series.

The second, by Dr. Wachsmann, on *Folk Music in Uganda*, can be taken as a supplement to his work in *Tribal Crafts of Uganda*, Part II. In the first and third sections, an account is given of a scheme for collecting records of folk music in Uganda, which started in 1945, and of some of its applications. This is interesting from the administrative aspect, as an account of what is being done in the field, and may be useful to intending field workers. The second and longest section, on Uganda folk music, is of wider interest. In it, Dr. Wachsmann analyses musical bias, tuning, rhythm and melody, and social relations of Uganda music, all with reference to the different tribes, and so gives us an excellent background for the understanding and appreciation thereof. His general approach could in fact be applied in principle to musicology elsewhere.

The Uganda Museum and particularly its Curator, Dr. Wachsmann, are to be congratulated on this venture, and I look forward to seeing further occasional papers of the same high ethnographical quality.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

ASIA

Instrument and Purpose: Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India. By Carl Gustav Diehl. Lund (Gleerup), 1956. Pp. 394. Price Sw. kr. 30

The analysis of Hindu ritual deals with one of the most complex bodies of written material, and this book is an important contribution to the subject. It covers the Tamil culture of southern

India, though the author notes the considerable Sanskrit elements therein, indicating a wider relevance. The investigation is divided into three parts. First, there is a description of both Saiva and Vaisnava daily rites to be performed by individuals, with verses, gestures, times of observance, etc., given in meticulous detail. Next, the daily rituals at several major temples of both sects are listed, as

well as the calendar of festivals at temples and smaller shrines in town and country. Finally, there is an account of the handling of unforeseen crises or specific desires, through omens, divination, pilgrimages, or by recourse to the *Mantiravati*—a practitioner whose work is largely based on verses having supernatural power for good or evil.

The great value of the book lies in its detailed exposition of these topics. Much of this is taken from hitherto untranslated Tamil sources (of which an account is given in a preliminary chapter), and it will doubtless become an indispensable book in this field. It is clear, as the author admits, that only a fraction of the available material could be included in a single book; and the selection (on whose scope and appropriateness only an expert in the field could pronounce) has been made to substantiate two main themes. The first concerns the nature and scope of the rites. These are defined as 'innumerable actions, performances and ceremonies carried out with some purpose and built up with elements, which imply a reference to a third factor' (p. 33), this latter being an explicitly defined or an implicit supernatural power. And, further, 'something is implied in a rite, and a term which covers this aspect is the word instrument' (p. 22). The word 'implied' seems inappropriate in the second passage, however; 'potential' might express the thought better, for later it is said that '[the rites] need not be and are not always correctly qualified as [instruments]' (p. 369). Hence there are also 'direct' rites, which are rather emotional expressions. The analysis of Tamil material shows that the great majority of rites are, in fact, instrumental, and this is the author's first theme. The second stems from it, when he maintains that the distinctions between instrumental and direct rites, or between rites having different locations, or different attitudes of the performer, are more useful than the distinction between religious and magical rites. For if (to follow Goode) such criteria as instrumentality, specificity of goal, and individual rather than group ends are used to distinguish magic from religion, then most Tamil rites would be magical; and the author considers this to be 'objectionable, because of the depreciatory effect of the word magic' (p. 369), as well as less precise than his other distinctions. It is a pity that he can only indicate some of the other criteria which might be useful, just as he does not fully work out the hypothesis that 'when the purpose . . . is intensively present in people's minds, the instruments also tend to become many and effectively conceived.' (p. 189).

But such thoughts can only lead one to hope that Dr. Diehl will continue this work, with the same wealth of material. Perhaps we may also hope for an assessment of the sociological significance of ritual, a theme which is expressly omitted from this book, though sometimes touched upon, and which Dr. Diehl, with his many years of experience in Tamilnad, is well qualified to discuss.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

Marriage and Family in India. By K. M. Kapadia. O.U.P., London (Cumberlege), 1955. Pp. xxviii, 286. Price £1 11s. 6d.

II Dr. Kapadia continues, in this book, the scholarly examination of Indian social organization which he began in *Hindu Kinship*. There are chapters on a variety of topics, after an initial outline of the basic Hindu beliefs on the nature of the universe and man's destiny, being an interpretation of Vedic thought and the Gita, and an account of the four aims of life (*purusharthas*) and

their expression in the *asramas* or stages of life. In most chapters, a similar pattern is followed; an analysis of classical writings on the subject precedes an account of the present developing situation. The latter is given largely from published works and frequently from the legal framework within which action takes place. This means, of course, that the old and new are placed on a comparable basis; where actual fieldwork is analysed, there is the danger that the data will be incongruent with the classical, ideal, picture. There are chapters on Islamic law and customs, polyandry, polygyny, the principles of selection in marriage, the proper age for marriage, the duties of married couples towards one another, the pattern of Muslim marriage, and the Hindu joint-family structure.

The most interesting part of the book is perhaps that covered by the last topic, which consists of three related chapters. Here, Dr. Kapadia traces the emergence of individual and woman's rights in the joint family. This, backed by the close socio-religious ties between men and their daughters' and sisters' sons, is seen as marking a trend towards a bilateral family structure, away from a much more strictly patrilineal pattern of classical times. The story is continued in the last century, with changes in the legal status of women, and the impact of western ideas about the individual's place in society. Nevertheless, the continued attachment to the joint family and the agnatic principle of organization is stressed, and this will continue at least until the State can replace the economic advantages at present given by joint organization.

There is some unevenness in the other sections of the book. Thus, the chapter on polyandry, the longest in the book, gives considerable ethnographical detail about the Nairs, Khasas and Todas. The treatment of marriage selection patterns, however, is mostly concerned with the classical evidence, and there is little mention made of present patterns amongst tribes or peasants. Again, though Dr. Kapadia was not able to go to the original sources for material on Islam, as he was for the analysis of Hindu documents, the clarity of his account of the ways in which the Islamic law has changed and been adapted makes the reader wish that the rest of the short chapter on the Islamic way of life had been expanded; and the same could be said of the Muslim side of the other topics treated. A suggested change concerns the chapter on polygyny, a major part of which deals with hypergamy. A hypergamous marriage can be a polygamous one, of course, but Dr. Kapadia admits that this is by no means always the case; and one might go further, and say that it is exceptional. It might therefore make it clearer for the reader if it were stated that the chapter deals with two separate, though sometimes related, topics.

But such comments should not obscure our gratitude to Dr. Kapadia for this exposition of classical texts and more recent legal developments. For the addition of this perspective is welcome, especially in those fields where the British Government allowed the population to be governed by its own usage. In a country where, as Dr. Kapadia remarks, the reformers themselves have sought support from the classics, such a study is important, and places us in Dr. Kapadia's debt.

There is a full bibliography and index—though some items are perhaps not given their full due in the latter. For example, Jimutavahana and Vijnaneswara should surely have p. 235 included against their names, for it is here that Dr. Kapadia tells of the British adoption of the theories of these writers, and the distinction of the two schools of Hindu law by the courts. ADRIAN C. MAYER

EUROPE

The World of Odysseus. By M. I. Finley. London (Chatto & Windus), 1956. Pp. 191. Price 15s.

12 Homer's Greece has been claimed by stage, screen and fiction but has so far remained an untouched heritage for social anthropology. All the more satisfactory that at last a classical scholar should examine the social background of the Iliad and the Odyssey in the light of anthropological fieldwork. The author of *The World of Odysseus*, who is a University Lecturer in Classics at Cambridge, has combined classical learning with reading in social anthropology, to remarkably good effect. The book deserves the attention of social anthropologists in any branch of specialization.

By combing the text of the poems he makes a serious attempt to estimate the demographic conditions of the society portrayed. Military organization and the kinds of obligations that bind men to leader, and leaders to each other, and the whole fluid conception of kingship are analysed. It is interesting to me to see how the meaning of βασιλεύς oscillated between 'king' and 'head of an aristocratic household,' in exactly the same way as the Lele of the Congo oscillate in their use of *kumu* as chief, head of a village and owner of a dog. A similar fluidity is found in many societies in the use of a single term for tribe, lineage, family, etc.

The great aristocratic households, with their nobles and retainers

of different rank, and their warrior values, invite a comparison with the large farming households of the Mende of Sierra Leone at the turn of the last century. It is a pity that the discussion of status and economic role is obscured by references about an apparently fictitious class of free smallholders. In the large aristocratic households there were the members of the noble family, and their retainers and slaves. The domestic slave was in a relatively fortunate position compared with the plight of the *θῆς*, the unattached labourer: inevitable in a political system in which murder was avenged by blood feud and the unattached individual was unprotected. All this builds up a consistent and intelligible picture, were it not for frequent references to 'independent householders with their own holdings' (pp. 57, 59, 76, 77, 100). The author, complaining of the lack of information about them, attributes the omission to the poet's preoccupation with heroic characters. It would seem as if the *θῆς* of a later period of Greek history keeps obtruding itself into an account of a simpler type of society. The mere existence of independent freemen in such political conditions would be more a matter for surmise than the poet's failure to mention them.

Having established the aristocratic households as the principal units of subsistence and the most stable social groups, the discussion turns to a fascinating account of the significance of treasure and of gift-giving between nobles of different households. Parallels from Grönbeck's *Culture of the Teutons* suggest themselves.

The chapter on the Gods is unfortunately marred by a famous nineteenth-century assumption about the evolution of religion. Original in so much else, Mr. Finley is surely accepting one of the hoariest prejudices of humanism when he asserts that the idea of an anthropomorphic God ranks as one of man's greatest intellectual achievements. 'One element that was decidedly not primitive was the complete anthropomorphism' (p. 147). He detects in the Homeric poems traces of earlier and later stages in religious thought—a

chronology derived from subjective judgments about what appears to be primitive and therefore historically prior. 'Traces of the shift are still visible in the Homeric poems. The old nature gods survived, but they were debased or ignored . . . the many gross atrocities in the prehistory of the gods were toned down radically (p. 151) . . . the *Odyssey* also has a considerable revival of the older elements of belief that had been so rigorously excluded from the *Iliad*' (p. 157).

Mr. Finley's general thesis is that Homer's Greece was a poor, primitive culture, not comparable with the glories of the Mycenaean past. The sparse and technologically inferior Greeks had one sole superiority: they discarded belief in cruel, irrational deities, and created their gods in their own image. If such a revolution in ideas did in fact occur, it is difficult to assess it as a forward or backward step. Belief in an anthropomorphic pantheon which faithfully reproduces the structure of human society is very usual among peoples whom Mr. Finley would probably rank as primitive. It would be interesting to know the relative rating of a Bantu ancestor cult and the inscrutable God of the Book of Job on the scale which he employs. No one would claim that the Homeric poems reveal a highly developed speculative philosophy or any complex religious symbolism. It is safest to assume the no deductions about religious belief and practice can legitimately be made from them.

It is only fair to point out that the weakness of the chapter on religion corresponds to a failing in social anthropology. The book is an exceptionally good example of a 'cross-disciplinary' study. The chapters on economic organization, gift-exchange, warfare and politics are excellent. Where modern fieldwork has most to offer, the study of Homer's Greece has been best illumined. But detailed studies of primitive religion by social anthropologists have only intermittently appeared, and Mr. Finley should be excused for having relaxed his own high critical standards on the subject of the Gods.

M. M. DOUGLAS

OCEANIA

A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific. By A. Capell. *Noumea (South Pacific Commission), 1954. Pp. ix, 210. Price £1*

Dr. Capell, who is Reader in Oceanic Languages at the University of Sydney, was asked by the South Pacific Commission to make a survey of the linguistic fragmentation of the area and to state his desiderata, with special reference to the production of standard orthographies, dictionaries, grammars and textbooks. The work under review is the result of his response to an exacting challenge.

He has confined his survey to the languages spoken in the groups of islands inclusive of New Guinea in the north-west and New Caledonia in the south-east. Fiji is excluded. The languages are, it will be recalled, very discrete. Among those belonging to the Austronesian family there are both Melanesian and Polynesian representatives. Most of the non-Austronesian or so-called Papuan languages (the latter term being used for want of a better word, where available information does not yet permit satisfactory classification) generally differ from the others by having a complex morphological system. In this area both Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages serve small linguistic communities which infrequently exceed 10,000 speakers and often number less than 5,000. This factor, which has long been an impediment to the missionary, is now bedevilling the attempts of government to spread literacy and education. In his review, Dr. Capell has followed the geographical and political divisions of the area and he comments briefly on the characteristics of each language in turn, adding when possible references to material available in print or manuscript, unpublished monographs, opinions as to the most pressing linguistic tasks and the value of certain languages to the teacher and the administrator. Maps are interspersed and a skeleton bibliography is included. There are also special recommendations for the spelling of Oceanic languages and the development of linguistic studies in Australia.

It is interesting to compare the considerable output of religious literature in the languages of this area, with the relative lack of

information concerning the languages themselves. In the early days of the South Sea missions, much linguistic work was done by missionaries, but their published contributions and those of administrators have tended to decline both in quantity and quality. The main responsibility for advancing the knowledge of Oceanic languages now rests with a handful of university teachers who can analyse a representative number of languages but who cannot hope to study at first hand more than a small proportion of the total. For the rest they can also, by every means at their disposal, foster a more active interest in those, teachers, doctors, missionaries, traders, technicians, not to mention anthropological fieldworkers, whose activities in the Pacific islands offer unrivalled opportunities of doing original work. It is true that the increasing and necessary specialization in linguistics may discourage the non-specialist. Yet he is often in a position, with a modicum of professional help, to make important discoveries in an area where possibly no linguistic work has ever been done and moreover none is likely to be done for a considerable time. With the advance of education it may also be possible to persuade Pacific islanders to contribute to our knowledge of their languages.

While a survey of this nature should perhaps err on the side of optimism and resolutely call for wider and deeper study of all languages, as Dr. Capell does, the situation also calls for realism and economy of effort. Assuming a considerable development of linguistic studies in the next 50 years, particularly in Australia and New Zealand, leading on the one hand to the creation of new university posts and on the other to a greatly enhanced quantity of linguistic work by enlightened amateurs, it is still possible that portions of this vast field will remain wholly or partly fallow, at any rate in comparison with that, say, of classical or modern language studies. The student of Oceanic languages must therefore be expected to use his resources carefully. If a language has no claim to attention other than that it is likely to become extinct, then by all means let it die in peace. It seems scarcely worth while making a large collection of unrehearsed sound-recordings to leave them in indefinite cold storage. Dr. Capell comes near to laying himself

open to the charge of wishing to preserve languages on sentimental grounds when he makes statements such as that on p. 113: 'There seems to be very little likelihood of saving the mainland languages of New Caledonia.' When linguistic communities such as these, embracing for the most part less than 1,000 members, survive as separate entities, it is not likely to be due to external interest or encouragement. By stressing the importance of preserving and studying every native language and dialect, the author has weakened his own excellent case. There is insufficient emphasis on important recommendations and his overall underlining leads to blanket advice, much of which must be regarded as not practical owing to the small number of trained or untrained linguists available at present.

It is perhaps possible to view the problem in another and rather more realistic light. Like the majority of ourselves, Pacific Islanders learn a second or a third language for practical reasons. They may for instance wish to make themselves heard in another language for religious, commercial or political reasons. Or it may be that education happens to be dispensed in a language other than their own: English or Malay or a local *lingua franca* spread by government or missionary activities over an area far wider than that which it originally served. One may agree as to the importance of carefully choosing the dialect which is to serve as the foundation of a mission or government language, though in practice the choice is seldom a matter of mutual agreement and consultation, but one of simple expediency. Once it has been chosen, the use of it should also be actively encouraged by suitable rewards for proficiency. Even full agreement and sponsorship do not, however, guarantee the adoption of an official language outside the activities for which it has been specifically chosen. Whether or not it triumphs over the mother tongue and also becomes an unofficial language depends on powerful social forces which can hardly be controlled by administrative action. If there are signs that the mother tongue lacks sufficient vitality to survive (which, incidentally, is far from being a general phenomenon even today) it is unlikely that official encouragement such as its use in schools would save it.

Without therefore expressing an opinion on the controversial question of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of the vernacular in schools, it does not seem likely to me that education in the vernacular will in itself contribute materially to the preservation of a number of Oceanic languages. It is true, however, that there is a pressing need, already felt in some educational quarters, to teach the grammar of vernacular languages and not merely to teach reading and writing as is usually the practice. It is to be hoped that the answer to that need may one day make a contribution to the knowledge of Oceanic languages. In order to teach the tenets of grammatical orthodoxy, teachers in island schools will need to analyse their own languages afresh, with or without the benefit of

our linguistic terminology and concepts, and they will need to give an implicit or explicit account of grammatical structure. There is some reason to believe therefore that the small number of those at present in the field may one day receive support from an unexpected quarter.

G. B. MILNER

Voices on the Wind. By Katharine Luomala, illustrated by Joseph Feher. Honolulu (Bishop Mus. P.), 1955. Pp. 191, 9 illustrations.

There is probably no one better qualified than Dr. Luomala to write on Polynesian mythology, as her previous studies published in the Bishop Museum Bulletins have shown. The present work is popular in the best sense. The nine chapters cover the more important and widely-distributed cycles, such as the Maui and Tahaki stories and those about the Menehune and the birth and work of the gods. One is devoted to the training and social function of the bard, and indeed the cultural context is never overlooked throughout the book. After recounting the main features of each cycle Dr. Luomala discusses the local variations and features of special interest, illustrating with ample quotation from chants recorded and translated by herself and by others. At the end there is a section in which sources are listed and discussed. Dr. Luomala writes easily and pleasantly, and her book can be commended as a first-class introduction to the subject.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Native Astronomy in the Central Carolines. By Ward H. Goodenough. Philadelphia (U.M.), 1953. Pp. vi, 46. Price \$0.75.

Goodenough wrote a short—and in many ways unsatisfactory—article on this subject in 1951 (*The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LXII, 1951); the present work shows him to have been aware of the urgent need for a more thorough and extensive study of the field.

It draws to a great extent upon a nearly complete list of already published materials. The only important sources on native astronomy in Micronesia known to me but not used by Goodenough are Schueck's 'Astronomische, geographische und nautische Kenntnisse der Karolineninsulaner...' (*Tijdschrift van het Koninklijke Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap te Amsterdam*, Vol. 1, 1887) and Erdland's 'Sternkunde bei den Seefahrern der Marshall Inseln,' (*Anthropos*, Vol. V, 1910).

It is unfortunate that comparatively little information has been gained in post-war years in those parts of Micronesia where the native art of navigation is still alive and where fieldwork would produce new data to test present conclusions. Considering all the difficulties, Goodenough has made an important contribution to the knowledge of ancient navigational art in the Pacific, of which so many details are still obscure.

B. R. STILLFRIED

CORRESPONDENCE

The Cruck Truss. Cf. MAN, 1956, 107, 167

16 SIR,—It is true that I formerly thought that the cruck might be prehistoric, but I did not regard this idea as a 'solution,' so studied the question further and changed my view. Dr. Peate writes: 'The essential fact is that, whether curved or straight, the inverted V performed one and the same function, that of holding the roof.' But the whole point of a cruck is that it exerts a downward thrust, and I now suppose it to be one of the devices adopted by the mediaeval builders to counter the outward thrust of a wide and heavy roof. Others were the arch-brace and the hammerbeam, examples of both which are to be seen in small houses (*Monmouthshire Houses*, Part I, p. 81, Part II, p. 97). The date 1278, which Dr. Peate mentions, is so far as I know the earliest reference to a cruck (the *nenffyrch* was more probably a forked post); this was about a hundred years after the introduction of the pointed arch.

Dr. Peate writes that 'it is particularly fruitless to argue that a cruck's shape can always be relied upon for dating it, or that one shape is derived from another.' It is surprising that he should adopt this unscientific attitude; the evidence suggests that crucks, if adequately studied, could, like all other architectural features, be placed

in a series. From this series 'straight crucks,' not being crucks, should be excluded.

Usk

RAGLAN

17 SIR,—I can only imagine that Lord Raglan's paper on *The Cruck Truss* was written with the idea of provoking discussion. His theory is that the cruck framework represents a copy in wood of the Gothic stone arch and was developed in the thirteenth century. In order to substantiate this theory he contends that the evidence for cruck construction prior to A.D. 1200 is very slight.

I have elsewhere outlined the development of the cruck framework as indicated by the study of existing examples throughout Britain (*Antiquity*, 1948, pp. 179-189). The cruck framework was derived from a pair of timbers crossing at the apex to support the ridge tree. These may be straight (Erixon's 'tong-support') or curved ('true crucks'), and I indicated a parallel development of the two types. This construction is definitely primitive and fundamental.

Teapot Hall most certainly did not 'occupy a high place' in my evolutionary scheme. I merely quoted it as a recent example of a

primitive form of construction. My only reference to it was as follows: 'Hartley and Elliot have illustrated an English booth of the fourteenth century which belongs to the same group (of ridge-beam tong supports) and in the so-called "Teapot Hall," at Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire, there survived until 1944 a large dwelling having an identical roof framework with roof and walls of the same pitch.' As Lord Raglan states, 'Teapot Hall' was a nineteenth-century sport but it did provide an example of a construction previously widely employed.

Nor have existing examples of 'straight crucks' ever been regarded by me as necessarily early. They do, in my opinion, represent an early stage in the evolutionary development of the cruck framework, but it does not follow that they themselves are early. In the development of the 'straight cruck' construction side walls were added by resting the feet of the wall posts in notches in the crucks, and using ties to secure the wall posts to the crucks, thus counteracting the outward thrust of the roof on the wallplate. The framework from Didbrook, figured by Lord Raglan (fig. 3), is an example of this development but his drawing is an incorrect representation of the construction. The ties do not rest on the wall posts, as shown in the figure, for they would not then serve any structural purpose. They are mortised into the wall posts which carry the wallplates. Every stage in the evolution of the cruck framework represents a functional development and is concerned with providing vertical walls to a structure which was originally concerned only with supporting the ridge tree of a building with sloping walls.

The two reasons advanced by Lord Raglan for assuming that cruck construction was unknown before the Gothic arch are (a) that its distribution is unknown outside Britain, and (b) the absence of literary evidence. But cruck construction is known outside Britain, as I have already shown ('Hogback Tombstones and the Anglo-Danish House,' *Antiquity*, 1954, pp. 68-77). This is amply demonstrated by the following examples:

1. A mason's lodge depicted on a carving on a house at Middleburg, Holland, dated 1590. (Sydney R. Jones, *Old Houses in Holland*, p. 116.)
2. A hut from Huttegen, near Audenarde, Belgium (C. F. Innocent, *The Development of English Building Construction*, 1916, p. 244.)
3. Cabin Gamme from Finnmark (Halvor Vreim, 'The Ancient Settlements in Finnmark, Norway,' *Folkviss*, 1937, p. 194.)
4. Examples of fully developed cruck construction from the German North Sea districts of Hümling, Oldenburg and Stade (W. Lindner, *Das niedersächsische Bauernhaus in Deutschland und Holland*, 1912, and A. Stieren, 'Eine germanische Siedlung im Westlick; Die bisher ergrabenen Bauten der Siedlung,' *Westfalen*, 1936, pp. 413-33.)
5. Examples from Holland and Belgium. (Verbal communication from A. van Giffen to A. Stieren, and Cl. V. Trefois, *Folk*, 1937, Part 1.)
6. The fourth-century 'Long Hall,' Westlick, Westphalia. (Alexander Klein, 'Die Rekonstruktion des germanischen Langbaues von Westik,' *Westfalen*, 1936, pp. 434-53.)
7. Examples from Roumania, where German settlers from the Lower Rhine introduced cruck construction in the thirteenth century. (Letter from Dr. Hermann Hinz to the writer, 3 January, 1954.)
8. The house of the Bavarian immigrants into Bavaria, about A.D. 500, is also regarded by Theodor Heck as being of cruck type. ('Von altbayerischen Bauformen,' *Bayerische Landeszeitung*, 2 March, 1950.)

Evidence for the widespread employment of cruck construction on the Continent from the fourth century onwards is not, therefore, confined to the statement of Sigurd Erixon.

Literary references are difficult to obtain on any aspect of primitive domestic architecture before A.D. 1200 as it did not normally figure in documentary accounts of the period. The earliest dated cruck-framed building of which I have any record is the tithe barn at Eston, which bears the date 1382, but there is a record of 'two bent beams called "crokkes" at Harlech in 1287, and there are many early references to 'crock' and 'crokkes.' As the terms 'crock'

and 'cruck' have survived widely throughout English dialects for cruck construction as we understand it today, I see no reason to doubt that the same term in early documents referred to the same construction. I know of no authenticated instance where a forked upright is described as a 'cruck' or 'crock' and the term used for such a post was probably 'fork' or 'gavelfork.' In view of this, I feel that it is justifiable to accept the early documentary references to 'crokkes' as referring to cruck construction.

The Gothic feature on which Lord Raglan bases his theory is the moulding on a few crucks. These, and the allied cusped struts, occur mainly in Herefordshire and the neighbouring areas and are found in only a few buildings of particular importance, on which trained carpenters were employed. Only such carpenters, with which the area in question was particularly well endowed, would have been familiar with these features and it is apparent that they applied Gothic details to the already established cruck tradition. It seems very unlikely that a cruck construction, derived from a stone prototype, would be found throughout primitive areas in west and north England, Wales and Scotland.

I cannot agree that crucks were often used for their decorative effect. They were a cumbersome but efficient framework. It seems much more probable that well-to-do owners employed carpenters to decorate them with mouldings and cusps in order to render them less unsightly.

Nor can I find support for the suggestion that all carved and moulded timbers in Europe originated in imitation of stone. The carved, moulded and fretted timberwork which I have studied in Austria, Switzerland and the Black Forest does not indicate a derivation from stone and it occurs in an area which has always had a timber architecture.

The scarfed principal (false cruck) is a normal development from the timber-framed cruck construction, as I hope to show in a paper at present in preparation. It represents an economy in timber by allowing one upright member to serve in place of two, the wall post and the cruck. This is clearly demonstrated in Dorset, where the construction is most prevalent. But this can have little bearing on the Gothic origin of the cruck, for scarfed principals, identical with Sir Cyril Fox's Exeter example, are widely distributed throughout Skye and the adjoining mainland and represent the traditional form of roof truss in that area.

There does not appear to be any evidence to support Lord Raglan's contention that the cruck framework is derived from the Gothic arch. Such Gothic ornamentation as does occur in a very restricted area, is a late application, fifteenth century or later, to an already well established method of cruck construction.

Maseru, Basutoland

JAMES WALTON

Note

Mr. Walton's letter has been shown to Lord Raglan, who writes as follows:

'Mr. Walton, like Dr. Peate, believes that an architectural feature, the whole point of which is that it is curved, was derived from something that was not curved. If a cruck had originally been straight, it would obviously have had another name. I agree that the "crokkes" at Harlech in 1287 were most probably crucks, but do not see how this is supposed to tell against my view that crucks were first used in the thirteenth century.'

'Nor do I know why Mr. Walton supposes me to believe that Gothic arches were confined to England; crucks on the Continent might have originated in the same way. My point was that Erixon, when he wrote the article cited by Dr. Peate, seemed not to know of any true crucks outside England.'

'Teapot Hall consisted of one ground-floor room 12 x 12 feet and an attic of about half that size, so it was not a "large dwelling" and as it was of recent construction it can hardly be described as having "survived."'

'My drawing of the cottage at Didbrook was based on a sketch by Sir Cyril Fox made in my presence. I should perhaps add that Sir Cyril is not committed to any theory of cruck origins.'

'Mr. Walton's other points are matters of opinion which I should like to argue, but shall merely complain that he has sought to beg the question by using that miserable word "primitive."—Ed.

(a-c)



(d-f)



(g-i)



MASKS PORTRAYING FACIAL DISEASE FROM EASTERN NIGERIA

For descriptions see the text

THE DEPICTION OF GANGOSA ON EFIK-IBIBIO MASKS*

by

DONALD C. SIMMONS

University of Alabama

I**8** Masks of Efik and Ibibio, and some Ibo, groups in Calabar Province, Nigeria, frequently portray a noseless human face either in realistic representation or stylized form. Natives assert that these masks depict a disease which ulcerates the soft parts of the nasal membranes, eventually resulting in complete extirpation of the nose, and aver that the disease is portrayed on the masks to inspire fear in the beholder. Oron¹ and some Ibibio denominate this disease *odok*, while Efik name it *onok*; English-speaking natives usually translate the term as 'no-nose.'

This noseless condition is not due to some form of punishment, similar to that mentioned by Broughton (1813, pp. 136, 147) for the Mahrattas of Sind, since such was unknown in Efik penology, which confined its punishments on a culprit's head to hanging, putting pepper in the eyes, or tearing off the ear by nailing the ear to a tree and then striking the culprit with a stick until he fell.

There is no doubt that such a disease actually exists in West Africa, although allusions to it are infrequent. Bowdich (1819, pp. 374f.), with reference to diseases among the Ashanti, writes:

The diseases most common in the Ashantee Country are the Lues, Yaws, Itch, Ulcers, Scald-heads, and griping pains in the bowels. Other diseases are occasionally met with, I should suppose in the same proportion that they occur in civilized countries; but I do not know to what cause to assign the prevalence and frequency of one of the most unsightly diseases that can occur in any country: it is an obstinate species of ulcer, or, Noli me tangere, which destroys the nose and upper lip; it attacks women chiefly, although men are not exempt from it; there are more than 100 women in Coomassie who have lost the nose or upper lip from this cause alone: it commences with a small ulcer in the alae nasi, or upper lip, the size of a split pea, excavated, with the edges ragged and turned inwards, it proceeds by ulcerating under the skin; the bottom of the ulcer is uneven, covered with a foul slough, of a very disagreeable smell, and the discharge is thin, watery, and very irritating: it seldom cicatrices before the alae nasi and lip are completely destroyed; when it does cease, the skin is puckered and uneven, and has a very disagreeable appearance; the only remedy which the natives use, is an external application of bruised leaves; they seem to let it take its course, without being very anxious about a cure.

I have seen five adults in the Creek Town and Okoyong areas whose noseless faces plainly evidence the disease, and also one young adult whose nasal membranes were in the process of being destroyed. An Ibibio informant asserts that a Roman Catholic priest residing in the Ibibio area has suffered the disease. Natives know no cure and state that the disease never terminates fatally. In aboriginal times sufferers were not ostracized from town as were lepers and smallpox victims. A statement in an autobiography of an

Anang chief (Groves, 1936, p. 45) makes it seem that some Ibibio regard sufferers of this disease as religiously 'unclean,' possibly because they defile the earth with frequent expectoration.

A problem arises in the identification of the actual disease responsible for the destruction of the nose, and various candidates have been proposed. These include: (1) leprosy, (2) cancer, (3) syphilis, (4) Leishmaniasis, and (5) gangosa.

Professor William Bascom of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, writes to me in a personal communication that natives informed him that this condition on masks



FIG. 1. A CASE OF GANGOSA

After Adams and Macgrath (1953), fig. 65, p. 478 (by courtesy of Blackwell Scientific Publications)

represented leprosy. This suggestion is probably erroneous for such a condition is extremely rare, if extant at all, among lepers. Dr. J. M. Philip, the Medical Superintendent of the Church of Scotland Leper Colony at Itu, Eastern Nigeria, writes to me that he has never seen such a case either at the general hospital or the leper colony.

Goldie (1874, p. 256) defines the Efik word *onok* as 'cancer of the face.' However, it appears that the disease is confined to the area of the nose and upper lip and does not spread to other parts of the body as would be expected if the disease originated from a malignant growth or tumour.

Browne (1799, p. 329), in reference to syphilis in Egypt, remarks: 'ulcers of long duration, noseless faces, and all the disgusting consequences of this malady are indeed occasionally visible.' Fagg (1953, p. 31) states that the nose of one Ibibio mask is deformed '... as though by syphilis. ...'

* With Plate B and a text figure

The author's orthography has been slightly simplified; ng represents the sound of the middle consonant in English 'singer' and o includes the vowel sound in English 'law'.—ED.

The similarity in appearance of individuals who suffered the disease with certain faces portrayed on Mochica pots of Peru (cf. D'Harcourt, 1939, pp. 91-99, 153-5; Kutscher, 1950, Plates XXXVI, XXXIX), and information cited by Wilcocks (1950, pp. 39-41) led me to suspect that the disease might be the muco-cutaneous form of Leishmaniasis, which is caused by a protozoan, transmitted by sandflies, and characterized by ulceration of the muco-cutaneous membranes. Dr. A. W. Woodruff of the London Hospital for Tropical Diseases informs me in a letter that cutaneous Leishmaniasis is not found to any large extent in Nigeria and is very uncommon in West Africa, although occasional cases have been reported; he cautions against a diagnosis of Leishmaniasis without first isolating the causative organisms, and suggests that the disease as described by me is probably gangosa, a tertiary stage of yaws, since yaws is a well-known endemic disease in that region. Dr. C. J. Hackett of the Venereal Disease and Treponematoses Section, Division of Communicable Disease Services, World Health Organization, Geneva, Switzerland, writes to me that the condition which I described to him in a letter is almost certainly gangosa as a result of yaws.

Gangosa (Spanish: 'muffled voice'), also known as Rhinopharyngitis mutilans and destructive ulcerous rhinopharyngitis, is now generally regarded as a tertiary form of yaws (Framboesia), and usually begins as an ulcer on the soft palate and spreads until it destroys the hard palate, the soft parts, cartilages and bones of the nose, and sometimes the upper lip (cf. Manson-Bahr, 1950, pp. 635f.; Sheldon, 1951, p. 283; Strong, 1947, p. 415; Adams and Macgrath, 1953, pp. 478f.). Sheldon (p. 283) reports that where yaws is highly endemic the incidence of gangosa is less than one per cent. Manson-Bahr (1950, p. 624) specifically notes that the organisms causing yaws and syphilis are microscopically indistinguishable.

Harley (1950, p. 34) reports that one mask in his collection of over 500 masks from north-west Liberia depicted gangosa, and notes that individuals suffering gangosa venerated the mask as a petty god.

In view of the information cited it appears that the most probable diagnosis of the disease depicted on Efik-Ibibio masks is gangosa, now regarded as a tertiary stage of yaws. However, in this connexion the identical resemblance between the causative organisms of yaws and syphilis should be remembered. Leishmaniasis remains a possibility, but only a microscopic identification of the organism involved, which we lack at present, could substantiate this diagnosis. Needless to relate, in the absence of microscopic data I am assuming that there is a single cause for this disease, although there is no logical basis for this assumption and there is a possibility, although unlikely, that several diseases possessing similar symptoms are involved.

Although any collection of Ibibio masks will contain at least one example which portrays gangosa such masks are seldom illustrated. The plate opposite p. 188 in Talbot (1923) shows an *ekpo nyoho* 'destroying-ghost' mask. The Ibibio mask shown on Plate VII in Bascom (1953, p. 18) appears to depict gangosa. Mask No. 73 in Linton (1954) is described as an Ekpo society mask of wood 'reddened

around facial features,' and probably illustrates a stylized representation of gangosa.

Mention may be made of the *ibuo akwanga* 'twisted-nose' deformity portrayed on some Ibibio masks. Illustration 52 in Wingert (1954, p. 11) and Plate XXXIV in Underwood (1948), for which an Ibo provenance is ascribed, show this condition. Informants assert that 'twisted-nose' is a disease; it probably is a tertiary form of yaws (see the photograph by Dr. C. J. Hackett taken at Lira, Uganda in the World Health Organization Monograph Series No. 15, 1953, p. 407).

Except for Plate Bg the masks of Efik-Ibibio provenance are *ekpo* 'ghost or ancestor' masks. The *ekpo* men's secret society is widespread among the Ibibio where each village usually possesses its own society (see Forde and Jones, 1950, pp. 73f.). I do not know how widespread the following is among Ibibio, but in one village in the Uyo district members own several different masks and statuettes which the members consider a 'ghost family' and name accordingly. Thus, *ete ekpo*, 'father ghost,' *eka ekpo*, 'mother ghost,' and *akpan ekpo*, 'eldest-son ghost,' are statuettes; the father wears an archaic type of hat similar to a pith helmet, the son holds a detachable wood machete, and the mother holds a wood spoon. *Adiaha ekpo*, 'eldest-daughter ghost,' is represented by a mask of a female face, the hair being painted black and the skin white. *Udo ekpo*, 'second-son ghost,' is represented by a mask depicting gangosa and surmounted by a skull—somewhat similar to the mask illustrated by Plate VII in Bascom (1953, p. 18). *Ebua ekpo*, 'dog of ghost,' is illustrated by Plate Bf.

Efik children used Ibibio *ekpo* masks in children's secular plays before about 1946, but Efik chiefs forbade their use after Ibibio complained that the children had never purchased the right to wear these masks and threatened to allow Ibibio children to wear the *ekpe* 'leopard' costume of the Efik men's secret society. At the Efik town of Adiabo Ikot Mbo the chief ordered all *ekpo* masks to be collected and burned. Efik sometimes use masks in magic-medicine shrines or in an occasional minor 'play,' but generally favour the use of headdresses which are worn on the head, such as that illustrated in Plate Bg.

The masks illustrated are carved from the soft wood of a tree known to Efik as *ebo*, except for Plate Be, f, and g which are believed to be carved from *Ricinodendron africanum* wood (Efik: *nsasanga*). The masks were collected in the vicinity of Creek Town unless a different provenance is given. Although Plate Ba was obtained from an Efik owner it was undoubtedly carved by an Ibibio. The approximate size of the masks in inches, height followed by width, is: Plate Ba, 16×10; Bb, 12×8; Bc, 11×6½; Bd, 12¾×9; Be, 15×19; Bf, 15½×8½; Bg, 8×6; Bh, 9½×7; Bi, 9×5½. All except Plates Bb and g have holes bored on the rim where raphia may be tied; Plate Bb probably possessed these holes but the wood has split from the rim due to age and the effects of insects. Plates Ba and g have holes on the top for placement of long sticks decorated with dyed feathers.

Plate Ba represents an *ekpo nyoho* 'destroying ghost' mask, and is black with red on the mouth, nose and inner eyelids. The carved snake on the crown, the head of which

is visible in the photograph under the left upper head, has a red mouth; the three black faces on top of the large head have white eyes and red mouths. The lower jaw is movable, and under the chin is a piece of hairy animal skin which serves as a beard. The two lateral heads surmounting the large face each have an opening at the top where cigarette cans may be put as receptacles for smouldering fire. The forehead of the mask is smeared with magic medicine and both red and yellow powder. The ends of two *sitim*, thin copper wire formerly used as money, are bent and imbedded at the base of the upper central figure. The mother of a child born with a caul is believed to have seen *ekpo nyoho* during her pregnancy.

Plate Bb is an old *ekpo* mask repainted by an Efik who also added new ears. It is painted black with red cheeks, white teeth, and a large curving red line on each half of the forehead. The four raised squares carved on the forehead are said to be decorative, but may be the area where magic medicine is smeared; several other masks have similar decorations. The eyes are carved as a bridge between the orbits; the right eye still remains intact.

Plate Bc is an *ekpo* mask painted black and yellow. Plate Bd is an *ekpo* mask carved in July, 1952, by an Anang carver originally from Ikot Ekpene but then living near Ikoneto. The mask is mainly black, with white eyeballs having a black pupil outlined by orange-red dots, and with a vertical white line composed of four raised squares on the forehead before each ear. The inner ears, mouth and nose are orange-red, and the two stunted tusks are white.

Plate Be is an *ekpo* mask carved by another Anang carver in April, 1953. The mask is black with yellow on the forehead, white eyeballs ringed with red, a vertical white line on each cheek, white fangs, and red on the tongue and nose area.

Plate Bf is an *ekpo* mask made by the same man who carved Plate Be. The mask represents *ebua ekpo* or the 'ghost's dog.' The face is black, the lips yellow, and the tongue red. The yellow band at the crown is speckled with red and black paint. The dog's head carved on top is pink, the mouth red, the eyes yellow tinged with black dots, and the eyebrows and line down the nose black.

Plate Bg is a headdress composed of three heads, the one illustrated depicting gangosa, while the other two represent skulls; the hair is black as are the pupils, the eyebrows and the line outlining the nasal area. The mouth, tongue and nasal membranes are red, and the two fangs on each side of the mouth are white. This mask was carved in 1941 by the late Ekpenyong Eyo Uko of Creek Town who was the leader of the *ukua* war ceremony. He is reported to have carved it for use as an *ekong ukua*, 'headdress of *ukua*'; *ekong ukua* usually use human skulls and this probably accounts for the skulls on this specimen.

Plate Bh and i are Ibo masks from the vicinity of Unwana, an Ibo town on the Cross River below Afikpo. Plate Bh has red ears and lips, and a red band around the crown, the remaining portion of the mask being black. The nasal area is depressed, with a small triangular depression in the middle which bears traces of having once been painted red; this depression is barely visible in the illustration since

it has been filled with eggshells which have adhered to the mask and are shown in the photograph as splashes of white. Among the Efik and Ibibio, and presumably some Ibo, eggs and whisky or gin are used to assuage the 'power' of a mask when it threatens to 'possess' the wearer; a companion blows whisky on the mask and then throws an egg. Plate Bi, which is entirely black, shows traces of eggshell over the right eye and at the middle of the forehead.

While the colours on these masks may not have been produced by the following procedures, Efik manufacture paint from several types of sedimentary clays or rocks, and various plants and trees. Efik dissolve the red clay or sedimentary pebbles called *nsang* in water to produce red, and prepare brown and white by doing similarly to the sedimentary deposits named *uto nsang* and *afia ndom ntang*. A white chalk is produced from the sedimentary clay called *ndom*, while neighbouring Ibibio have a pink clay named *ndek ndom* which produces a pink chalk like that used on Plate Bf. The crushed leaves of the *awa* plant, mixed with water, yield green; charcoal added to the mixture darkens the colour. The crushed seeds of a species of *Canavalia* bean, mixed with charcoal and water, produce black, as do the leaves of the following when respectively crushed and mixed with charcoal: taro (*Clocasis* spp. and *Exanthosoma* spp.), pawpaw (*Carica papaya*), *Anchomanes* spp., manioc (*Manihot* spp.), and a small vine named *ediam* by Efik. The roots of the *onio* tree yield yellow when ground and mixed with water. Scrapings of wood produced by rubbing a small quantity of sand on a board made from the core of the red ironwood tree (*Lophira procera*) produce red when mixed with a small quantity of water. Tar mixed with kerosene is frequently used as a black paint; the black of Plate Ba is derived from tar diluted with a small quantity of kerosene. The Anang carver from Ikot Ekpene who carved the masks shown in Plate Be and f produced black from the wood and bark of the *ukang* tree, red from the seed of the *iduot inokon* tree, white from *ndom* chalk, yellow from the root of a species of cocoyam, and pink from *ndek ndom* chalk.

Allusions to gangosa also occur in Efik proverbs. *Onok ete eyetuede tua do imo ama ibobom ekikop fo*, 'no-nose says you are crying since he has broken your cup,' may be said to anyone who complains about something which cannot be remedied, and means 'no use crying over spilt milk'; no Efik will knowingly drink from a cup which has been used by a sufferer of gangosa. *Onok itaha fi ibuo afo osoi nsadang ekim*, 'no-nose does not affect your nose, you sharpen bamboo and pin [it in your nose],' means 'you are the sole cause of your own misfortune.' *Niak onok otongo ke mbong*, 'reason of no-nose begins from a pimple,' signifies that a serious matter may develop from a small thing.

Ibibio possess similar proverbs: *odok ete osuk ata aka*, 'no-nose disease says it still eats forward,' means the situation has gone from bad to worse. Ibibio also possess an erotic tone riddle in which the aperture resulting from the extirpation of the nose is compared to the shape of a vagina (a tone riddle is a riddle in which the tones of the answering phrase are either identical with or very similar to the tones of the query phrase (cf. MAN, 1956, 78); in the

following example low-toned syllables are unmarked and high-toned syllables are notated with an acute accent); the query states *ididing okpo usung isiohó itán*, 'cricket of main road doesn't take out sand,' and the correct answer to this is *odók nyin itit ifáda ówó*, 'no-nose of clitoris doesn't bite anyone.' *Nnu odok ata ongwí kusukusuku onyi*, 'I am no-nose I eat one before his eyes,' is an Oron proverb meaning that the sayer does not fear to act openly before an enemy.

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A REVIEW OF THE PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SAHARA AND ITS PREHISTORIC IMPLICATIONS

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IN A good deal has been written about the physical anthropology of the living peoples of the Sahara Desert and yet surprisingly little is known about any of them. Nor are speculations as to their origins lacking, but these have been based mainly on fantasy, either original or drawn from classical authors. Modern studies have been published almost exclusively in old or obscure journals that are now extremely difficult to find, even in libraries, and so no previous attempt to synthesize them has ever been made. I propose to give here a summary of these publications together with certain conclusions that they seem to suggest, and from these and the references those interested in this field will be able to proceed with their research somewhat less blindly than has been possible heretofore.

There is no point in looking for modern survivors of Pleistocene man in North Africa. Surely there can be no recognizable descendants of *Atlanthropus* or of the Rabat-Tangier type, or, probably, of Haua Fteah, left among the living inhabitants of the area.¹ We will do best, I think, to start at the other end and try to work backwards in time.

The Tedâ

The essentially nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoral bandit Tedâ have often been supposed to represent the

oldest surviving human strain in the Sahara. As far as their outward appearance goes, both metrically and morphologically, they look like Nilotic half-Hamites, such as the Shilluk and the Dinka, and they speak Sudanic dialects. But their ABO blood-group distributions follow a typically Berber pattern, high in O and very low in B, whereas the Sudanese half-Hamites, as well as Negroes in general, all show high or very high B percentages. Thus the Tedâ appear to have Berber blood in Negro bodies.

One may suppose that the Tedâ are descendants of a Berber or proto-Berber population that has become progressively negroid by race mixture, or, following Dixon, that they are survivors of an ancient 'Proto-Negroid' stock that mixed with later invaders belonging to his 'Caspian' (my 'African Mediterranean') type. But the real answer can probably be found only after extensive studies of the distributions among them of blood groups other than those of the ABO series.

The Fezzanese

Some authorities believe that the sedentary Fezzanese are related, perhaps very closely, to the Tedâ, and this may well be the case, although they seem for the most part to show very extensive Negro and Arab mixture. In any

event almost nothing is known of their physical anthropology beyond the fact that they have, according to Leblanc (1946), an ABO blood-group pattern which we find is practically identical with that of the Fulani (Peul) as reported by Koerber, Linhard and Pales (1951). Leblanc's conclusion that their ABO distributions suggest a Berber origin, such as many of them claim, is therefore in complete disagreement with the very evidence that he produced in its support.

Here we can be sure of only one thing, namely that among the Fezzanese any really ancient Berber element that may survive is completely or almost completely masked by later Arab and Negro increments. It seems perhaps more probable that the basic racial element in the sedentary population of the Fezzan is not Berber at all but neolithic Negro or negroid, more or less modified by successive immigrant waves of Berber and Arab stocks.

The Haratin

In the western Sahara we find an even more complex situation. We know that the Desert was far more fertile at various times in the past than it is today, and must have been quite densely populated in spots judging by the quantities of stone tools that litter its surface. Thus we can safely assume that the existing oases are remnants of earlier and much more extensive fertile tracts, and it seems reasonable to suppose also that the bulk of their inhabitants, the negroid Haratin, are residual too. These people are sedentary gardeners,² despised by, and so largely cut off from inter-marriage with, the nomadic groups with whom they are in regular contact. Nearly 300 of them have been examined, but only superficially, and they seem to be pretty much like what one finds ordinarily in the highly variable and obviously much mixed negroid populations of the northern fringe of the western Sudan.

Blood-group studies of the Haratin, one made in the north-west corner of the Sahara at Beni Ounif,³ show ABO patterns very like those of the Sudan in general in their high percentages of B, but also with high A percentages reminiscent of certain Egyptian and Congo Pygmy groups.

All this seems to suggest that the Haratin may be descended from an ancient cross between early Negro immigrants from the south-east and another early wave of immigrants that came from or through Egypt on their way westward, the whole overlaid by a steady migrational flow coming up from the Sudan in the slave trade that continued until very recent times.

The Berber-Speaking Tribes

It has often been taken for granted that Berber-speakers did not enter the western Sahara until after the beginning of the Christian era, but this view is based only on the absence of any positive evidence to the contrary. No one can say just when the ancestral Tuareg did enter the Sahara, or whether or not they were in any way connected with any of the stone-age industries that abound there; and this again is due solely to lack of evidence of any kind.

Many people are inclined to assume that the Tuareg cannot have become 'Lords of the Desert' until they arrived

there out of the blue, riding and raiding swiftly on fast camels; but surely there must have been a time when the ancestral Tuareg had not yet learned to ride on camelback but managed nonetheless to get around fast enough to compete on at least equal terms with each other and with their neighbours. They could quite possibly have ridden cattle, or even used horse-drawn chariots, as is suggested by many Saharan rock paintings and engravings. In short, there is no more reason to suppose that the Tuareg are relatively recent arrivals in the western Sahara than that they are very ancient inhabitants there.

Metrically and morphologically the Tuareg seem to be an essentially primitive Berber population that has been profoundly modified over a long period of time by rigorous selection for survival in the extremely harsh desert environment in which they have led a very strenuous life for probably at least 2,000 years and possibly more. They have ABO patterns that are typically Berber. Although Moroccan and central Saharan Arabs, as well as the Rwala of the Syrian Desert, show comparable percentages of O, they are distinguished by B frequencies that average about twice as high as those of the Berbers. Detailed studies of R_h and MNS distributions have been carried out so far only among the Tuareg of the Aïr, in the intermediate zone between the Sahara proper and the Sudan, and these show clear indications of very substantial Negro admixture, as one would expect to find in that region; but a small series of northern Ajjer Tuareg studied by Jacquemin yielded a very high R_h-negative percentage reminiscent of the north-western Berbers.

We know very little of the now sedentary Zenata, who live mainly in the series of oases that forms a chain across the north-western edge of the central Sahara. All we can say of them is that they are still essentially Berber-speaking, and that they seem also to be basically Berber, both morphologically and serologically, although they have certainly mixed rather freely with Arabs and especially with the Haratin.

The Berber-speaking Moors of the extreme western Sahara are perhaps the least known of all Berber populations anywhere in Africa. Morphologically they seem to be much like the Tuareg except that they are small in linear dimensions of the body, though not in those of the head. Their ABO blood-group patterns are puzzling in that they are highly variable and yet on the whole closer to those of the Negroes of the western Sudan than is the case with any other Saharan group except the Haratin, and perhaps the sedentary Fezzanese. Here we seem to be faced with the reverse of the serological problem presented by the Tedâ; for the Moors appear to have negroid blood in morphologically Berber bodies, although this condition is less marked in the Izarguén than among the Erguibat.

Cultural Considerations

The meagreness of our information concerning the various Berber-speaking peoples of the Sahara makes it necessary for us to try to see what additional evidence may be preserved in their social and material cultures. The Tedâ, the Tuareg and the Moors are all pastoral nomad bandits

and caravan men, and so were the Zenata until they were forced to settle down by the overwhelming pressure of the Arab nomad tribes that came into the Sahara with the first great Moslem invasions.

The Tedâ and the Tuareg have caste systems that include nobles, vassals, serfs, slaves, and a mysterious blacksmith caste that is despised but also feared and so is strictly endogamous.

The Tuareg family is matrilineal in that inheritance of both rank and property passes through the mother. While the Tedâ family seems to be strictly patrilineal and patriarchal, the women sometimes wear swords and arm daggers, and often behave in an independent and even boisterous manner wholly unlike that of Arab women, all of which suggests that they may have had a higher social rank in the past.

The Tedâ and the Tuareg have a number of material-culture traits in common, although some of these have nearly disappeared owing to improved trade communications with the Sudan. Their basic weapons are the same, and so is their clothing when it has not been replaced by Sudanese trade goods. They both use a leather tent stretched over a wooden framework which the Tuareg take with them when they move, while the Tedâ take only the leather covering and leave the frame to be used when they return. The Tedâ also have a round or rectangular stone house, made of natural blocks laid up dry or with mud, sometimes with stone door jambs and lintels, and roofed with hides, palm fronds or grass thatch. Although the Tuareg have no such houses now, the so-called 'tomb of Tin-Hinan,' their mythical ancestress, is a multi-chambered building of exactly the same kind. It is thought to be about 1,500 years old and has, in one of its walls, the first letters of a Tifinagh inscription that was broken off when the stone was broken before being built into the wall, which proves that the Tuareg script was in use in the area before the 'tomb' was built.

The social organization of the Moors has never been adequately described. Their material culture seems to be mainly Arab although most of them still speak Berber, or can.

Recapitulation

The picture that emerges from the evidence we have been considering is hazy and in parts confused, but analysis by the process of eliminating the apparently impossible brings out what seems to be a broad and coherent outline.

It looks as though the Tedâ might perhaps be indeed greatly modified survivors of an ancient proto-Berber invasion of the same Mesolithic African Mediterranean stock that has been identified in north-west Africa and Kenya Colony, and of which Wells⁴ has pointed out possible traces in the southern part of the continent. Support for this hypothesis may be found perhaps in the Tedâ traditions that tell of a time when there were rich pasture lands in the Tibesti, a condition that we know existed during the Neolithic, followed by a period of aridity even more severe than that of today. It is barely possible that this may be a folk memory of the last Pluvial Period.

The Tuareg are almost surely modified African Mediterranean survivors who probably entered the Sahara at an early date but later than the Tedâ, and so show very little evidence of Negro admixture except in their extreme southern extensions, where it appears to be a rather recent phenomenon.

The western Moors seem to be just about what one would expect theoretically in a contact zone where northern Berbers met and mingled with Negroes who had much half-Hamitic and a little ancient Berber blood, but we do not know enough about them to say more. The Fezzanese of the eastern Sahara doubtless occupy a somewhat analogous position, although they are probably much more negroid as a rule.

The Haratin appear to fulfil the requirements for the Negro element in a case of race mixture like that just mentioned. We know that the Neolithic settlements of the south-western Sahara were peopled by Negroes racially comparable to the living tribes of the French Sudan, and there are a few isolated bits of evidence suggesting that they may once have extended northward as far as the Tadmait plateau and north-westward perhaps even into Morocco. Across the centuries this population has been reinforced by the steady flow of the slave trade that brought Negroes northward, often from far south of the Sudan, and it also shows traces occasionally of what looks like a slight degree of Berber admixture, as appears in Draper's photographs.⁵

Conclusions

There is only one broad outline into which all the preceding considerations can be made to fit harmoniously, and so I will put it down on paper even though it is still very incomplete and vague, and should be accepted only as a working hypothesis until such time as a clearer and more detailed picture can be drawn.

We know that at about the end of the Pleistocene a rugged variety of the main Mediterranean racial stock swept southward and westward from the Near East into Africa, where it acquired a number of minor distinctive physical traits that produced the type which I have called African Mediterranean, and this seems to have become a major ancestral strain of the modern Berber-speaking peoples. We know that these invaders reached the coast north of the Atlas Mountains in early mesolithic times, and that they also spread southward into Kenya Colony and probably well beyond. It seems therefore not unreasonable to suppose that they moved out of Egypt in a fan-shaped wave, the central part of which overran what is now Tedâ territory.

In early neolithic times, a major Negro or heavily negroid migrational flow, of unknown origin, appears to have spread from somewhere near the headwaters of the Nile westward through the Sudan to the Atlantic Ocean, cutting across the southern and south-western extensions of earlier African Mediterranean peoples. Culture contact seems then to have carried neolithic techno-typology north-westward across the Fezzan into Tunisia and eastern Algeria, and directly northward across the western Sahara into Algeria and Morocco. Neolithic culture was diffused across the

Fezzan apparently by trade; with little or no accompanying race mixture, but the western Sahara was overrun by Negro neolithic culture-bearers, who almost certainly reached the Atlantic Coast in considerable numbers while a few may even have got as far north as the high plateaus of the eastern Atlas.

At about this time, if not before, the north-western Berbers were probably already sending raiding and trading expeditions southward across the central Sahara, and establishing ethnic outliers of which the Tuareg may well be emancipated survivors. From time to time other Berber groups moved southward, along the eastern route into the Fezzan and more recently through the western oases into Southern Morocco, Rio de Oro and the Sudanese Negro country of the Senegal.

And finally the northward movement of Sudanese Negroes that began at the dawn of the Neolithic was continued, first by population pressure and later by the slave trade, and still continues, though only in a tiny trickle, aided by the commercial trucking lines that cross the Sahara from Algeria to the Niger.

This is the only logical picture suggested by such information as we have now at our disposal. It will doubtless be modified, perhaps extensively, as new and more detailed evidence is made available, especially in the fields of serology and the archaeology of undisturbed habitation sites; but I doubt very much if the main broad outline that we have sketched in will ever be radically changed.

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Notes

¹ On prehistoric human remains in north-west Africa in general, see Briggs (1955a).

² Kossovitch (1934, p. 760), for reasons that escape us today, described the Haratin as 'a nomadic or semi-nomadic people, made up of Arabized Berbers with some negroid elements.' Unfortunately he has been followed in this by Boyd (1939, p. 158) and Mourant (1954, p. 77).

³ A typographical error in Boyd, 1939, p. 158, produced the spelling blunder *Beni Qunif* which was revived recently by Mourant (1954, pp. 87, 430).

⁴ In a paper read before the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory at Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 25 July 1955, in press.

⁵ I have left the Arab and Jewish peoples of the Sahara out of consideration because they did not enter the area until historical times.

SHORTER NOTES

A Gaddi House in Goshen Village, Chamba State, North India. By William H. Newell, Victoria University of Manchester. With three text figures

20 The photograph and diagram (figs. 1 and 2) of a Gaddi house were taken during a field trip to Chamba State in the autumn of 1953. At that time I was living in Goshen village (about



FIG. 1. A HALF-COMPLETED GADDI HOUSE IN GOSHEN VILLAGE

The bottom storey is always used for sheep and cattle during the long winter season. Where tiles are unobtainable for the roof, wood is used (e.g. at Grer village). Photographs: W. H. Newell, 1953

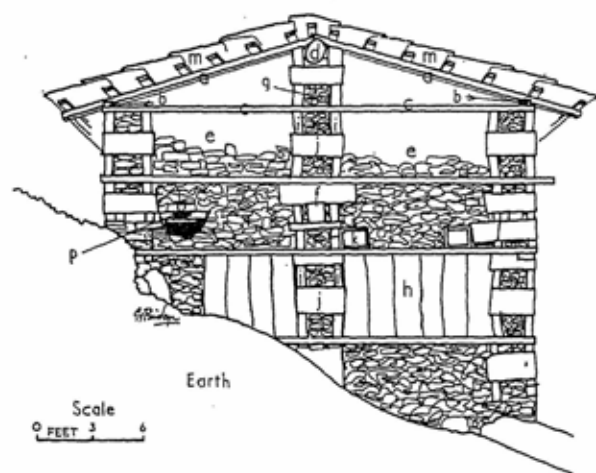


FIG. 2. DIAGRAM OF HOUSE SHOWN IN FIG. 1

(a) Nādan (roof crossbeam); (b) kanarn (long roof beams); (c) cherwell (short floor joists); (d) barnda (main beam); (e) kand (side wall); (f) taura (the whole pillar, including stones); (g) narha (the stone filling for the pillar); (h) farq (wall of wood), kand (wall of mud); (i) punji (small horizontal cross wood of pillar); (j) katthar (small horizontal cross wood in opposite direction); (k) nas (supporting beam for the bottom floor); tumal, tum (crossbeam for foundation lengthwise, not shown); kuni (crossbeam for foundation breadthwise, not shown); dhar (door, not shown); kurs (stone foundations, not shown); (m) khora (slates for roof; this is a different word from that used for the slates in the quarry before being placed in position); (p) chella (duct through the wall for pouring out of rubbish; three of the four stones project out to form a spout); senar (staircase); bindi (wall round the courtyard); dunga, barra (protecting wall for the earth behind the house)

half a mile from Brahmaur) in the house behind this smaller one under construction, and had the opportunity of watching the whole building process from beginning to end. I have described certain aspects of Gaddi social organization in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (Vol. LXXXV, 1955). The whole of the house-building is under the control of a specialist, a carpenter, but here there is no caste of carpenters as in other parts of India, and they may belong to any caste. The carpenter who organized the construction of this house came from a neighbouring village, Goa, and was a classificatory mother's brother of the owner. The carpenter's father was an ordinary farmer with little money. He sent his son to be apprenticed to a carpenter of another caste in Chamba where he stayed five years to learn his trade before returning to his hill village. This family is now wealthy by Gaddi standards. A carpenter, while being employed, receives at least 60 rupees a month plus food.

The building of a house is a highly skilled occupation on account of the bitter weather in the Brahmaur valley. During the winter there may be as much as ten feet of snow on the roofs (see fig. 3) and gales may reach 80 miles per hour. Although the pieces



FIG. 3. WINTER SCENE IN GOSHEN VILLAGE

In the distance can be seen the path to the highest Gaddi villages at Kugti, impassable in winter. Goshen is 7008 feet above M.S.L.

of wood which contain the stone walls appear to be uneven in size and very roughly made, the total vertical height is built along a plumb line and each floor is exactly parallel to the one below it. The care with which the whole house is designed can be deduced from the large number of technical terms used in construction. Beams which are used for different purposes in the house have different names. The foundations (which are of wood) are exactly fixed in the ground and can support larger houses of three stories, such as are found elsewhere in the village.

The prospective owner of a new house must gain the support of his family in the project. Usually this is undertaken because the old house is falling down, because there are a number of brothers in the house and, when all become married, there is insufficient

room for them to have a floor each, or because a man has his eye on marrying some particular girl and the best way of convincing her parents that the marriage would be a success is to produce visible evidence of a good property.

After the decision to build a house has been made, the capital has to be raised, which is usually done by trying to get the support of as many groups as possible. The mother's brothers are the first people to whom one goes, but brothers-in-law are also important people to approach for loans. There are no professional money-lenders in the district, largely because land cannot be used as security and houses, the largest form of investment, cannot be moved.

Having raised the capital, the next step is to negotiate with the Forest Department for the right to cut down trees. Although trees are easily obtained for five rupees each, their position is very important, as it may require several extra days' work to pull them to the house from their site if they are very distant.

A carpenter is employed who has a good reputation or who is a relative. The prospective owner must also acquire a sufficient labour force to cut down the trees in the forest, drag the trees to the house, dig the house foundations, drag up stones from the fields for the walls and cut and carry the slates for the roof. The raising of this labour force is done by means of an institution known as a *kuer*. At a day set aside for the labour, every family in the village is informed. Each family sharing a common fireplace (*chula*) must provide a male member; whether the family is small or large one member must be provided. In the evening all those who have worked together are provided with a free meal and free beer. If the labour is not sufficient (and many Gaddi villages consist of less than 20 families), relatives of the house-builder are invited from other villages, but this is on a personal basis in contrast to village labour, which is compulsory. For village members not to provide a member would be in the nature of an insult to

the host. In the family with which I resided in Goshen there were only two unmarried brothers in the home. This meant that for one day a week and often two or three, one of the brothers had to abandon his work as a tailor at which he was making good money or in the fields to take part in a *kuer* without reward. The *kuer* was used on every possible occasion, both private and public, secular and religious. There were *kuer* of men, of women and of children for different purposes.

During the building of the house, there were three ceremonies undertaken by Brahmins, at the laying of the foundations (when the Brahmin is also consulted as to the position of the house), at the laying down of the main crossbeam (fig. 2, *d*), and at the house-warming. The house acquires a 'personality' at the second of these ceremonies when a portion of the goat sacrificed is tied to the main beam.

The Gaddi house is always in the thoughts of these agriculturists and herdsmen wherever they may be. As the most valuable single piece of property which they possess and as the most difficult technical task which they accomplish, a good house is the end-all of every Gaddi's ambition.

A New Museum in Suva, Fiji. Communicated by Dr. H. S. Evans

21 In 1954, a new museum was built at Suva from Government funds. It houses ethnographical specimens collected by various people, including government officials, which have been acquired since about 1880 by the Fijian Government.

The Fijian collections are the most important, and cover model canoes, wooden objects of all kinds, basketry, bark cloth, personal ornaments and clothing, musical instruments, fishing equipment, a good collection of pottery and a small collection of stone tools of Melanesian-Polynesian types from different parts of the group.

There are also small collections from the Solomons, New Hebrides, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

22 **Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth.** Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr. Chicago U.P. (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. xxxviii, 1193. Price £4 14s.

In June, 1955, an international symposium was held at Princeton under the aegis of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research to discuss the past, present and probable future effects of man's activities in changing his physical and biological environment to make it more suitable for satisfying his needs and desires. A large number of experts from many countries attended, and the papers presented by 53 of them are published in this volume.

The first group of papers deals with man's early period. Palaeolithic man made practically no changes, merely killing a relatively small number of animals that would have died in any case, and although he invented fire, doing no permanent harm with it. Change began with the neolithic peoples who first cultivated the soil and sowed crops: Dr. K. J. Narr of Göttingen points out that as they practised shifting cultivation they did more clearing than is generally supposed, cutting down and burning the trees and then sowing grain in the burnt-over area. The Bronze Age peoples do not seem to have greatly increased the area of cultivation but to have consolidated it by closer settlement.

In the drier regions of the Near East the invention of irrigation not later than the fourth millennium B.C. played a great part in determining the type of social structure. Dr. Wittfogel in his very interesting communication points out that for large level areas great numbers of men were needed for construction, and considerable uniformity of management of the area watered would be necessary: laws had to be made and obeyed. All this necessitated a strong central government ruling a large area, well armed to protect

itself and its territory and to make such enlargements as might be deemed expedient. But in hill country the valley schemes were much smaller, requiring fewer men for construction and maintenance, and they led to the development of separate independent communities. The large societies, however, tended to stagnate, and failure to maintain their irrigation systems properly led to disaster. Babylon, Tyre and Sidon are no more. The multicentred societies, on the other hand, developed.

Meanwhile the societies living on natural rainfall continued to grow: the easily managed loess soils were all taken up, necessitating expansion into the forest where apart from the labour of clearance the soils when won were often difficult to cultivate. Professor H. C. Darby in a striking chapter describes the clearance in Europe quoting Plato's *Critias* to show how early it led to erosion, pointing out also how soon the goat played an important part. He has an interesting section on placenames in England in relation to forest settlement. Estyn Evans deals ably with peasant life in Western Europe and Gottfried Pfeiffer with Central Europe.

During the 5000 years or so between early neolithic times and the Industrial Revolution, the changes of the Earth's surface had been of the same general character in the different regions and their magnitude depended mainly on the size of the population. The mineral resources were relatively little exploited. But the Industrial Revolution ushered in a great change which has rapidly gathered momentum and is now proceeding at a terrific rate. It differs fundamentally from the earlier change in that its rate and character depend not on the size but on the wealth of the population. The United States with 10 per cent. of the population of the free world was in 1950 responsible for more than 50 per cent. of the world's consumption of some of the chief raw materials, and as its economic system tends to create

more wealth than that of possible near competitors this disparity is likely to continue. Dr. Ordway, who deals with these problems, thinks that substitutes may postpone the shortage for some 60 years, so far as the richer nations are concerned, but it is inevitable if the United States achieves its aims of continuously raising the standard of life for a continually increasing number of people, giving them also more and more leisure to desire still more amenities.

This theme is developed by several other writers, and there is obvious anxiety because the idea of conservation of natural resources appeals so little to present-day electorates and politicians.

Population increase is discussed by Warren Thompson. He recognizes that it will be greater in the under-developed than in the developed lands, but not much greater because it depends on the rate at which the means of subsistence can be increased. No attempt is made to forecast possible limits to the world's population: it will necessarily be affected by the rate at which cultivable land is taken up for industry, housing, roads and other non-agricultural purposes. The significance of the increase of population depends on the rate at which the consumption of raw materials increases.

As would be expected in an American symposium much attention was given to soil conservation; the agricultural problems were frankly discussed by Dr. Albrecht, who emphasized the fact that human action has frequently caused deterioration of the soil and hastened its natural movement to the sea. To an English reader Dr. Albrecht seems a little pessimistic: soils in this country that have been under cultivation for generations are now more highly productive than ever.

The third and shortest section of the book deals with future prospects so far as they can be gauged at present. Three speakers undertook the difficult task of summarizing the numerous papers. It was pointed out that in the past man adapted himself to his environment, but now the position is reversed and the environment is being changed to suit man's requirements. If these were known the probable changes in the near future could be forecast. Unfortunately people in general do not know what they want and have no long-distance plans for the future, only vague aspirations about which they can easily be swayed. With all the marvellous advances of science man's limitations remain unchanged: his perceptions and abilities do not increase, and though he may claim to have conquered space he has been utterly unable to do anything about time.

It is impossible in a short review to do justice to this remarkable book: it is rich in valuable information and stimulating ideas, and is of equal importance to anthropologists, sociologists, economists and agriculturists. Unfortunately its price will keep it off the students' bookshelves, but it would be a valuable addition to the library of a College or a learned Society.

E. JOHN RUSSELL

Americans and Chinese. By Francis L. K. Hsu. London (Cresset Press), 1955. Pp. xix, 457. Price £1 10s.

23

This book is an anthropologist's comparison between the way of life of his country of adoption and that of his country of birth. It is based partly on questionnaires, private documents and published materials, but to a greater extent on the author's personal experiences in both countries.

For Hsu, 'The Chinese and American ways of life may be reduced to two sets of contrasts' (p. 10). The American way emphasizes 'the predilections of the individual' and 'the prominence of emotions'; the Chinese emphasizes 'the individual's appropriate place and behavior among his fellowmen,' and tends 'to underplay all matters of the heart.' With these two contrasts as his theme, the author describes Chinese and American cultural forms and social institutions, explores the problems and weaknesses of each society, and draws moral conclusions which he believes should guide both countries in the future.

Hsu's picture of the American is of an individual trained in ideals of extreme self-reliance and equality but, as a result of these very ideals, insecure in all his relationships. He is insatiably competitive yet fearfully conformist. In his insecurity, he strives to identify himself with exclusive ethnic groups, cliques or nation, and with heroes who are at once his equals and the fulfilment of his own frustrated ambitions. Above all, he seeks security in the limitless amassing of material wealth. He is committed to religious doctrines of one all-

perfect God and of universal brotherhood, but is prone to sectarianism and the persecution of outgroups whose beliefs differ from his own. His society's major weaknesses are racial aggression, aggressive alcoholism, and high rates of divorce, drug-addiction, suicide, insanity, juvenile delinquency and sexual crime; its major strengths, scientific research, industrial development, a striving for social reform, and individual opportunities for self-expression in art or in life.

The Chinese picture is of an individual secure in his primary-group relationships of extended family and small community. Trained to mutual dependence with his fellowmen, he is comparatively disinterested in heroes or governmental figures except in so far as these embody his loftiest moral ideals or can be manipulated to serve the ends of his immediate group. He lacks strong emotions but is loyal in personal relationships which are mutually compatible and enduring. He shamelessly acknowledges class inequalities yet is disinterested in social exclusiveness or climbing, and he desires wealth only as a source of personal pleasure or of respect within his primary groups. He is uncompetitive, tolerant of outgroups and apathetic towards social reform. His backward-looking religion is polytheistic, inclusive and non-proselytizing. Chinese society's strengths are (or were) stability, tolerance of minorities, comparative non-violence, and comparatively low rates of divorce, aggressive alcoholism, sex crime, suicide, insanity and juvenile delinquency; its weaknesses, bondage to tradition, acquiescence in social evils (gross inequality, infanticide, opium addiction, poverty and corruption), lack of development of science, industry and individualistic art forms (especially music), and apathy towards the expression of individual talent.

For Hsu, the chief hope of averting the internal and international catastrophe towards which he feels America is heading, lies in the establishment of secure personal relationships through resuscitation of a social life centred about enduring primary groups. China, the author thinks, is faced with no such imminent catastrophe. For Communism is essentially Western in origin and thus not dissimilar to the fate towards which American society, because of its deeper dispositions, is now moving. It is alien to the fundamental life ways of the Chinese and must either impose itself upon them by force (a process which would require generations of unflagging effort), or else must come to terms with 'the Chinese reality' and, in that process, lose most of its present characteristics. The task of the Chinese, in face of totalitarianism, is to hold on to the pattern of mutual dependence in primary groups which is still the essence of their cultural heritage.

The book is offered to the public, first, as 'the report of a marginal man's life experiences and his reflections upon it' (p. xi). A review of it in this capacity is outside the scope of an anthropological journal; personally, I found it entertaining with respect to the descriptive material it assembles, and irritating with respect to the moral conclusions it draws.

Secondly, the book is offered as an 'analysis of both the American and the Chinese way of life' by a 'man of science.' In this capacity I think it must be judged unsound and its major conclusions rejected. It is not a scientific analysis but, like much National Character literature of its kind, a structure of guesswork, dogmatic generalization and more or less suasive arguments based chiefly on arbitrarily selected personal impressions. It is not a sociological analysis, for the author makes no systematic attempt to relate to each other the political, economic, familial and religious institutions of either country. It can scarcely be regarded as a psychological analysis. For the deeper psychological trends which the author postulates for the two populations are for the most part derived not from personal documents (psychological tests, individual life histories, sample interviews and the like) but by inference from social institutions and customary behaviour, methods which have often been used before in National Character literature but which are nonetheless open to much doubt. It is true that an attempt is made to build up functionally coherent pictures of a hypothetical 'American personality' and 'Chinese personality' out of these deductions. But, aside from the question of their validity, the words and phrases in which the concepts are couched ('insecurity,' 'matters of the heart,' 'individualism,' 'spirituality' and the like) are so imprecise that the description remains

evocative rather than analytic. As an attempt to relate typical psychological characteristics to facets of the social system and of customary behaviour, the argument is circular; for with few exceptions the psychological syndromes are derived from social institutions and customary behaviour, but are then used to explain the institutions from which they are derived. The book is also valueless as a study of social or psychological change. Divergent and sometimes contradictory trends which may have been dominant in American social life at different historical periods are collapsed into a single composite picture and 'explained' in terms of the same broad formulae. By contrast, the ideal-typical picture of traditional Chinese society and personality presented in the body of the account is manifestly at variance with the revolutionary events which the author later sketches in a brief review of Chinese history since the Sino-Japanese war, the beginning of which, he himself says, marked the 'absolute finish of the ancient Chinese society as a living whole' (p. 385).

This does not mean that there is no core of truth in Hsu's contrast between Chinese and American cultural and personality trends. It does contain many tantalizingly intuitive and even brilliant hunches, particularly in the sections on art, child-training, sex and marriage. The contrasts are best, however, at the descriptive level. But instead of being broken down into increasingly precise psychological and social-structural concepts, they become less and less plausible as the author tries to reduce them to the formulae of his two basic themes.

Finally, on the basis of his observations as an anthropologist, the author states that he has written this book in the hope that it may make 'a modest contribution to the future' of his adoptive country, and thus 'in the interest of self-preservation' (p. xii). Specifically, he offers his conclusions in the form of advice to his fellow citizens of America, namely 'to reduce self-reliance and restore to the primary groups a major functioning role in society' (p. 406). In view of the contrasts drawn earlier in the book, if this injunction has any meaning, it seems to mean that Hsu would like to see established in America extended family groups and stable communities of a type which existed in pre-mechanized China, functioning within a fixed class structure and geared to a relatively stationary subsistence economy. With such a revolution would presumably also be correlated 'weaknesses' of the type he mentions as integral to traditional Chinese society: for example, absence of scientific research, slavery, and prisons which 'are a match for history's famous Black Hole of Calcutta' (p. 358). Each American reader must decide for himself whether such changes would be feasible or desirable. Personally, I would in this instance take the standpoint of the author's relativistic Chinese rather than his proselytizing American, and decline support of the cause.

KATHLEEN GOUGH

Taboo. By Franz Steiner. London (Cohen & West), 1956. Pp. 154. Price 18s.

24 Not long before his death in 1952 Dr. Steiner delivered at Oxford a series of lectures on taboo, and from his notes and from those made by some who attended the lectures Dr. Laura Bohannon has compiled this book. It is a difficult book to review succinctly, for it consists chiefly of long quotations from well-known writers, followed by the author's comments and criticisms.

He starts with the facts of taboo in Polynesia as described by Captain Cook and his successors, and the results of their impact on European thought. He goes on to discuss at length the views of Robertson Smith, and, while recognizing the value of his contributions to thought on the subject of taboo, says that he has no justification for attributing some of the Mosaic prohibitions to primitive superstition, because they all form part of a code directly associated with monotheistic belief.

Frazer, in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says that 'taboo is a name given to a system of religious prohibitions which attained its fullest development in Polynesia,' but there is no further mention of system or development in his article, in which are foreshadowed 'the *non sequiturs* which abound in the Golden Bough' (pp. 87, 91).

Of Maerett the author says that his assumption that taboo-breaking may release either good or bad powers is a flight of the imagination, and that his notion that a dangerous but not tabooed object can

become respectable through being tabooed is quite preposterous (p. 109).

Dr. Steiner criticizes Radcliffe-Brown's terminology, especially his use of the term 'ritual value,' which starts as an equivalent of taboo, and is gradually extended to cover everything which is 'exhibited in ritual' (p. 12).

Freud says that 'taboo is principally expressed in prohibitions and restrictions,' and Dr. Steiner asks what it does when it is not so expressed (p. 130).

His last quotations are from Dr. Mead, who says that among true taboo prohibitions, those whose breach is followed by automatic punishment are taboos associated with the inherent sanctity of the gods, and Dr. Steiner asks what is the nature of the association (p. 145).

His own theory is that 'taboo is an element of all those situations in which attitudes to values are expressed in terms of danger behaviour,' but just as he is beginning to develop this the book abruptly comes to an end. We may be sure that this is not the fault of Dr. Bohannon, and anyhow the book is of sufficient interest to engage the attention of all students of this difficult subject. RAGLAN

Galen: On Anatomical Procedures. Translated with introduction and notes by Charles Singer. London (O.U.P. for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum), 1956. Pp. xxvi, 289. Price £1 17s. 6d.

25 Anatomy was probably first studied systematically in Alexandria during the third century B.C. The subject developed as a scientific discipline and as a basis for medicine during the following 400 years, and anatomical knowledge reached an early peak in Ancient Greece during the second century A.D. Galen (A.D. 129-c. 200) was the last Greek anatomist whose writings have survived, and after his death the subject lay fallow until the Renaissance. Galen's writings are therefore of importance in showing the extent to which anatomical and physiological concepts had developed in Ancient Greece.

The present volume—an account of lectures that Galen delivered to his pupils—is the second of Galen's works that Professor Singer has made readily available to modern students. The first—a translation of Galen's short account of the human skeleton (*De ossibus ad tirones*)—was published during 1952 in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*. The present text has been translated from an edition printed in 1821. This is directly related to the manuscripts that were available during the early sixteenth century. The original had, however, been prepared 1300 years earlier and it is not known how many alterations were made during this period. A certain amount of editing has been necessary to make the text intelligible. For instance, the Ancient Greeks had no technical vocabulary and Professor Singer has, whenever possible, inserted modern nomenclature.

On Anatomical Procedures contains both dissecting instructions and some discussion of physiological matters. It is possible that Galen was familiar with human anatomy, but most of his dissections were, as he freely admits, of the rhesus monkey (*Macaca mulatta*) and of the Barbary ape (*Macaca inuus*). Even when allowance is made for those parts of the original that were not available in the manuscripts of the early sixteenth century, Galen's work is according to modern concepts unbalanced—the section on myology, for instance, being disproportionately big. Nevertheless, many of the anatomical descriptions are lucid and are in themselves of considerable historical interest.

Of possibly even greater general interest are those sections in which Galen discussed the principles and uses of anatomy. Although he often emphasized that anatomical teaching should concentrate on those features that are relevant to medical practice, it is clear that he also appreciated the value of anatomy as a scientific discipline. Galen elaborated some principles of comparative anatomy (e.g. that of anatomical correlation), which are similar to modern views. There is, however, no evidence that he had any inkling of the concept of evolution.

Galen's physiology appears in many cases to have been deduced directly from morphological arrangements, and some of his ideas (e.g. about the functions of the respiratory and cardiovascular systems) do not foreshadow modern views. Galen did, however, also

use the experimental approach, and although controls were seldom applied, some of his techniques are still used.

The present book makes it clear that a few of the basic ideas of modern anatomy were known to the Ancient Greeks, and all who are interested in the history of this field will be indebted to Professor Singer for preparing this translation. The full extent to which anatomical knowledge had developed during this era may not, however, be fully appreciated until more of Galen's writings are readily available, and the translations of other parts which are now in preparation will be eagerly welcomed.

E. H. ASHTON

Growth at Adolescence. By J. M. Tanner. Oxford (Blackwell Scientific Publ.), 1955. Pp. xii, 212. Price £1 12s. 6d.

26 Dr. Tanner's book *Growth at Adolescence* makes surprisingly easy reading despite the first impression of a forbidding list of references and tables in the text. This is entirely due to the author's easy fluent style. Even so I think that many of the references could have been introduced in footnotes alone.

At the outset the author emphasizes the need for longitudinal studies, as much of the information given in the more usual cross-sectional treatment is lost, and the variability of growth can only be obtained from such studies. Perhaps the author goes too far in denying the usefulness of cross-sectional records and, indeed, in some of the later chapters he makes quite extensive use of cross-sectional data. It is very doubtful indeed if many of the findings of longitudinal studies would ever have been envisaged without prior reference to the mean results obtained from cross-sectional studies. The author very usefully points out that cross-sectional data are often vitiated by combining measurements of individuals at different stages of development. This is particularly true over the adolescent period where the stage of maturation in very many characteristics differs quite widely at the same chronological age, and therefore to use chronological age as a criterion is very much inferior to using developmental concepts.

Chapter II gives a most useful scheme for assessing sexual maturation with approximate time limits for the different stages in the process.

The section interpreting sex differences in terms of truly sexual differences present from birth, the differences consequent upon the prolongation of the juvenile growing period in boys and the specific differences which arise at puberty is a very illuminating one.

Because differences at adolescence can only be understood by referring to earlier development, the book naturally covers this stage and in Chapter IV sets out different attempts to arrive at developmental ages in terms of skeletal maturation, teeth-eruption age, physique age, as well as the secondary sex characters. Of these, the physique or morphological age is the only one that is treated somewhat less than adequately. It is surely insufficient to dismiss this by referring to weight and height ages which, the author points out, confuse size and maturation, without covering some of the attempts to treat this subject in terms of the relations between measurements and their change with age. Measurements of the consistency of different elements of maturation are given suggesting that the process is partly a general one but with individually geared aspects.

It is possible that the apparent relation between somatotype and maturation as given in fig. 25 is due largely to a method of treatment of the data. It is well known that bigger children mature earlier, or conversely that those who mature earlier are bigger, but when bodily proportions are expressed as weight for height this itself is biased so that the bigger children will appear more mesomorphic, and some at least of the difference is attributable to the method of treatment. There is also the conflicting evidence of the higher social-economic groups having more linear build and also having earlier maturation. One feels that somatotypes are elsewhere brought into the picture without really clarifying it, though the author is never dogmatic about them and is aware that it is all too easy to confuse cause and effect where types are concerned. It is rather surprising that this chapter, which extensively quotes the cross-sectional results from different authors in the field of child development, makes no reference to any work of Hammond among the copious references.

The section on the physiological changes accompanying adolescence is a most useful part in which function and structure are nicely

interrelated. Similarly the endocrinology of the process is a useful summary, if necessarily a little indigestible because it is so compressed.

The main usefulness of the present book is for the student as a reference work incorporating wide reading and discussion of many investigators' results within a small space. The author breaks little entirely new ground and does not add many very penetrating interpretations of his own, preferring to assemble the results and leave the reader to produce a synoptic view. In fact the author impresses more when he stands back some distance from the immediate factual data as in the last chapters where he treats the implications of the differences in motor effectiveness of late developers very well and most ably counteracts the usual picture of adolescence as a period of complete unbalance and strain whilst offering a very suggestive interpretation of the difficulties of adolescence in terms of the lag between the physical maturity and the acceptance into full social maturity.

An appendix detailing the photographic and measuring techniques which the author has developed for the Harpenden Growth Study offers a model of how such investigations should be conducted.

Altogether this book makes a most welcome addition to the field and one for which the author must be highly commended.

W. H. HAMMOND

The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. By Erving Goffman, U. of Edinburgh, Soc. Res. Centre, Monog. No. 2. Edinburgh, 1956. Pp. 162. Price 10s.

27 Dr. Goffman, whose work is important as a social document as well as a sociological treatise, shows himself to be a European-type universal scholar gone west—a Simmel in Damon Runyon's idiom. He draws on sources as diverse as the mass press, university dissertations in sociology, civil service manuals, memoirs of aristocrats and baseball umpires, the banter of pubs and senior common rooms; from Durkheim and de Beauvoir, from Bettelheim and Kinsey. Goffman seriously cultivates here what Potter facetiously played with. The title might well have been 'Roleman-ship.'

The primary concern of the writer is with patterned principles according to which peoples' lives can be seen as 'dramaturgical' performances. Individuals are seen as actors with parts to play in relation to their team mates in the play of life. In selecting, presenting and analysing various aspects of the staging, co-ordination and meeting of contingencies associated with this performance, Goffman himself is an admirable impresario and critic. In the end he recommends his dramaturgical approach to viewing life processes as a fifth dimension to be added to the four currently in sociological use: the 'technical,' the 'political,' the 'structural' and the 'cultural.'

'This would lead us to describe the techniques of impression management . . . and the identity and inter-relationships of the several performance teams which operate in the establishment.'

Most of the criticisms that could be levelled at this work are of defects that inhere in work of this genre. Its use of a specialized metaphorical framework is stimulating, but necessarily limited in its capacity to depict the flow of life. Goffman's proposed new dimension is intriguing but he doesn't show here how it can be rigorously applied to particular social systems in the same way as the other perspectives have been. The present work has perhaps set the stage for such an effort from the pen of Goffman or someone of his persuasion.

The monograph's catholicity of sources, while fascinating, is inevitably of uneven quality. The materials must be taken as illustrative and suggestive rather than calculated to demonstrate the validity of his points.

Goffman's allusive use of psychological insights in relation to his sociological argument is tantalizing. Allowing it to remain largely implicit, however, rather than explicit and systematically applied constitutes a denial which at best leaves some important potentialities of his approach unexploited.

These objections notwithstanding, Dr. Goffman's book is worth reading and re-reading not only for its contributions to sociological perspectives, but as a personally enriching experience, a sometimes forgotten function of sociology. ROBERT N. RAPOPORT

Die Wertschätzung der Jungfräulichkeit. By Ottokar Němeček. Vienna (Ringbuchhandlung Sex). Pp. 336

28 The author of this book claims that it is a contribution to moral philosophy, but moral philosophers should be warned that his anthropological sources are out of date, and incomplete, and their data misunderstood. The author makes an attempt to discover 'Warum hat die Menschheit die "Erhaltung der physischen Virginität zu einer religiösen Tugend, zu einem sozialen Ideal und

zu einer individuellen Pflicht gemacht"? (his quotation is from Crawley). He is, in short, explaining the development through the ages of virginity in its moral, social and psychological aspects. His basis is a Morgan-Engels type of economic reconstruction with a psycho-analytical façade. Into this precarious structure, he builds a Frazerian catalogue. The book cannot possibly be of interest to anthropologists of any persuasion.

LAURA BOHANNAN

AMERICA

Midwest and its Children: The Psychological Ecology of an American Town. By Roger G. Barker and Herbert F. Wright. Evanston, Ill. (Peterson), 1954. Pp. vii, 532

29 This study focuses on aspects of life in a small American town that have relevance for the psychological development of children. Social elements in the children's milieu are important to the authors only in so far as they directly impinge on the individual. The authors, who are Lewinian-oriented psychologists, have used methods that draw on naturally occurring behaviour from everyday life as much as possible. In this sense their approach is congenial to social anthropologists. However, they have expressly avoided face-to-face collaboration with sociologists, preferring what they dub 'interdisciplinary colonization.' Their work shows both the advantages and disadvantages of this approach. The data are rich, abundant and internally coherent. However, their work is sometimes rendered difficult by the use of neologisms like 'circumjacency' and 'synomorphic,' and sometimes seems defective for its lack of social analysis. The concept of social structure, for example, seems to be used only at the level of the individual's immediate environment—'milieu circumjacent to behaviour' in the authors' terms. Society itself seems to be conceived of as a kind of super-market of behavioural settings from which each individual makes choices. Accordingly, the analysis of the larger patterns seems confined to inventories. For example, a table (p. 3) called 'Family Structure' simply lists the percentages of households containing persons in each of the familial roles. Many such lists and tables give a picture of the variety and complexity of elements that have social relevance even in this tiny town, but one hardly derives from them a sense of structure.

The children studied are observed in a great variety of settings and relationships—children with their parents, with their peers, with teachers, and in comparison with physically handicapped children whose milieu provides contrasting human response patterns. A standard set of categories was used for coding the 'modes of action' characterizing the thousands of 'behaviour episodes' collected. The categories are: Dominance (quiet! quiet!); Nurturance (let me help you); Resistance (no!); Appeal (please); Compliance (I give in); and Avoidance (you repel me). Their findings provide dozens of interesting charts and tables showing various kinds of relationships. For example, they find, unsurprisingly, that a greater amount of dominance comes to children from adults than from their peers and at the same time is more submitted to when it comes from adults; and, surprisingly, that a greater amount of and more stable affection comes to children from their peers than from mothers. These items merely illustrate the kinds of observations with which the book is studded.

In general, the volume is, as intended, a greater contribution to methodology than to the actual store of knowledge about child-rearing practices. One's interest in the datum that Midwest's children are demanding of their parents is enriched by having it derived within a framework that offers fruitful potentials for cross-cultural comparisons, an enterprise that has been hampered by the limitations of language and a largely implicit methodology. One notes here, as with most expeditions into interdisciplinary space that emphasize the viewpoints of one of the disciplines, that defects are easy to find according to the standards of the other discipline. Social anthropologists, however, can profitably study this kind of psychological work, not only for its materials on socialization, but also for the interest it stimulates in the many problem areas of social process that are profitably illuminated by an understanding of the fit between personality and socio-cultural norms.

ROBERT N. RAPOPORT

The Doukhobors of British Columbia. Edited by Harry B. Hawthorn. Vancouver, B.C. (Dent), 1955. Pp. xii, 288. Price \$5.50

30 The research reported in this book was the product of public and Government concern about severe disturbances among the Doukhobors of British Columbia in 1950. Why, the Government wanted to know, did the Sons of Freedom, an extremist group within the sect, burn down schools, blow up bridges, and destroy their own houses? Why did they lodge their protests against the Government by conducting parades in the nude? What should be done about this recalcitrant people?

The book gives an answer—or rather several answers—by anthropologists, economists, agriculturalists, child-study specialists, psychiatrists, a Quaker interested in the Doukhobor religion, and a specialist in municipal government and welfare programmes. The book lacks unity. But it must have been a major organizational feat to have conceived and executed so complex a research so quickly; for this the research director, Professor Hawthorn, should acquire merit. And perhaps it is impossible and even unwise to try to make a large multi-disciplinary research staff into a single-minded body.

To a social anthropologist, the most rewarding chapters are those by Hawthorn and Jamieson, especially Jamieson's chapter entitled 'Economic and Social Life.' The Doukhobors broke away from the Russian Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century. They believed in direct communion with God, economic equality and the simple farming life. They were separated off in isolated communities; there was no special stress on communal economic enterprises, no opportunity for economic individualism. But they prospered economically and inequalities arose. Under the guidance of charismatic leaders, these individual differences were submerged in the common cause. The ideology was elaborated. All private property was held to be bad, for it led to the necessity for Government, and Governments waged wars. Economic enterprises must be communal. Extreme pacifism, opposition to taxes and schooling, vegetarianism, chastity, celibacy for the chosen few, a ban on alcohol and tobacco—all these prohibitions gave the sect distinctive customs that marked off its members from the general population. Their solidarity was enhanced by Government persecution. Eventually, with the aid of Leo Tolstoy, the Quakers, and a promise of religious freedom and army exemption from the Canadian Government, they emigrated to Canada at the end of the nineteenth century.

In Canada the Doukhobors have been threatened not by the persecution of Government, but by the seductiveness of the Canadian economy. The Doukhobor ideology, the dream of economic success combined with communal living, destroys itself. Economic success brings individualism, and individualism breaks down community living. The Sons of Freedom are making a sad, last-ditch stand for their dying community. Their protest is violent, almost psychotic, for they cannot face their own failure realistically. They ask for persecution from the Government, and they get it. Persecution holds them together, but it does not restore their communal enterprises. It does not produce the longed-for Utopia. The Sons of Freedom want to try again in a new land. The authors suggest that they be encouraged to do this if possible. They also suggest that opportunities should be created for all Doukhobors, moderates as well as Sons of Freedom, to buy the plots of land they used to own and which they lost to the Government during the depression. Those who are willing to accept this plan will eventually become much like other Canadian citizens.

Miss Claudia Lewis presents a sympathetic and balanced account of Doukhobor household life and methods of child-raising. Dr.

Shulman's account of Doukhobor personality characteristics is much less rewarding, chiefly because he treats Doukhobor society as if it were an individual. Many interesting suggestions about psychological mechanisms are made, but they are not sufficiently related to the social and economic situation in which the Doukhobors find (and place) themselves. Dr. Herbison's discussion of Doukhobor religion, on the other hand, helps the reader to reach sympathetic insight. One feels what it would be like to be a Doukhobor at a religious meeting, what it would feel like to set off to a house-burning, why an egalitarian people can become fanatically devoted to leaders.

Professor W. G. Nixon sets forth the various issues on which Government and Doukhobors have clashed, and suggests possible changes in the law. At no point, however, does he describe the actual interaction of Doukhobors with Government officials, police, teachers, and non-Doukhobor neighbours. In fact, except for Jamieson's discussion of employer-Doukhobor relationships, one feels throughout the book the absence of a thorough analysis of social relationships. One is told little about the formal and informal social structure of Doukhobor villages, let alone their relationships with outsiders.

The recommendations made to Government are summarized at the end of the book. Most of them seem sensible, but the reader is tantalized. Will the proposals be put into effect? What would happen if they were? Can social scientists make accurate predictions? Can they provide practical services? Could the process of planned social change be studied while it was going on? In the Foreword to the 1952 report of the research committee, which is included in the present book, there are indications that some practical results emerged while the research was in progress. Under the stress of the emergency, in 1951, a consultative committee was formed to initiate action in the areas of greatest urgency.

'Its [the committee's] greatest value has lain, however, in allowing the public, the government agencies concerned and above all the many Doukhobors who have attended its meetings to explore the problems in a cooperative way. Doukhobors from all divisions of the group have made submissions to it, given information and participated in a process of government which was plainly neither coercive or exploitative' (p. 4).

Such an interesting experiment in research combined with planned change, with all parties participating, should surely be discussed and analysed in greater detail. Changes in attitude and development of constructive policies by all parties are more likely to grow out of such experiments than out of lists of recommendations.

But whatever its shortcomings as a sociological analysis, this book does give the reader sympathetic understanding of the Doukhobors and the Government of British Columbia. ELIZABETH BOTT

The Selden Roll: An Ancient Mexican Picture Manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. *Descriptive Commentary* by Cottie A. Burland. *Bibliography* by Gerdt Kutscher. *Monumenta Americana*, Vol. II. Berlin (Verlag Gebr. Mann), 1955. Pp. 51, 1 colour plate and a facsimile (black and white) reproduction of the Codex. With a German translation of the text, 16 pp. Price D.M.35

A number of the important pre- and post-Cortesian manuscripts of Mexico in libraries in England are not available to scholars in facsimile form. The publication of a reproduction of the Selden Roll is a most important step towards providing copies of such documents. I concur readily with Mr. Burland (pp. 8-9) on the need for the publication of copies of such as the codices Bodley, Selden and Laud, which provide us with a means towards reconstructing one of the most interesting periods of Mexican history. Gerdt Kutscher, the editor of the series, is to be congratulated on the high standards set for this publication and the clarity of the facsimile of the Selden Roll. (Some of the page numbers of the text are unfortunately missing.) He has also compiled a useful bibliography of Mexican codices with relevant publications grouped for each manuscript.

Only a portion of the Selden Roll survives to us. It appears to be Aztec in origin. Mr. Burland thinks that it derives from some region in the Mixteca Alta and Puebla borders and assigns the Roll to the first half of the sixteenth century, 'within a generation either way of the Spanish Conquest,' favouring it as pre-Conquest if it is a record of tribal history or post-Conquest if a document of land claims. As later in the text he asserts that it is a tribal migration legend, he must favour the pre-Conquest view.

Mr. Burland interprets the Roll as depicting the wandering of a tribe dedicated to the god Yaotl, how the tribe acquires divine power from the god Quetzalcoatl, the ceremonies held at the founding of the first city and the success with which neighbouring tribes are defeated in battle.

Mr. Burland has, of course, a wide knowledge of Mexican cultures and their folklore and his text and notes will be of great interest to scholars in this field, but I find some of his interpretations somewhat oracular. On p. 42 he writes that the chronology of Caso's *Mapa de Teozacualco* (1949) 'has made possible the dating system used in this book,' but what that system is is not clear from his text. On p. 23 Mr. Burland writes 'In the Codices Bodley and Selden in the Bodleian Library at Oxford this event is clearly marked, and these give the dates as 1038 in Codex Selden and more certainly 1028 in Codex Bodley.' His references are to p. 10 of Codex Bodley and p. 14 of Codex Selden. On p. 10 of Codex Bodley five dates appear and on p. 14 of Codex Selden three dates. If Caso's (*Base para la Sincronologia Mixteca y Cristiana* (1951)) interpretation of these dates is accepted none of them are given as 1038 for Selden or 1028 for Bodley. Caso's references to the years 1048 and 1028 are to p. 7, lines 3 and 2, and p. 8, line 4, for Selden, and to p. 9, line 5, for Bodley. On p. 29, Mr. Burland writes that 'the migration story in the Selden Roll began in the year 980 and the fall of Tula was antecedent to this.' The statement that Tula fell before 980 is likely to be debated by a number of scholars. The question of dates for events in pre-hispanic history in Mexico is problematical and is, I feel, far from simple as the author has asserted elsewhere (MAN, 1956, 72).

Mr. Burland has approached his task in a spirit of caution and rightly remarks that there are many apparent gaps in the Mexican pictorial record which are difficult for us to bridge. The work of bridging this gap is greatly facilitated by the publication of copies with commentaries of manuscripts in this country as has been done here for the Selden Roll. PHILIP DARK

CORRESPONDENCE

Rock Gongs and Rock Slides. Cf. MAN, 1956, 23, 73. With a text figure

32 SR.—When returning to England from Nigeria during May I had a brief ten days' motoring through France intending to find out whether anything comparable to the rock gongs of Nigeria was to be found associated with cave art or with the megalithic complex.

Visiting the cave of Cougnac in the Dordogne for the first time I was very impressed by the infinite variety of 'metallic' notes

which could be produced by tapping the stalactites with a pebble, and also by the presence—not far from the paintings—of horizontal fragments of stalactite with new vertical growths forming on top of them. This naturally suggests the possibility that they were broken in antiquity, perhaps by the men who made the paintings. At Les Eyzies M. Peyrony told me of a chamber off the main painted gallery of Font-de-Gaume, accessible through a hole just large enough to crawl through, where curio-hunters had recently and peasants seeking 'medicine' had from time immemorial hacked

off fragments of stalactite. The whole chamber is now in confusion, but some of the fragments lying on the floor are so covered with subsequent accretions that they too may have been broken in antiquity. With the view gaining ground that much of cave art was associated with initiation rites it is worth seeking for further evidence of rock music, particularly where the stalactite formation had ceased before the paintings were made and would not therefore tend to obscure the significant chatter marks, and even for possible rock slides.

Briefly visiting the megalithic remains at Carnac I found that a number of the horizontal slabs had a bell note when struck and also had suggestive though inconclusive signs of wear. When visiting the huge monolith at Locmariaquer we were told to place our ears at one end of the huge base fragment while a peasant who happened



FIG. 1. ROCK SLIDES IN NIGERIA AND WALES

(Left) The rock slide at Dutsen Murufu near Birnin Kudu, Kano Province, Northern Nigeria. Within 20 feet of the top of the slide there are the cave paintings and the multiple rock gongs. Slabs of granite, often wrapped in grass or leaves, form the most usual sledges, but worn-out enamel bowls are sometimes used. (Right) The rock slide on Garreg Lwyd at Pembrey, South Wales. In the foreground under the grass and bracken there is a deep accumulation of the exfoliated rock sledges on which the children slide

to be farming close by went to the opposite end and struck the rock with a stone. The resulting ringing sound showed that this monolith had a voice!

At about this time I received a letter from you, Sir, enclosing a galley proof of Mrs. Ettlinger's letter (MAN, 1956, 73) which enabled me to visit three of the sites which she mentioned.

By far the most interesting is the small rock gong at the cave-shrine of St. Gildas at Castennec (near St. Nicodème which is a few kilometres south-west of Pontivy). This is similar in size, shape and tone to many of the specimens in Nigeria, but it is at present mounted upside-down on its recently built masonry pedestal. The original percussion surface (now below) is very deeply worn all round and, judging by the fact that the quartz hammerstone bruises far more readily than the gong itself, must represent an exceedingly long period of use.

About a dozen large flakes around the perimeter and a great number of smaller splinters have been struck off and are evidence either of efforts to destroy the gong or of an attempt to extract the maximum amount of noise. In either case these large flakes were probably removed with iron sledge hammers, for otherwise it would have been difficult to find a hard enough hammer stone to inflict such damage. Is it not at least possible that the legend of St. Gildas calling his disciples and parishioners would account for the heavy flake scars and chippings, whereas the deep and slowly worn chatter marks are evidence of an earlier, pagan, use of this remarkable rock gong?

St. Bieuzy's gong seemed to have been very much less used and to have a less spectacular tone. The *pierres sonnantes* at Le Guildo

(where the large 'Hotel des Pierres Sonantes' is evidence that they have long been a tourist attraction) do not appear to be of any great antiquity. They consist of boulders, said to be of amphibolite, eroding out from a dyke exposed by the tidal stream. Saintyves (*Corpus de Folklore préhistorique* . . . , Paris, Nourry, 1936; Vol. III, p. 422), however, mentions a legend that these ringing rocks guard the treasury of Satan, and earlier gongs at the same site may have been submerged in the estuarine mud.

I am also indebted to Mrs. Ettlinger for a reference to Jones's *Holy Wells of Wales* (1954) which led to the discovery that two fine rock gongs existed until the late eighteenth century (when they were destroyed for road metal—a common fate for such conveniently flat slabs of hard rock) at Maenclochog ('ringing rocks') at the foot of the Prescelly Mountains in Pembrokeshire. I later began to search the outcrops at the north-eastern end of the Prescellys, and found many excellent ringing rocks. Very suggestive dish-like depressions, however, were covered with thick moss which had deeply etched the surface and would have obliterated any chatter marks due to percussion. Such ringing rocks may well still be found protected from the weather in caves, where the theory can be put to the test. It is probable that the exceptional sanctity of the Prescelly Mountains (the source incidentally of the 'Blue Stones' of Stonehenge) was due in some measure to the ringing quality of so many of its rocks.

I am indebted to Professor Mary Williams for drawing my attention, during the discussion following my paper on 7 June, to a rock slide on a promontory at Pembrey in South Wales. Every Good Friday the children of Pembrey go there with buns and honey-water (latterly replaced by ginger pop) and hold a feast at the summit after entertaining themselves by sliding on flat rock sledges. This custom is thought to date back to a pre-Christian sacred rite.

There are references in Paul Sebillot's work (*Haute Bretagne* . . . , Paris, 1882, Vol. I, pp. 45f.) to no less than five rock slides in Brittany at that time still regarded as having the power to ensure early marriage for those maidens who communed with the spirit of the rock by sliding down 'à cil nu,' and even making small propitiatory offerings. These customs must be derived from old pagan fertility or initiation rites, for sustained efforts by the clergy to end their practice had still not succeeded when these facts were recorded 70-odd years ago.

I have myself seen a rock slide in the midst of a group of petroglyphs at Ayrshire Farm, near Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, and have been told by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford of rock slides (now apparently used by baboons) in the close vicinity of paintings of giraffe at Jebel Sagadi in the Sudan. I have been informed by Dr. Paul Fejos that a series of parallel grooves down the side of a huge mass of rock in Peru, which were formerly thought to be a glacial phenomenon, are now known to be multiple rock slides ('rodadero').

Dr. Jean Rouch has reported rock gongs ('*pierres chantantes*') and rock slides in use as children's games in French Niger. M. Zahan has told me of rock gongs in the Upper Volta region and Mlle de Ganay mentioned another from further west in French West Africa. Madame Dieterlen believes that some exist at Gouro near Mopti in the French Sudan.

I learn from Dr. K. P. Wachsmann that a rock gong, now used only by children, was discovered during September in Uganda. It is associated with a group of rocks around which an elaborate mythology has been invented and appears to be closely parallel to those at Shira, Kufena and Katsina in Northern Nigeria.

The rock gongs of Africa (excluding the suspended sonorous stones used in the Christian churches of Ethiopia), Western Europe and possibly also some in South America differ greatly from the far more sophisticated stone chimes or lithophones of the Far East such as the well-known set from Indo-China in the Musée de l'Homme. I was incidentally impressed when at the Peabody Museum in Harvard University recently, by the possibility that the stone 'elbows' (which have holes for suspension) and stone 'yokes' of the Puerto Rican Taino Culture (five of the latter when struck each produced a different 'metallic' note) may be musical instruments akin to the L-shaped stone chimes known as '*pien ch'ing*' in Chinese. A similar purpose might also be postulated for the mysterious horseshoe-shaped carved stones of the Maya, which are thought to

be connected with ball games. The exterior surfaces are elaborately carved and highly polished whereas inside they are roughly dressed with a coarse matt surface. Of three specimens two had a very bright and one a dull bell note.

The true rock gongs, or those whose notes can only be selected on naturally formed rocks or partially controlled by lifting and wedging, appear to be connected (wherever it has been possible to draw conclusions) with sacred rites, many of which survive only as children's games. There are sites where they appear to be closely associated with rock slides, which evidently had ritual significance in the past, with querns worn into the solid rock (a very widespread phenomenon in Africa) and with cave paintings.

Rock slides and rock gongs seem likely to occur in most parts of Africa and in many other parts of the world. It may be that an intensive study of their occurrence and association with paintings and petroglyphs may significantly assist in the interpretation of prehistoric cave art.

BERNARD FAGG

Jos Museum, Northern Nigeria

33 SIR,—With regard to sounding rocks or stones such as those described by Mr. Bernard Fagg, it may be of interest to readers of MAN to learn that sounding stones are also found in Further India. In the National Museum in Bangkok one sees a flat piece of rock which, when struck with a hard instrument, gives a ringing bell-like sound. According to the late distinguished Thai historian, H.R.H. Prince Damrong, such pieces of sounding rocks in very olden days were used in lieu of bells.

Furthermore, when studying the material culture of the Malayo-Polynesian-speaking tribe, the Mnong Gar, living in the hilly forest-clad country lying to the north-west of the former health resort of Dalat in South Vietnam, at Ndut Liang Krak, the French ethnographer M. G. Condominas had the good fortune to discover some remarkable sounding stones during the month of July, 1949. There were ten of these stones which, cut out of the rock, were oblong-shaped like blades, having a length of some 65 to 102 centimetres, and a breadth of from 11 to 16 centimetres with a thickness of from 2 to 3.6 centimetres. The heaviest of these blades weighed about 11-12 kilograms. The find was sent to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris where M. Schaeffer studied it. These sounding stones belong to the Bacsonian neolithic culture of an Indonesian population that lived in the former French Indochina several thousand years ago. This collection of sounding stones most probably formed a kind of xylophone, giving a whole scale of various tones when played upon, and thus represents the oldest musical instrument so far found in Further India, and at the same time the direct ancestor of the Javanese gamelan. For further details one should read M. Condominas's very interesting paper 'Le lithophone préhistorique de Ndut Liang Krak,' in *Bull. de l'École Franç. d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. XLV, Part 2 (1950), p. 259.

Sorgenfri per Virum, Denmark

ERIK SEIDENFADEN

34 SIR,—In Athens, on the south-east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, which lies west of the Acropolis, separated therefrom by Limnai (the marshes), there is said to be a rock slide (*Guide Bleu*, 1935 edition, p. 78; W. A. Wigram, *Hellenic Travel*, Faber, 1950). The slope of rock below the Byzantine church of Hagia Marina is said to be polished by the slidings of women who thus sought to remedy their sterility.

I cannot vouch for this myself, since, when I was in Athens three years ago, I did not look for it in the right place. Nor do I know how recently sliding was practised, whether it was *à cul nu*, whether offerings were made, or what the Christian priesthood thought of it. In a way, however, there was official backing for this fertility rite, as St. Marina was one of the great patrons of the Eastern Church, and also a patron of women pregnant or in labour or barren. On the occasion of her martyrdom, St. Marina prayed to God to show mercy on all in trouble, particularly women in labour, who should call on the Name of Jesus and remember her martyrdom. Her Acts were rejected as apocryphal by Pope Gelasius in the fifth century, but her cult continued and in the eleventh century was popularized

in the West by the Crusaders (see A. B. C. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women*, London (Bell), 1905, Vol. II, s.v. St. Margaret I; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX (1910), s.v. St. Margaret V.M.). Wigram, in telling her story, confuses her with St. Margaret (Brother Pelagius).

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

For a New Definition of Marriage. Cf. MAN, 1955, 198, 199; 1956, 46, 92

35 SIR,—I am most grateful to Dr. H. Th. Fischer for his criticism of my proposed new definition of marriage, as I find it most thought-provoking and stimulating. It also gives me a further opportunity to elaborate my point.

I do not know, of course, to what cultures Dr. Fischer is referring when he asserts that the poor fieldworker will be 'studying a tribe that does not know the English word "marriage"' nor the words 'husband' and 'wife' either. Further on he says that 'the partners refer to each other as *a* and *b* or *x* and *y*' and contends that the fieldworker, not knowing 'how to translate these terms into English' will not know if 'the women *b* and *y* [are] wives or perhaps mistresses or concubines.'

The Todas, Malayalis and Tibetans with whom I am more specially familiar may not know the equivalent English translation for the terms they use, but I can definitely assure Dr. Fischer that in their own languages they do make a very clear distinction between what he calls 'two forms of socially recognized mating' and that I had no difficulty at all in settling the point whether the partners concerned were each other's husband and wife, or lover and mistress.

The following is a list of the terms in use with these people to distinguish between marriage, husband and wife on the one hand, and concubinage, lover and mistress on the other:

Marriage:

Toda: *Mokh-vatt*

Malayalam: Nayar: *Pudamuri* (Sanskrit: *Sambandham*)

Tiyya, south Malabar: *Kalyanam*

Tiyya, north Malabar: *Mangalam*

Nambudri Brahmin: *Veli*

Tibetan: *Ch'hang-sa*, honorific *Th'hrung-sa* (*aK'hrung-sa*)

Husband:

Toda: *Ol*

Malayalam: *Kettiyan* (Skt.: *Bhartavya*)

Tibetan: *K'hyo-ga*, hon. *Kun-da* (*sKu-zla*)

Wife:

Toda: *Kotvai* or *Tazmokh*

Malayalam: *Kettiyan* or *pennu* (Skt. *Bharya*)

Tibetan: *Kye-men* (*sKyes-tman*) or *nama* (*mNa-ma*), bride, hon. *Kun-da* (*sKu-zla*)

Concubinage:

Toda: *Mokhthoditi*

Malayalam: *Chuttam*

Tibetan: *Gap-t'hiin che-pa* (*Gap-mT'hiin byed-pa*)

Lover:

Toda: *Mokhthodvaiol*

Malayalam: Not known

Tibetan: *Ch'he-po* (*aCh'hel-po*)

Mistress:

Toda: *Sedvattazmokh*

Malayalam: *Vepatti*

Tibetan: *Ch'he-mo* (*aCh'hel-mo*)

Thus, with the solitary exception of 'lover' in Malayalam, all these cultures at least do have a word to describe the different forms of socially recognized mating to be found among them.

This is why I personally consider my proposed new definition of marriage most helpful. As far as I am concerned, its formulation is actually the result of my own personal experience in the field.

Kalimpong, West Bengal

PETER, Prince of Greece and Denmark

(a)



(b)



(c)



(a) *An old man with Boskopoid features. The beadwork is of ostrich-egg shell.*

(b) *A young Bush mother with asymmetrical breasts. Note the Mongoloid eye of the girl on the left.*

(c) *A young unmarried Bush girl with striking pubertal nipples.*

(d) *An old Boskopoid woman with scaly hairdress.*

(e) *An adult male Bushman with tattoo marks denoting success in hunting on his chest. Note the characteristic lobeless overrolled ears.*

(d)



(e)





(a)



(b)



(c)

(a) A nulliparous girl and two young mothers. The Bush facial features and ears are manifest. Both mothers have asymmetrical breasts.

(b) Bushman group: note the shrivelled skin of the old woman, and the fresh tattoo marks indicating that the young girl has just gone through her puberty rites.

(c) A group of Bushmen squatting before a hut.

(d) A group of Bushmen dancing in the typical flexed position.

(e) Two Bushmen: the man on the left shows a remarkable cluster of pædomorphic features; the man on the right is robuster and darker than most Ghanzi Bushmen.



(d)



(e)

BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI*

by

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University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

36 The Bushmen of Southern Africa have a dual importance in anthropology today. Firstly, their hunting and food-gathering economy gives a direct insight into the pattern of life of their palaeolithic forbears. Secondly, they provide the anthropologist with a unique opportunity to trace a distinctive living race back through its formative physical stages to its fossil ancestry.

How effectively these two objectives can be achieved will depend on (i) the assurance with which Bushmen may be recognized, (ii) the numbers of Bushmen, and (iii) the degree to which the survivors have clung to the old way of life. We shall briefly discuss each of these factors in turn.

Schapera¹ has shown that, although there is no one feature, whether physical, cultural or linguistic, by which we can nowadays characterize all those commonly called Bushmen, *language* is perhaps the most reliable single yardstick. If to this we add another criterion, the common recognition of individuals and tribes as Bushmen or Sarwa, we have a twofold rule of thumb which, as Joyce² found in practice, will suffice to determine most Bushmen or Sarwa.³

New data have been assembled on the numbers of surviving Bushmen thus defined. When, in 1951, the French Panhard-Capricorn Expedition, under the leadership of M. François Balsan, gave me the opportunity to visit the Kalahari Desert, I began to collect information on the spot and from District Commissioners. Since then, figures have been obtained from Bechuanaland Protectorate, South-West Africa, Angola, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa.

The results are surprising: there are over 55,000 Bushmen alive today! Some 31,000 of these are in Bechuanaland, just over 20,000 in South-West Africa, an estimated 4,000 in Angola, with smaller numbers in the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa³ (fig. 1).

This figure contrasts markedly with most earlier estimates. Schapera in 1930¹ placed the total number of Bushmen 'at a conservative minimum' of 7,000 to 7,500. This figure has been accepted as authoritative to the present day, despite the fact that in 1939, Schapera published a greatly increased estimate of 30,000.¹ In fact, estimates have dropped with the passing of time: in 1948, Sir Arthur Keith⁵ cited 6,000, while in 1954 Professor C. S. Coon⁶ spoke of 'a few hundred minute Bushmen, undersized and probably atypical'!

The total of 55,000 must not be taken to indicate an absolute increase in the number of Bushmen over the earlier smaller estimates. Rather, the contrast reflects the extreme difficulty of collecting reliable demographic statistics on the Bushmen. The new figure is the result of a more precise and regionally localized series of computations than those made

hitherto. Further refinements and minor modifications of the estimate remain to be made, but it is unlikely that these will change the total significantly.

The third question now admits of consideration: it may be stated at once that most surviving Bushmen still adhere to their hunting and food-gathering economy. Exceptions are the 9,587 Bushmen living in the Ngwato Reserve, most of whom are cattle-herds.^{1,2} In addition, some of the surviving 1,000 members of the Tsauke tribe in the Ghanzi

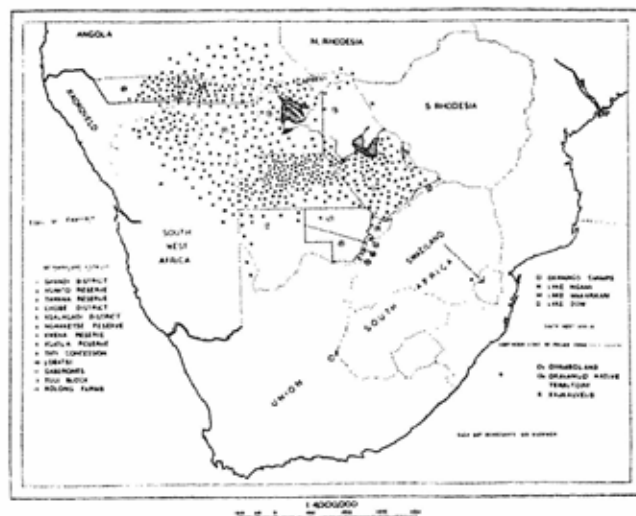


FIG. 1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF BUSHMEN IN 1955

The use of a magnifying glass is recommended.

District keep cattle³; while there are an estimated 5,000 Bushmen on the farms of white men and Bastards in the Ghanzi District. However, even the Bushmen settled on European and Bastard farms spend a part of each year hunting and food-gathering in the wilds away from the farms. Likewise, some of the 8,691 Bushmen in the Police Zone of South-West Africa (distributed mainly in the Gobabis, Grootfontein, Outjo and Tsumeb Districts) live on farms. It would therefore not be rash to say that some 35,000 of the 55,000 speaking a Bushman language or recognized as Bushmen lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age. Some thousands more spend part of the year in this way and part in a more settled state on farms. Probably about 15,000 of those recognized as Bushmen have permanently lost their nomadic food-gathering habits.

The above figures exclude an unknown number of people of Bush physique and genotype who speak a Hottentot language and ply the Hottentot culture and are therefore classed as 'Hottentots': for it has been shown elsewhere that the term 'Hottentot' refers to a culture and a language, but

* With Plates C and D and four text figures. The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 10 July, 1956. Publication of this paper has been generously assisted by a grant from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

not to a racial or physical group.⁷ This Hottentot culture, once introduced to Southern Africa, was adopted by a variety of physical strains already present, among which the Bush was one. The author has concluded that the Hottentot culture diffused among Bush groups *beyond* the limits of genetic diffusion. Some living 'Hottentots' would then be relatively pure Bush in physical constitution!

As used in the preceding paragraph, the terms 'Bush race' and 'Bush physical type,' which have long been used by physical anthropologists, are not synonymous with the term 'Bushmen' used by students of the language and culture. Ever since Dart⁸ demonstrated that the /Auni and ≠Khomani Bushmen show the influence of several racial or physical strains, it has been clear that the Bush stirps is only one of the elements which have moulded the surviving Bushmen. A variety of other African genetic strains is woven into the structure of living Bushmen and Hottentots, including a large-headed, pentagonoid-skulled *Boskopoid* strain, a robust, massive-jawed, long-faced, ovoid-skulled *Kakamas* strain, a heavy-browed *Gerontomorphie* ('Australoid') strain, a narrow-faced, leptorrhine, orthognathous *Europoid* strain.⁹ However, the Bush type is the most important element detectable in the living Old Yellow South Africans and it is the only one common to all well-studied surviving groups of Bushmen and Hottentots.

A Few Cultural Traits

The Naron and Auen Bushmen of Ghanzi studied by the author⁹ have adhered closely to the hunting and food-gathering way of life. The Auen (or //Kau//en) constitute the most south-easterly of Dorothea Bleek's Northern group of Bushman tribes, while the Naron (or //aikwe) mark the northern limit of the westerly section of the Central Bushman tribes. The margin of contact between the two tribal areas coincides with an interrupted line of cattle ranches of Bastard and European ownership. The Bushmen live in hunting bands of variable size and practise band exogamy and tribal endogamy. On or close to the farms the taboos against inter-tribal marriage are breaking down and 63.6 per cent. of marriages in one region were of an inter-tribal or even inter-racial character.^{3, 9}

Reversible arrowheads of bone are the commonest weapon of the hunt and these are tipped with poison derived from the chrysalis of the beetle, *Diamphidium*. The antidote is obtained from a small, blind, burrowing lizard. Occasionally one encounters metal arrowheads made from fencing-wire with stone fabricators on a stone anvil—for nothing is known of smelting. No stone arrowheads, but fire-stones, stone grinders and crushers, and stone awls are still in use. Huts are crude among these nomads, thatch being arranged in rude fashion on a framework of saplings. Little evidence of art is found among the Kalahari Bushmen, there being few suitable rock-surfaces to provide canvases; engraved designs on ostrich-egg shells are not uncommon. Only on the Tsodillo Hills, in the north-east of Bechuanaland, between the Okavango swamps and South-West Africa do rock paintings occur. Passarge¹⁰ first reported some of these and in 1951 the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition found an additional series.^{11, 12} At least four different techniques are

represented: monochromes, animal outlines in thick red lines, thinly-outlined animal figures and late, white, stylized figures (fig. 2).

Dancing is an important pursuit of the Bushmen. The women and children provide most of the music, by clapping and rhythmically chanting. The voice is used not to sing



FIG. 2. ROCK PAINTINGS ON THE TSODILLO HILLS

Three of the four techniques are represented here: animal outlines in thick red lines (rhinoceros), thinly outlined animal figure (a bovid with horns drawn in the 'Lascaux perspective') and white designs or stylized figures.

songs but solely as a musical instrument. The dancing men add to the sound by rattling dried seed-cases strung around their legs, and by the thudding percussion of their feet on the earth. Animal masquerades play a big role, while the medicine man's dance of healing is a necessary part of the exorcism ceremonies (Plate Dd).

Steatopygia, Macronympha and Sexual Selection

Two most striking anatomical features of the Bushman are steatopygia and macronympha (the *tablier* or Hottentot apron). It was the occurrence of these two features that led Topinard in 1877 to regard the 'Bosjesman' as a peculiar race.¹³

Steatopygia, as its name indicates, refers to an accumulation of fat over the buttocks. Not only the buttocks but the thighs are liberally endowed with fat: thus *steatomeria* accompanies steatopygia. The terms apply to a strictly localized development, the fat thighs and buttocks contrasting markedly with the hyposthenic habitus of the trunk and the lithe, spindly legs below the knee. There is a disproportion or disharmony between thighs and buttocks, and the rest of the body. In contradistinction are the fat thighs and buttocks of a generally obese person: to these the terms steatopygia and steatomeria should not be applied. Several claimed instances of steatopygia in other parts of Africa, in rock paintings and figurines from Europe, deserve to be reexamined in this light. The Willendorff Venus, for instance, has often been said to display steatopygia. Yet the figure clearly represents a generally obese body, with fat arms and abdomen as well.

It has not hitherto been sufficiently stressed that there is a postural or skeletal basis to steatopygia. Even in a pre-pubertal individual, before the fat accumulates markedly, the future protuberance is anticipated by an extreme curvature in the small of the back, due to a strong lumbar lordosis. We have found this lordosis present already in the third year of life (fig. 3). The sacrum is thrown backwards



FIG. 3. A YOUNG GHANZI BUSHMAN BOY WITH OBVIOUS POSTURAL BASIS FOR STEATOPYGIA

and upwards as if providing a shelf on which fat subsequently accumulates, especially at puberty and with ensuing pregnancies. The male has an approximately equal lordosis, but accumulates relatively little fat. The sex and age incidence points strongly to a relation between the development of the fat mass and the sex-endocrine system. It has long been suggested that the fat buttocks represent a reserve food store like the camel's hump or the sheep's fat tail. If this were the whole story, it would be difficult to understand why the male has been less susceptible to food shortages than the female! Dr. H. Lehmann has, however, suggested a possible explanation: during pregnancy the female would be much more acutely liable to suffer from fluctuations in the food-supply. Hence there might have been a great selective advantage if a woman had a localized accumulation of fat to be drawn on at such times. This idea, of course, presupposes periodic shortages of food, such as those to which the present environment of the Bushmen

exposes them. On the other hand, the Bushman's range has not always been confined to his present inhospitable territories. Skeletal, archaeological and historical evidence all indicates that the Bushmen formerly occupied a wider area, covering much of Southern, Central and perhaps even Northern Africa, and including many of the most well watered and luxuriantly endowed parts of the continent. The earliest Bush skeletal remains come from caves at Mumbwa in Northern Rhodesia and Matjes River on the southern coast of the Cape Province. In such areas, it is less likely that a reserve supply of fat would have possessed any great selective advantage, even in pregnant females.

Another possible explanation arises from the observation that large buttocks are a prized possession among Bushmen. They constitute, in fact, the major part of a Bushwoman's sexual attraction. The female's buttocks are always kept covered except on one ceremonial occasion: when a young girl has her first menstrual period, she is isolated from the tribe in a special hut and goes through a *rite de passage*. A group of elderly matrons of the tribe at that time minister to her needs, feed and help her, initiate her into the ways of life and, when not thus engaged, dance before her hut *with bottoms bared*. This ritual and sexual significance of the buttocks raises the possibility that sexual selection may have played an appreciable part in the development of steatopygia.

Sexual selection may, too, have played a part in the development of macronympha. Before making this suggestion, however, one must consider whether the *tablier* is genetic or artificial. Lagercrantz¹⁴ has made an Africa-wide survey of published reports on the *tablier* and has concluded that it is produced by artificial manipulation. This view is based largely on reports of negresses hanging weights from or otherwise manipulating the labia minora. However, there are certain significant differences between the condition as it occurs in the Bushman-Hottentot group and that in other Africans. In the latter, it is at most of isolated, sporadic occurrence; in Bushwomen, it has been found in all those examined for it. In negresses it never attains the great length it may reach in Bush people. Further, in Bushwomen, at least two different morphological variants of *tablier* have been described.¹⁵ Finally, while authenticated records exist of negresses manipulating their labia minora and even hanging weights from them, no reports exist, based on either hearsay or direct observation, of Bushwomen doing either of these things to produce their *tablier*. South African anthropologists have therefore inclined to the view that the *tablier* in the Bush-Hottentot peoples is of genetic origin, and Father M. Gusinde has reached a similar conclusion from his studies on South-West African Bushmen.¹⁶ Gusinde has reported, too, that Bush males, when asked about the *tablier*, point to it with some pride as a mark of 'our women,' which distinguishes them from other peoples. This male awareness of and pride in the *tablier*, coupled with its turgid intervention during sexual relations, suggests that sexual selection may have played a prominent part in the evolution of the *tablier*.¹⁷

Little serious consideration has been given in recent years to sexual selection as a factor in human race formation. We

would need much information on the sex ratio, assortative mating and competition for mates among the ancestral Bushmen, before this suggestion could be proved.

An interesting feature of the breasts is the very prominent, globose nipple and areola, present in a girl from puberty to her first pregnancy. Thereafter, the areola is flattened into the general plane of the breast and the breasts subsequently become elongated and flabby. A Bushwoman examined by Flower and Murrie¹⁸ in 1867 could bring her two breasts together behind, above the region of the buttocks! The baby held on the back or on one hip is often fed by the breast being thrown over the shoulder or under the armpit, generally always on one side. Thus, marked asymmetry in the size of the breasts is commonly encountered. The elongation and flabbiness of the breasts is probably due, in part at least, to the relative lack of elasticity in the skin of the Bushman.

The males, too, possess unusual genital features, notably the semi-erect, horizontal position of the penis, present in a high proportion of males. The scrotum is small, tight and high, the descent of one or both testicles frequently delayed.¹⁶ The whole complex strongly suggests the condition of the external genitals in a pre-pubertal boy.¹⁵

Developmental Rates and Genes in the Bush Race

Many of the anatomical features of the Bush race recall the morphology of the infant, as Drennan¹⁹ first recognized and as he and Dart repeatedly stressed.²⁰⁻²⁴ It may be useful to enumerate briefly the main features recalling the morphology of the infant (Plate De). Soft tissue features include the relative hairlessness of body and face, skin pigmentation which is light by African standards, lips of only moderate thickness or even thinnish and inverted, eye-folds, rather bulging eyes, delicate lateral nasal cartilages, transversely placed nostrils, semi-erect penis and compact 'undropped' scrotum, and numerous characteristic cerebral features.^{25, 26} Infantile characters in the skeleton are mainly cranial—strong bossing in the frontal, parietal and occipital regions, a pentagonoid skull on Frassetto's classification,²⁷ small nipple-like mastoid processes, smooth brows with poorly developed glabella, superciliary eminences and supraorbital trigones, a very small face due largely to a relatively unexpanded maxilla, slight development of the para-nasal sinuses (mastoid air-cells, frontal sinuses, maxillary antra), vertical or even *bombé* forehead, low skull with marked parietal flattening, unexpanded temporal squames not rising above the level of pterion and sloping sharply behind to asterion, large cranio-facial ratio, flat nasal bridge, wide inter-orbital distance, mesognathism or orthognathism, microdontism and possibly taurodontism,²⁸ low squarish mandibular ramus with shallow notch, associated with slight development of the temporalis muscle, slight bony adaptation to the curves of the spine.

The list is not complete, but it shows how much of the peculiar morphology of the Bushman can be understood as the retention of infantile features into adulthood. All of these features occur in the young of *Homo sapiens*, at a stage in the unfolding of the adult phenotype of Caucasoids,

Negroids, Australoids and Mongoloids. The fossil evidence confirms that such features characterized the young of the ancestral Bushman, too, and in the latter—as in other races—were outgrown with maturation to produce 'adultiform' structures. At some stage in the evolution of the Bushmen, changes occurred in consequence of which these infantile traits ceased to be outgrown but persisted into adulthood.^{9, 21, 28} The differentiation of certain bodily structures must have become retarded, as compared with reproductive and mental development and absolute age.

Such changes are well known in the animal kingdom where they have been referred to variously as pedomorphosis, pädogenesis, neoteny, foetalization. Bolk²⁹ has emphasized the role of neoteny in human evolution. He stressed that this principle has operated at two levels—(a) in the emergence of man from non-human ancestors, and (b) in the formation of human races. He was especially impressed with the neoteny character of Mongoloids, but the Bush race seemingly provides an even better example.

The rise of genetics permits us to reconsider the phenomenon of persistent infantile features in the light of what we know of gene action. The most important thing that developmental genetics has taught is that genes act on processes, not on structural entities.³⁰ Instead of speaking of genes for skull length, we should search for genes controlling growth at skull sutures, expansion of the frontal sinuses and glabella, migration of the nuchal muscles: for skull length is the result of all these and other processes and many genes may therefore modify skull length by their several actions on the contingent processes. (Of course neither genes nor environment are self-sufficient: it is upon the interaction of the genotype with the environment that the phenotype is moulded.)

How then do genes alter growth and development? Some alterations are of qualitative kind, such as the formation of a new type of pigment or antigen, but most genes affect the rate of the process. Mutant genes either accelerate or retard developmental processes. The processes affected may be of a fundamental character, that is, the genes may operate early in ontogeny. In such instances, a single genic mutation affects not a single end-structure, but a cluster of structures. Mutant genes effective at this early period are key factors controlling a variety of developmental processes. Other genes are later and more specific in their action. We may conclude that, if the persistence of infantile features is due to a retardation of developmental processes, a genetic basis for this phenomenon is not only feasible; it is well established.

Resemblance to Mongoloids

Several features in the Bushmen and Hottentots have long suggested an affinity with Mongoloids. Early European travellers in the Eastern Cape used to call the Gonaqua 'Chinese Hottentots.'³¹ Further, it is related that when German troops who had been in China at the time of the Boxer rising arrived in South-West Africa in 1904, and saw the Hottentots for the first time, the usual remark was, 'Why, here are the Chinese again!'³²

The 'Mongoloid' features comprise obliquely placed eyes, narrow palpebral fissures, eye-folds, bulging eyes, depressed nasal bridge, prominent cheek-bones, tendency to brachycephaly, yellow skin, hairless face and body, and high incidence of blood-group B.³³ A variety of eye-folds occurs among the Kalahari Bushmen, some being epicanthic and some palpebral (Mongolian), while a combination is encountered as Fischer's 'Hottentot fold.'³⁴ Different types of fold occur apparently in all combinations and the Mongolian fold grades insensibly into the medial epicanthic fold, especially where the root of the nose is depressed. This suggests that fundamentally the same type of growth variation is involved in both medial epicanthus and Mongolian fold; the exact form taken by the fold in adulthood seemingly depends on the relation between the degree of bulging of the eyes and the amount of nasal flattening. In fact, Bolk speaks of the 'Mongolian complex,' a triad of features comprising bulging eyes, depressed nasal bridge and eye-folds.³⁵ Such a 'Mongolian complex' occurs among Bushmen (Plate C).

Various theories have been advanced to explain the 'Mongoloid' features in Bushmen and Hottentots. Hooton,³⁵ for instance, considered that they might have arisen from a group of Asiatic migrants into Africa at a time before the full Mongoloid phenotype had emerged, although he admitted that this view was 'precarious' and 'implausible.' Dart^{36, 37} opined that the Mongoloid features represent alien racial features transmitted to the Bushmen by Asians during a period of active oriental contacts with the East African seaboard. He has collected considerable collateral evidence on these oriental horizons of Africa. But it still remains problematical whether these contacts could have been sufficient to account for the high incidence of Mongoloid features in Africa. Further, one would have expected at least some trace of Mongoloid hair to have cropped out in Africa—but of this there is no record. Perhaps more important considerations are that all these 'Mongoloid' features are also infantile features and that infantilizing tendencies made their appearance in Africa long before there is any evidence of Asiatic contacts. For, while Asiatic influences are supposed to have entered Africa within the last few thousand years,³⁶ infantile skeletal features were already present in the Stone Age folk of Southern Africa, not only in the earliest Bushmanoid skeletal remains from Mumbwa^{38, 39} and Matjes River,⁴⁰ but also in the large-headed pre-Bushmen such as those of Zitzikamma⁴¹ and of Skildergat (Fish Hoek).⁴² These earliest infantilizing tendencies are manifest of course only in bony features; there is no proof that the soft tissues possessed infantile features. But since at least one element of the 'Mongolian complex'—the flat nasal bridge and wide interorbital distance—was evident, the interrelated soft tissue components may well have been present too. In this event, one would conclude that the 'Mongolian' elements in the Bush people are the result of infantilizing changes in earlier African inhabitants, comparable with some of the end-results of similar though independent infantilizing tendencies in Mongoloid peoples. If two population-groups in widely-sundered parts of the world were subject to the same pattern of genetic variation

(e.g. retarded developmental rates), it would not be surprising if the two populations came fortuitously to resemble each other in some respects. In the author's opinion, this accounts for most of the apparent 'Mongoloid' features in the Bush type, since both Bush and Mongoloid have been subject to infantilizing changes in their history.

The Ancestry of the Bushmen

When we examine the fossil evidence and try to reconstruct the racial history of the Bushmen and their ancestors, four points must be emphasized:

(1) There is no evidence that the Bushmen have come from outside Africa, in contrast with the history of the American Indians and the Australians in their respective territories.

(2) Bushmen show a clearly recognizable constellation of physical features which sets them apart from all other peoples, except some Hottentots.

(3) The earliest recognizable Bush crania come from Southern Africa: from deposits of the Middle Stone Age—Mumbwa^{38, 39} in Northern Rhodesia, Matjes River⁴⁰ on the southern Cape Coast, and possibly from the Zuurberg,⁴³ and Zitzikamma,⁴¹ both of which were excavated before the Middle Stone Age was recognized.

(4) The further north one goes beyond Northern Rhodesia, the later in time do the earliest Bush-like remains become.

This evidence compels us to abandon the idea that the Bushmen evolved elsewhere and migrated southwards. Rather must we search for the ancestors of the Bushmen in South-Central Africa. In this region, earlier skeletal remains comprise fewer and fewer small-headed, short individuals, and more and more large-headed, tall individuals. Amongst men of the Middle Stone Age, although infantile features are already prominent, all the individuals represented (save the Bushmanoid crania from Mumbwa and Matjes River) are of large dimensions. Probably then the last step in the formation of the Bush type has been the dwarfing of large ancestors.

Some have regarded the dwarfing changes as a consequence of life under desert conditions (cf. J. R. Marett⁴⁴). However, this thought does violence to the fact that the Bushmen formerly occupied some of the most fertile parts of Southern Africa. Their remains abound along the afforested south coast of the Cape Province and in the well watered uplands of Natal and highlands of Basutoland. The facts suggest and history confirms that segments of the originally more widespread Bush population were confined to their present centres in and around the inhospitable Kalahari by the pressure of Bantu-speaking tribes advancing down the East Coast, European settlers expanding eastwards and northwards from the Cape of Good Hope and Hottentots harrying the Bushmen in the hinterland.

Selection may well have acted to increase the incidence of dwarfs in the population groups. Also, as the Bushmen live in small hunting bands, conditions must have been singularly appropriate for the operation of genetic drift. Increasing aridity following the last maximum of the fourth pluvial may have driven some folk eastwards to more

genial climes, while the predominantly Bush groups may have become better able to cope with a stern semi-desert environment and remained behind. There is no need to suppose they were ever a *pure* Bush group—whatever that may mean!—for they always retained a percentage of features of their tall ancestors, thus accounting for the 50 per cent. of 'Boskop' features found by Dart in Southern Bushmen⁸ and for the 'impurity' of all Bush skeletal collections.

Gradually the little Bush folk ousted or superseded the big Middle Stone Age peoples, until the Bushmen in turn had to face the challenge of advancing Hottentots. Before that happened, however, the Bush people had spread through a major part of Africa, perhaps leaving their mark in the short, yellow, clicking Hadzapi (Kindiga) of Tanganyika, and even much further afield.

Dwarfing in Africa was not confined to man and Jeffreys has assembled data on a variety of wild and domesticated mammals of which dwarf forms exist to-day.⁴⁵ Examples are dwarf buffalo, antelopes, hippopotamus, elephant, dormouse, chimpanzee, as well as dwarf cattle, goats, sheep. Earlier Pleistocene deposits are characterized mainly by an absence of dwarf forms and the presence of giant species. (The small *Hippopotamus imaguncula* of the East African Lower Pleistocene is a notable exception.) Late Pleistocene conditions may have favoured and strongly selected dwarf forms and human dwarfing in Africa may perhaps be viewed against this background.

A final thought on dwarfing: we cannot overlook the possibility that the dwarfing effect was mediated through the pituitary gland. Genes may act directly on growth processes and indirectly through their effect on the endocrine system. For the endocrine balance itself affects growth processes.^{46, 47} To throw light on this endocrine factor, studies on hormone secretion and excretion should certainly be included in future surveys of the Bushmen.

Since both the small Bushmen and their large ancestors show neoteny, it follows that infantilization may be associated with either dwarfism or exuberant growth. Dart has accordingly spoken of pygmæo-pædomorphs and giganto-pædomorphs.²⁴

Where did the giganto-pædomorphic ancestors arise? The only *earlier* neoteny types of man are represented by the remains of Swanscombe, Fontéchevade and those of Kanjera. Rather than look so far afield in time and space for the ancestors of Middle Stone Age man, it has been suggested that the large infantile types may have stemmed from ancestors who were less neoteny or were even frankly *adultiform*.^{7, 9} Of such earlier *adultiform* remains we have several examples—from Broken Hill, Hopefield (Saldanha Bay), Florisbad (near Bloemfontein) and Lake Eyasi. Confirmation that the pædomorphs came from *adultiform* ancestors is provided by some proto-Bush features in the Florisbad skull and especially in the Singa skull from the Blue Nile.⁴⁸ Both the Florisbad and the Singa crania show signs of a refinement and an incipient infantilization, more marked in Singa than in Florisbad.⁴⁹

The earliest group of human remains, the Rhodesoids, dating from end-Kanjeran and early Gamblian times, is

highly *adultiform* and it is perhaps logical to trace the *adultiform* strains in the living Old Yellow South Africans (e.g. the Korana) back to this palæanthropic group. We may envisage a series of early changes which converted part of the Rhodesoid stock into more neoteny forms. Such changes might be relatively simple in their genetic bases, but would express themselves through widespread genetic modifications in many parts of the skeleton and soft tissues. Just as it is valuable to think in terms of *major functional complexes* in the evolution of man,⁵⁰ so it may be useful to consider *major developmental complexes* (genetic and ontogenetic) in the evolution of human races. In this wise, the outmoded practice of attributing each genetically determined morphological feature to the action of one or two genes, may be replaced by the modern notion of a genotype acting in concert to lay bare a concerted phenotype. In this manner, too, we may go a goodly way beyond blood-groups and taste-blindness which have been the main stock-in-trade of genetical studies on race . . . and we may approach haltingly towards the genes for those visible morphological traits which have long been the major objects of study of physical anthropologists.

In consequence of such changes in Rhodesoid peoples, the development of the brow-ridges became less marked, the face and jaws became reduced and other refinements appeared. Representatives of these reduced Rhodesoids are the skulls of Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats),⁵¹ Ingwavuma (Border Cave)⁵² and Cape Flats.⁵³ The former two are well dated to a Pietersburg cultural horizon of the Middle Stone Age (most probably Gamblian), while the Cape Flats skull is very doubtfully associated with a Still Bay cultural level (advanced Middle Stone Age). Sub-recent or undated representatives of the Rhodesoid-*Adultiform* line are the skulls of Bayville, Mistkraal and Canteen Kopje.⁵⁴

Other descendants of the Rhodesoids underwent more marked infantilizing changes and an ancient representative of this group is the Singa skull. One stream of these neoteny folk remained large-headed and their bones are scattered in a variety of Middle Stone Age deposits such as the Cape Coastal caverns of Matjes River, Zitzikamma and Fish Hoek (Skildergat) and Boskop in the Transvaal. The process was carried to a fetalizing extreme in the undated, large-headed, tiny-faced man of Plettenburg Bay.²¹

Late in the Middle Stone Age, a second major series of changes—the dwarfing mutations—set in, the earliest results of which are the Bush skulls M.R.X from Matjes River and M.IV from Mumbwa (fig. 4).

It is thus suggested that the two most striking features of the Bush type, the diminutive size and the infantile structure, arose at two different periods in the racial history of their ancestors. This view necessitates a divorce between the genetic control of growth and that of differentiation, a dissociation which has already been shown possible by Needham.⁵⁵ Further, the earlier, infantilizing changes seem to have been peculiar to man, whereas the later, dwarfing changes affected not only man, but many other animal species.

The plan of human phylogeny recently drawn up by Vallois⁵⁶ left a significant gap in the story of African man.

In this study, I have suggested one way in which this gap could be closed. Wells⁵⁷ has suggested another, and it is clear that more than one interpretation of some of the evidence is still possible. Nevertheless, such schemes may be of heuristic value, because they suggest answers to some problems and pose other questions.

In Southern Africa, there have been no catastrophic upheavals between our Stone Age dwellers and the peoples

an unrivalled opportunity to close the gap between fossil man and his living descendants, the Old Yellow South Africans.

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Notes

¹ I. Schapera, 'A Survey of the Bushman Question,' *Race Relations*, Vol. VI, Part 2, 1939, pp. 68-83.

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¹⁶ M. Gusinde, personal communication; E. Fischer, 'Über die sogenannte Hottentottenschürze, nebst Bemerkungen über den descensus testicularum,' *Z. Morph. Anthropol.*, Vol. XLVII, Part 1, 1955, pp. 58-66.

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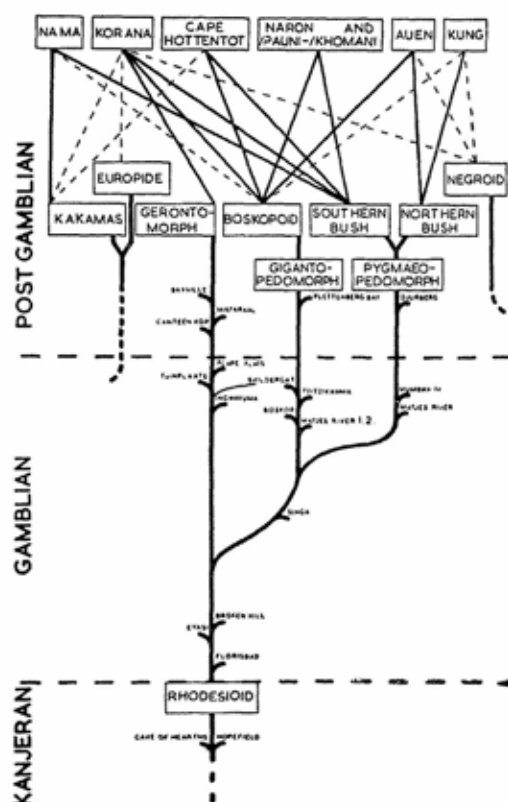


FIG. 4. PROVISIONAL SCHEME OF INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN LIVING OLD YELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS AND THEIR PUTATIVE ANCESTORS

A tentative time-scale is proposed on the left of this chart. At the top of the diagram are six of the surviving groups of Old Yellow South Africans, three Hottentot groups on the left and three Bushman groups on the right. These six living groups are traced back to six or seven strains, whose blending has given rise to the physical constitution of the living people. These strains, in turn, are related in this diagram to fossil remains dated more or less accurately as shown in the diagram. The thick lines of descent are not isolated from each other; for instance, the Skildergat (Fish Hoek) skull is related to both the Gerontomorph and the Giganto-pedomorph lines. In the same way, the discovery of more late Gamblian specimens will probably confirm that an extensive system of reticulate evolution marked this phase of human development.

living in proto-historic times; for the nearly unique situation obtained that Stone Age man was continuing to live with hunting, food-gathering economy and nomadic pursuits, alongside more settled pastoralists and metal-workers. Yet the Bushman clung on to his lithic traditions in the face of the challenge of higher cultures.

The continuity of the Stone Age into the present era and, with it, the little changed people who have for so long been the stone practitioners of Southern Africa, provides

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- ²⁵ I. Slome, 'The Bushman Brain,' *J. Anat.*, Vol. LXVII, 1932, pp. 47-58.
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TWO BONE BARKCLOTH HAMMERS FROM MUBENDE, UGANDA*

by

E. C. LANNING

Masaka, Uganda

37 In 1953 two hammer-like objects, made of bone, were found within the ancient encampment known as the Munsu Earthworks, in Mubende District, Buganda Kingdom.¹ Both have the appearance of hammers used for the beating of barkcloth.

Hammer No. 1 has lateral grooves on one side of the head only, while No. 2 has two beating surfaces, one of lateral grooves and one of rectangular cross-hatchings (fig. 1a). In the case of both hammers the reverse sides are formed by the marrow cavity of the bone (fig. 1b).

The data are as follows:

* With a text figure

Hammer No. 1 (Uganda Museum No. E5403). Length: 35.3 centimetres. One flat beating surface composed of 26 lateral grooves, within a rectangle of 12×7.7 centimetres. Depth of grooves varies from 3 to 4 millimetres. Weight: 1.006 kilograms. Specific gravity: 1.85.

Hammer No. 2 (Uganda Museum No. E5609). Length: 31.5 centimetres. Two flat beating surfaces: (i) composed of 20 lateral grooves within a rectangle of 10.2×7.7 centimetres; (ii) composed of rectangular cross-hatching, forming a rough rectangle of 8.7×7.4 centimetres. Depth of grooves on both faces: 3 millimetres. Weight: 1.22 kilograms. Specific gravity: 1.84.

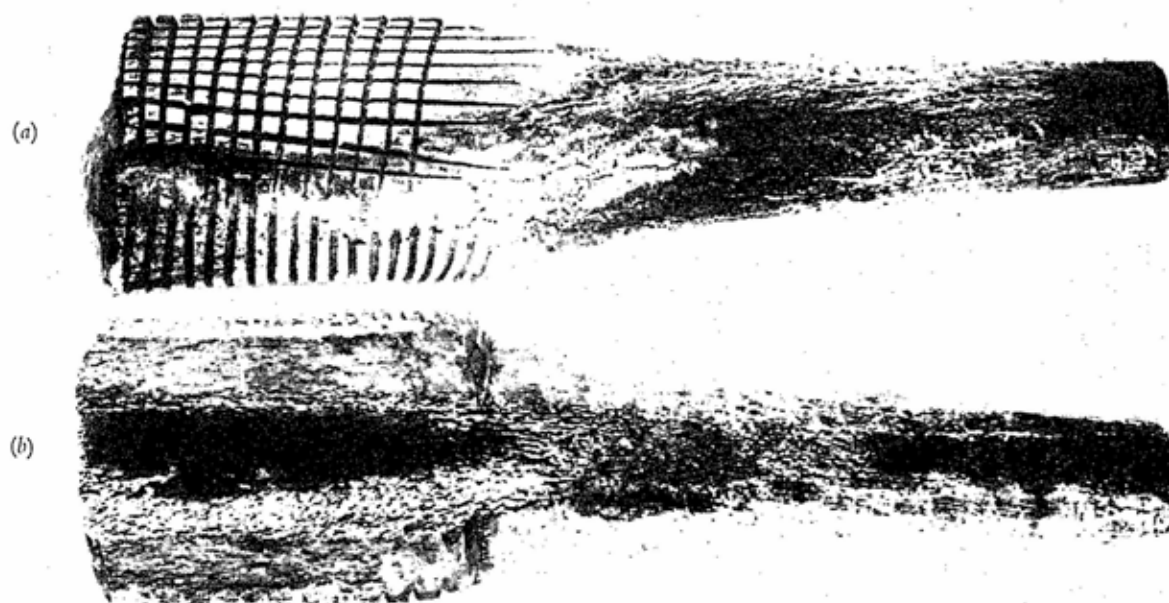


FIG. 1. A BONE BARKCLOTH HAMMER FROM MUBENDE, UGANDA
Uganda Museum No. E5609

Following examination of Hammer No. 2, the opinion has been given that, from the density of the cortex, the bone must be that of an elephant; part of a limb bone, probably the front leg.²

The lateral grooves on both hammers are similar to the grooves that encircle the beating head of the Ganda type of wooden barkcloth mallet. It has been observed, however, that the flat beating surface, which is the characteristic of the Munsu hammers, is more akin to the Indonesian barkcloth hammer, whether of wood or stone.³

The workmanship of both hammers is of a good standard. The grooves have been cut deep, straight and firmly. The quartering of the second surface of Hammer No. 2 is reasonably even and precise. This is the only specimen having cross-hatching to be recorded in old or modern barkcloth mallets or hammers found in Uganda.

No local information has been forthcoming as to the use of these two hammers. It is generally assumed that they must have been designed for barkcloth beating or skin softening.

Within the modern boundaries of Buganda Kingdom ivory and bone are said to have been materials utilized in the past, in the making of certain tools and weapons for

both practical and ceremonial purposes. Ivory, as well as wood, is also known to have been used for the fashioning of miniature tokens for craftsmen in the service of rulers or notables.

Note may be made here of one such miniature, a barkcloth mallet which is in the possession of His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda. This has been carved from a single piece of ivory. It is probably of some antiquity. It is shaped as the normal Ganda type mallet, the round head being encircled with lateral grooves. This miniature is 7 inches long, the head being 2 inches in diameter. The ivory is smooth, shiny and brownish in colour.⁴

According to tradition it has been the custom, since the time of one of the earliest kings, *circa* 1500, for such miniatures to be presented by the Kabaka to the royal maker of barkcloth, who would retain the token for as long as he held office.

Notes

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² D. G. MacInnes, 1954. Personal communication.

³ M. Trowell, 1954. Personal communication.

⁴ I am indebted to His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda for having kindly allowed me to examine the ivory mallet in his possession.

SHORTER NOTE

British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sheffield, 1956: Symposium on Blood Groups and Anthropology. By Dr. N. A. Barnicot, University College, London

A symposium on 'Blood Groups and Anthropology,' with Dr. A. E. Mourant, the President of the Section, in the Chair, occupied the whole day of 31 August. In his opening address,

Dr. Mourant gave a lucid exposition of the basic facts about blood groups and about the more recently discovered variants of haemoglobin. He emphasized that interest was now tending to focus on natural selection and other agencies that may change the frequency of genes.

Dr. Fraser Roberts followed with a review of recent work on the relationship of ABO blood groups to disease. He pointed out

that this line of work had been pursued in the early days of blood grouping, but had been largely abandoned because the small samples examined gave inconclusive results. When Aird and his co-workers showed that Group A was clearly more frequent in a sample of gastric cancer patients than in a control sample, interest revived, and this and other diseases were studied, both in Great Britain and abroad. An excess of Group O in duodenal ulcer cases and suggestive results for several other diseases were soon added. It is still uncertain whether these associations imply the action of blood-group genes on specific disease susceptibility, since studies on families in the case of duodenal ulcer are so far equivocal, but the alternative explanation that the diseased and control samples do not represent the same population is thought unlikely by many investigators.

Dr. M. J. R. Healy gave a résumé of the statistical approach to the study of characters like stature which depend on the action of many genes, each with a small effect. The theory of correlation between relatives, developed by R. A. Fisher, may be used to investigate the contribution of environment and of dominant and sex-linked genes. Dr. Healy and Dr. Tanner found no evidence of dominance or sex-linkage in their analysis. Dr. Healy felt that the approach deserved fuller exploitation. Mr. J. V. Evans summarized unpublished work on some simply-inherited biochemical variations in sheep, which show interesting geographical differences, and may throw light on the earlier movements of shepherd peoples. Some sheep have a high potassium concentration in their red blood cells, and some breeds show a high incidence of these HK individuals. This is particularly true of mountain breeds, whereas the frequency is low in certain Spanish and Libyan varieties. Two types of haemoglobin can be detected in sheep red cells and the A-type is more frequent in sub-arctic breeds.

Dr. D. F. Roberts showed maps of the distribution of various blood-group and haemoglobin genes in Africa. He emphasized that the gene frequencies are not likely to be static. A high frequency of Rho, P, and Kidd (Jka), and low S and Duffy seem to

be general characteristics of African blood groups. The distribution of the sickle genes in Africa shows the highest, but nevertheless very variable, frequencies in the tropical belt; the frequency is related in part to climatic factors and in part to ethnic differences. Deserts tend to form barriers to gene spread. From his own investigations, he concluded that genetic drift was unlikely to be an important factor changing gene frequencies in Shilluk and Northern Dinka communities.

Dr. Ada Kopec described the regional variations in ABO groups in the British Isles based on a very large material which she and her colleagues at the Nuffield Blood Group Centre have been dealing with. She said that the variations were not graded but divided the country into several distinct areas. High O and low A frequencies are found in Scotland and the Border counties, while the East Central region of England, an area of Anglo-Saxon settlement, shows high A frequencies. Group B is persistently higher in North Wales and Scotland, but fairly homogeneous elsewhere.

Mr. H. W. M. Hodges, speaking as an archaeologist, had hopes that technical advances in blood-grouping bones might provide secure data on past blood-group distributions. He was sceptical, however, of attempts to interpret present-day distributions in terms of archaeology. Archaeological finds, he felt, usually provided very uncertain evidence of the occurrence and extent of biological changes in earlier populations, particularly if they were very remote in time, and he thought that intensive studies of more recent and better documented examples might be more profitable.

Dr. N. A. Barnicot, in summarizing the meeting, again emphasized the renewed interest among anthropologists in a more dynamic approach to genetical data. Biochemical methods were proving valuable in revealing unsuspected genetical variation. The study of simply-inherited characters was likely to be the most profitable, but, even so, the action of natural selection might often make it difficult or impossible to infer historical connexions from present-day gene distributions.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Contributions to Prehistoric Archaeology offered to Professor V. Gordon Childe in Honour of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday by Twenty-Seven Authors. Edited by J. G. D. Clark, assisted by K. P. Oakley and S. Piggott. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society (New Series), Vol. XXI, for 1955.* Cambridge, 1956. Pp. v, 315. Price £2 2s.

That the Prehistoric Society, of which he was the first President in 1935, should dedicate an entire volume to Professor V. Gordon Childe on his sixty-fifth birthday is indeed a fitting tribute to the leading prehistoric archaeologist of our time. Twenty-seven authorities from no less than thirteen countries have contributed articles spanning the chronological range from Lower Palaeolithic to the post-Roman Iron Age and covering the entire European continent as well as two areas of the Middle East. However, notwithstanding the impressive array of material listed in the table of contents, the scope and range of Professor Childe's interests have been and are even broader than the problems dealt with in this volume. This fact perhaps is the greatest single tribute to him. For notably lacking is an article discussing the theory and method of archaeology, an area in which Childe has made a series of provocative but nonetheless brilliant contributions.

The articles are arranged in four main groups—Old Stone Age, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age—with Isobel F. Smith's impressive bibliography of Childe's publications and major reviews coming at the end. Three of these groups are made up of six papers

each, while there are eight included under the Neolithic heading. It is fitting that the volume should open with a short contribution from the Abbé H. Breuil recording a hitherto unpublished hand-axe from southern Brittany. Grahame Clark's very timely article discussing the British mesolithic industries with Sauveterrian affinities (formerly loosely termed 'Tardenoisian') is followed by a most interesting paper by Dorothy Garrod on upper palaeolithic (Magdalenian) spear-throwers, an admirable summary by Kenneth Oakley of the evidence bearing on when and for what primary purpose fire was first used in the Old World, a note on the existence of micro-burins in the late Upper Palaeolithic of the Spanish Levant by Luis Pericot, and a penetrating and extensively documented review by Frederick Zeuner of the stratification of the Young (Würm) Loess in Europe and its bearing on the chronology of the Palaeolithic. Here one notes that Zeuner has considerably modified his views relative to the subdivisions of the Young Loess in Western Europe; certainly recent investigations have clearly demonstrated the validity of his conclusion, namely, that 'loesses and intercalated soils afford the most reliable climatic chronology of the late Lower and Upper Palaeolithic that is at present available.' In order to interpret the significance of the evidence, however, a careful analysis and reevaluation of the upper palaeolithic assemblages, particularly in Central Europe, is urgently required.

The eight Neolithic contributions include papers by C. J. Becker on a special type of coarse 'dwelling-place' pottery from Jutland;

R. J. Braidwood on the earliest neolithic villages of Syro-Cilicia at the northern end of the so-called 'Fertile Crescent'—one of two articles in the book dealing with the Near East; A. Bryusov of Moscow on the ground-level wooden houses of neolithic age in the Forest Zone of European Russia; Gutorm Gjessing emphasizing the social aspects of the culture of the sub-neolithic hunting and fishing peoples of Northern Norway; Hans Helback on remains of wheat from middle and late neolithic sites in Egypt showing that there is no reliable evidence for the presence of Einkorn from any of the Nile Valley sites; Stuart Piggott on the problem of the affinities of Windmill Hill culture in the light of E. Vogt's reassessment of the Michelsberg complex; R. Pittioni on the problem of 'pile-dwellings' in which he advocates non-acceptance of Guyan's term 'lakeside settlement' and the retention of a glossary based essentially on constructional features; and T. Suliminski on the Thuringian amphorae and similar vessels characteristic of several groups of the Battle-Axe culture, which formerly extended over a large area in Eastern Europe that was never Indo-European in the past and was only recently Slavized.

The papers in the Bronze Age group include a very useful summary by J. Banner of research conducted since 1936 on the Hungarian Bronze Age and the excavations of the settlement at Békés-Várdomb during the period 1950-55; a report by L. Bernabò Brea on one of the recently unearthed large houses in the vast Bronze Age town of Poliochni, near Kaminia on the east coast of Lemnos, attesting a hitherto unsuspected degree of complexity in the development of these Early Bronze structures in the Aegean; a detailed analysis of the technique of the carvings on the Boyne megaliths in Ireland by O. G. S. Crawford; a penetrating discussion of the evidence bearing on the dating of a unique bifid bronze razor with western affinities from Cassibile in Sicily by Hugh Hencken, suggesting the probability that the object may indeed be an import and belong to about the tenth or ninth centuries B.C.; a report by S. P. O'Riordáin on the excavation of a secondary burial in the Mound of Hostages at Tara, Co. Meath, with which faience beads were associated that establish the second half of the second millennium B.C. as the date of the mound, rather than the third century A.D. as historians have claimed; finally N. K. Sandars discusses the antiquity of the one-sided metal knives in the Aegean and shows that, whereas certain types have affinities with Central Europe and the North Balkans, the earliest examples which go back to the third millennium B.C. clearly have no northern connexions; on the other hand, certain types commonly found in Hallstatt A and B contexts have never been reported in the Aegean area.

The six contributions to the Iron Age section comprise 96 pages—almost one-third of the entire book. Included here are papers by R. R. Clark and C. F. C. Hawkes on an anthropoid type of sword from Shouldham, Norfolk, which dates from the second century B.C. and which is related to Middle La Tène examples on the continent; by Raymond Lantier on an unlocalized bronze helmet attributed to 'an Italian centre of manufacture where the artistic traditions of the Celts were not entirely abolished in the course of the first period of La Tène'; by J. M. de Navarro on a very interesting grave of a surgeon of the Middle La Tène Period found in Upper Bavaria which contained among a wealth of other items three of the doctor's surgical instruments; by C. A. Raleigh Radford on the Belgae of the continent, Britain and Ireland, a brilliant synthesis of archaeological and early historical evidence; by Ernst Sprockhoff on the close connexions of the Urnfield Culture of Central Europe and the culture of the Celtic La Tène, which leads the author to conclude that similarities in the animal style art of the two complexes demonstrates the continuity of a firm spiritual and intellectual life or tradition, which can be traced through archaeology from the end of the second millennium B.C. down through the Celtic La Tène art and even later; and lastly by R. B. K. Stevenson on the evidence of bronze, iron and bone pins of Roman derivation on the dating of the Iron Age 'brooch culture' of Scotland, the main development of which took place in the first—second centuries A.D.

The book is lavishly illustrated with numerous text figures and thirty half-tones. Both bound and paper-covered editions are available at the extremely modest prices of £2 2s. and £1 8s., respectively. In view of the wide range of the subject matter covered

and the importance of the articles, all of which are praiseworthy, it is difficult to understand how any archaeological library, either institutional or private, concerned with Old World problems can possibly afford to be without this very impressive volume. The reviewer would like to take this opportunity of heartily congratulating the editor and his assistants on having compiled and published such a magnificent series of essays. In conclusion he also extends his warm felicitations to Gordon Childe, whose brilliant record of unsurpassed archaeological achievement certainly places all his co-workers in the field so deeply in his debt. Indeed were it not for the range and depth of his interests and his extraordinary capacity to establish the time-space relationships of such a vast and complex array of data, the foundations of our knowledge of Old World archaeology, as reflected in this admirable volume, would never have been laid.

HALLAM L. MOVIUS, JR.

I Looked For Adam. By Herbert Wendt. London (Weidenfeld & Nicholson), 1955. Pp. 566, 48 plates, numerous line drawings, index. Price 30s.

40 In some 230,000 words Herbert Wendt, otherwise unidentified, has produced a history of natural science during the last two and a half centuries. Through packed pages he parades intimate glimpses of such figures as Linnaeus, Cuvier, Lamarck, Buffon, Darwin, Weidenreich, von Koenigswald, and the Abbé Henri Breuil. Not only are the works of these men described and evaluated but their facial expressions and inmost cogitations are revealed. The reviewer marvelled at the author's ability to recreate such intimate details until he came to page 474 where he read: 'At a depth of about twelve yards they came upon the skulls of three human beings. Each had been killed by blows from a stone. Coon said to have fainted with excitement at the sight of them. . . . When Coon came to himself again he could not help exclaiming: "I believe I've discovered Adam!"'

I did not come upon three skulls at once, nor had all been killed by blows from a stone, nor did I faint, or utter the silly words attributed to me. When Mr. Wendt tells us that Cuvier blushed, I presume that he drew his information from the same crystal ball employed in my case. The theme song of this book is: 'The explorers gazed with profound emotion' (p. 504). Understatement is not one of Mr. Wendt's devices, e.g.: 'The learned world was overwhelmed with horror and disgust' (p. 339).

The weepers and fainters of anthropology may be surprised to learn that Louis Agassiz laboured not at Harvard University but at 'New Cambridge' (p. 220), and that the Maya Indians of Yucatan had domesticated the mastodon, driving 'the huge beasts . . . through the streets of Mayapan, Uxmal, and Chichen Itza . . .' mounted by trusty mahouts (p. 546). According to Wendt, Zim-babwe is still a complete mystery (p. 393) despite the work of the unmentioned Miss Caton-Thompson. Handaxes were a common tool throughout the Upper Palaeolithic, and Crô-Magnon folk migrated through Spain to North Africa, well into the Sahara, and possibly to South Africa (p. 393).

These are particularly glaring errors. No doubt Mr. Wendt's accounts of events in Germany and the Netherlands may be more accurate. In particular, his details of Professor von Koenigswald's excavations seem unexceptionable, especially as von Koenigswald is said to have read the proofs. Without doubt much time and effort was spent in collecting the data on which this book was based, and more on creating transitional material. Many of the stories in it are lively and amusing. But one is led to wonder whether this book will be classified as fiction or non-fiction. Science fiction, the name of a reputable literary form, is hardly the right term. Science gossip might be more appropriate.

CARLETON S. COON

Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology. Edited by Robert W. Ehrich. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents, C.U.P.), 1954. Pp. xiii, 154. Price 19s.

41 The range of these nine half-hour papers, presented to a symposium of the American Anthropological Association at the end of 1952, is rather limited. Syria is represented only by some as yet unpublished trenches in the Amuq Plain, and Anatolia by a Cilician mound; while some of the most promising regions, like

Cyprus, Crete, Asia Minor, Central Asia and India, are hardly touched at all. It is useful to have some old opinions re-affirmed or modified. Kantor shows how the Tod treasures have changed the dating of Cretan links with Egypt; Albright lowers some early dates in Palestine as a result of Jarmo; McCown, however, refuses to bring Hissar III down into the second millennium; Weinberg compares the earliest Aegean Neolithic with the Syrian Ubaid; and Ward illustrates what the neolithic civilization of China had in common with that of North Persia. But there is little evidence of anything new having emerged from this meeting, or indeed of any concerted effort to tie the papers together. Each author takes a stand on his familiar ground and gives an independent view of the subject as far as he can see it. An opportunity has been lost here to discover more about the range and significance of, for example, the neolithic stone vessels, the Uruk monochrome pottery, and the Khabur ware, whose importance and long survival in Syria were shown at Atchana. By painstaking use of the index and tables, the reader can find out something about these questions, though his task is not made easier by the absence of absolute chronologies. But the meeting could have discussed such topics with authority, and might also have been expected to consider by what routes cultures travelled. We would like to know, for example, how the Ubaid tradition came to Thessaly, and why parts of Cyprus remained so archaic. But of the two topographical notes, one, in the Syrian chapter, is excessively technical, and the other, concerning Iraq, is out of date. For it now seems that the Persian Gulf has never, in historic times, extended further north than it does today. In short, this book contains little that is fresh, and being unco-ordinated would confuse rather than instruct a beginner; but it forms for the initiated a very convenient reference collection of opinions, diagrams, tables and bibliographies.

W. C. BRICE

The All-Knowing God: Researches into Early Religion and Culture. By Raffaele Pettazzoni. Translated by H. J. Rose. London (Methuen), 1956. Pp. 475, 51 illustrations. Price £3

Both the author and translator of this encyclopaedic work are eminent scholars. Dr. Pettazzoni was for over 30 years Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Rome, and is well known for his work in connexion with *Studi e Materiali* and *Numen*. Dr. Rose is equally well known in this country as a classical scholar, latterly Professor of Classics in the University of St. Andrews, an author and translator of many important books on antiquity. This recent volume is a monument to the patience and industry of both author and translator. It is unlikely to attract a wide reading public because of its tremendous detail on so specialized a subject, but it will no doubt be a useful book of reference for academic libraries reckoning to cover extensively religious anthropology.

Dr. Pettazzoni's method is, of course, historical and scientific, not theological or philosophical. Beginning with religion as integral to early culture, he surveys the ideas of omniscient deities throughout the uncivilized peoples of the ancient and modern world. A glance at the table of contents shows the remarkable range of his enquiry: modern African primitives, ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Phoenicia and Israel; the Hittites, ancient and modern India, Iran, Classical Antiquity, Celts (whom Dr. Rose prefers to designate Kelts), Northern and Slavonic Europe, Asiatic Russia, almost all the Far East, the Pacific, Australia, and the entire American continent.

As the author points out, 'the subject of the attributes of Deity was until recent times reserved for the speculations of theology and philosophy.' More recently a number of attempts have been made to treat it differently. Dr. Pettazzoni refers in particular at the outset to L. R. Farnell's Gifford Lectures, 1924-25, *The Attributes of God*. This recent scientific approach gave rise, *inter alia*, to the so-called primitive monotheism school, of which Andrew Lang was one of the first workers, and of which the late Fr. Schmidt was perhaps the best-known representative. Dr. Pettazzoni rejects the primitive monotheism theory as altogether inadequate, but at least he concedes that one must equally guard against a facile evolutionism.

Not all deities, the author contends, have the attribute of omniscience. Rather do we find that it belongs almost universally to a particular class of gods, those associated with light. Max Müller,

in the middle of the last century, for all his too easy theorizing on Indian religion, was at least on the right line in emphasizing the importance of the sky-gods among the Indo-European peoples. Later, the author contends that the omniscience attributed to these deities was extended to others, e.g. those of the elements; but he rightly points out that a distinction must be drawn between metaphysical omniscience as we understand it and omniscience as a concept of the primitive mind, indicating the gods' concern with human deeds.

It will be best to summarize the burden of the book in Dr. Pettazzoni's own words. 'The theory here put forward, that the attribute of omniscience is not originally implicit in the idea of deity generally, but organically connected with the peculiar nature of all-knowing gods, who are all-knowing because all-seeing and all-hearing because they are luminous, as being in the first place sky and astral gods—this theory, I say, gets considerable support from the fact that omniscience is not attributed to sundry other deities whose nature is not of light, chiefly the divinities of the earth and the underworld.'

D. W. GUNDRY

The Siege Perilous. By S. H. Hooke. London (S.C.M. Press), 1956. Pp. 264. Price £1 1s.

43 The greater part of this book consists of a group of essays, composed in the middle thirties and most of them published in *Folk-Lore* and elsewhere, in which Professor Hooke emphasized the importance for anthropology of the study of the civilizations of the Near East. 'A study of the myth and ritual complex of this region, comprising Egypt, Crete, Babylonia and Canaan, shows that under the bewildering variety of their pantheon lie certain common fundamental concepts which express themselves in a ritual pattern whose main features show a remarkable resemblance to one another' (p. 74).

These 'involved the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of a god, the place of the god being taken by a king, a sacred combat in which a king was victorious over a hostile power, usually symbolised by a dragon; a triumphal procession, an enthronement, a sacred marriage, and, in Mesopotamia, the important ceremony of the fixing of destinies' (p. 140).

In early times the hopes and desires of the people were centred in the king, who 'was both king and god, the term god implying nothing more at that stage than the king in his ritual aspect with all the magical potencies which he embodied' (p. 125).

Professor Hooke goes on to trace the influence of this pattern on Judaism and Christianity, and in particular points out how 'the king-god, banished from the effective religion of the people by the prophetic purge, returns again in the guise of the Messiah of apocalyptic expectation' (p. 129).

These views were attacked by the late Professor Frankfort, who maintained that Professor Hooke's patterns were non-existent; that Egyptian culture was purely African, and that the religion of the Jews owed nothing to that of the Canaanites. In a recently written essay Professor Hooke shows that Frankfort was quite wrong, but indicates that his own views on Jewish religion are now somewhat more conservative than they were 20 years ago. There are other interesting essays on kindred subjects, and the book as a whole is an important contribution to the study of comparative religion.

RAGLAN

Blood Royal. By Iain Moncreiffe and Don Pottinger. Edinburgh (Nelson), 1955. Pp. 64, illus. Price 12s. 6d.

44 The first 32 pages of this book, dealing with the King as Father and Priest, have some relevance for anthropology, while the rest covers the historical aspects of kingship with particular reference to the British monarchy. The book combines two extremes—the Sellar and Yeatman approach, provided by the coloured illustrations—and serious research, as evidenced by the references in the Preface and Acknowledgments, and the fact that Iain Moncreiffe of Easter Moncreiffe, Unicorn Pursuivant of Arms, is author of the text. While the outward aspect of the book may put some people off, others may be thus beguiled to knowledge.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Das Mutterrecht. By Wilhelm Schmidt. *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Vol. X. Vienna-Mödling (St. Gabriel), 1955. Pp. 186. Price 20 Swiss fr.

45 In the late years of his life, P. W. Schmidt worked upon a revision of his and W. Kopper's monumental work *Völker und Kulturen* (Regensburg, 1924). This resulted in a series of preliminary studies to a new edition of *Völker und Kulturen*. One of these preliminary studies, treating of couvade, has already been reviewed in MAN (1955, 89). Another weighty posthumous volume discusses the theme of matriarchate.

According to P. W. Schmidt, motherright is intimately connected with primitive, ploughless agriculture. It did not exist in the earliest human society, in the period of *Urkultur*. It has nothing to do with promiscuity, and it is not older than fatherright. In original primitive human societies, man and woman had equal rights. Economic development and differentiation enhanced man's influence and diminished woman's influence in totemistic hunting and in pastoral societies. On the other hand, primitive plant cultivation, undertaken by females, enhanced woman's influence and gave rise to motherright.

Some authors have denied the economic-historical importance of motherright, stressing the fact that woman in some motherright societies is actually quite oppressed. It has been said that the question of descent in the maternal line (motherright) or in the paternal line (fatherright) is not more important than the question of right-hand versus left-hand driving in the traffic. However, woman's part in primitive agriculture is very important, and motherright, or traces of it, is found among many primitive agriculturists. P. W. Schmidt seems to be right in his theory of a connexion between primitive agriculture and motherright.

Yet, this does not mean that all his theoretical assertions are convincing. P. W. Schmidt's resourceful intellect lent itself to theoretical constructions, and it seems to have been a necessity for him to complete his constructions, even when the available facts were hardly sufficient. GUIDMUND HATT

Family: Socialization and Interaction Process. By Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr., and Philip E. Slater. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1956. Pp. xvii, 422. Price £1 10s.

46 The volume under review should be read in the closest conjunction with *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* by Parsons, Bales and Shils (1953), this latter (especially Chapter V) containing the nearest approximation to a *catalogue raisonné* of the principal tenets of Harvard action theory that is at present available. Only on the basis of their earlier theorizing can this latest contribution of Parsons and Bales (now interacting without Shils, but with Olds, Zelditch, and Slater) to the systematization of the social sciences be properly understood.

The two principal themes that pervade *Family* are introduced in Chapter I (Parsons). The first of these we may summarize by saying that what institutionalization (see Durkheim) is to society so internalization (see Freud) is to personality, both society and personality being understood as alternative systematizations of possibly the same empirical series of actions. In making in meticulous detail (in Chapters II, III and, with Olds, IV) 'a systematic analysis of the structure of social relationships as systems in which the process of socialization takes place,' and studying in this setting the Freudian conceptions of the stages and mechanisms of psychosexual development, there emerges what is by far the most comprehensive and valuable schematization in contemporary literature of the types of personality-society relationships discoverable in familial organization. It should be noted that in this as in previous theorizing from the same pens an interest in disorganization is successfully maintained beside the more customary one in organization, both lines of thought being contained within the bounds of a single, unified scheme: a comparison should be made between Parsons's already familiar paradigm of social deviance and social control and that of personality 'pathology' with which he and Olds conclude Chapter IV. The four co-ordinates or dimensions used in both these paradigms have been well formulated in the *Working Papers* as latent pattern maintenance, adaptation, goal attainment and gratification,

and system integration. They are definable in the pattern-variable terms of Parsons and Shils as, respectively, universalism-specificity, performance-affectivity, particularism-diffuseness and quality-neutrality.

In exploring this first theme we note that 'culture' seems to be regarded by Parsons and Bales as a concept of exactly equivalent methodological status to those of 'society' and 'personality,' and this is an advance on their previous collaborative writings; it is a criticism, however, that no progress has been made in conceptualizing in their general theory interpersonal differences in power, as opposed to those of authority. At many points in this book, not the latter but the former assume the strategic place in the explanation made, as, for example, when Parsons refers to the power axis of differentiation in the interaction between parents and children, and when Zelditch notes one reference of the instrumental-expressive distinction as, so far as any one system of interaction is concerned, geographical dispersal of the relevant parties versus geographical togetherness-on-the-spot. What we look for in vain is some kind of systematization in the general theory of this 'chorological' source of differentiation of interaction, as we may call it, alongside the social (role, authority), personality (motive) and cultural (symbol) ones. Until Parsonian theorizing is provided with this it is not obvious, at least, how there can be related to it what is perhaps the most familiar distinction in socio-anthropological description, namely, Bateson's between hierarchical and segmentary principles. In my opinion, hierarchy is to social (role, authority) differentiation what segmentation is to chorological (locality, power) differentiation.

Mention of social anthropology brings us to the second main theme of the volume under review, namely, Zelditch's cross-cultural investigation (Chapter VI) of Parsons's assertion that 'the differentiation of sex role in the family is, in its sociological character and significance, primarily an example of a basic qualitative mode of differentiation which tends to appear in all systems of social interaction regardless of their composition.' The only comment that we wish to make in this briefest of reviews of Zelditch's contribution is to question its fruitfulness for comparative sociology in general, for in his cross-cultural research he has reduced Parsons's and Bales's four divisions of action process to two. In the *Working Papers* it is clearly recognized that instrumentality and expressiveness in interaction are best regarded only in their limited senses of (respectively) adaptation and integration. But Zelditch is content to use the instrumental-expressive distinction so as to include that between the latent-pattern-maintenance and the goal-gratificatory phases of interaction, thereby losing much descriptive and analytical nuance. Comparative sociology should aim at describing the relative places in each social system in question of all four dimensions of interaction, the typical sanctions of which Parsons has defined as (respectively) esteem, approval, response and acceptance. As soon as it is realized that these sanctions stand, in turn, for what are usually distinguished as hierarchy, co-operation, competition and hostility (whether manifest or latent) in interaction then it is but a short step to utilizing the existing socio-anthropological literature for comparative generalization according to Parsonian (and Simmelian and Weberian) theorizing.

Despite the criticisms which I have offered, the volume under review is to be most highly valued as a masterly provision of a coherent body of theorizing for the analysis not only of familial structure but of social and psychological structure in general. In these latter respects it stands in a similar relation to contemporary literature to that in which Simmel's *Soziologie* (1908) stands to historical sources. And if Parsons's literary style in the past has often been dark with excess of light, in the company of his present collaborators it has become markedly easier to read. R. J. APHORPE

Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas. By Margaret Read. London (Nelson), 1955. Pp. 130. Price 8s. 6d.

47 This slender volume contains reprints of nine papers and addresses given by the author, Professor Read, over a period of about ten years. The collection seems to be addressed primarily to people actively engaged on education in tropical areas; but in part it may also be directed towards administrative and political leaders who are responsible for planning educational policy in such

countries. It contains little that is new to the professional anthropologist, except indirectly as an illustration of the impact of anthropological thought on education and allied fields. The time-span of these papers also illustrates the slow evolution of policy in regard to colonial education over the past ten years, together with some of the influences involved. Thus this collection of papers can be equally useful to those interested in colonial problems generally, to students

of education in tropical areas, and to first-year initiates in anthropology. Its various defects should also stimulate renewed effort by anthropologists to develop an applied discipline appropriate to the comparative study of education and social change, and not merely in tropical areas. Professor Read herself suggests several lines for enquiry of this type. It is to be hoped that her Department has pursued these researches.

M. G. SMITH

ASIA

The Aboriginal Races of India. By S. S. Sarkar. Calcutta (Bookland), 1954. Pp. v, 151. Price 12 rupees

48 A number of studies by Professor S. Sarkar on aboriginals in India are here gathered together, with Eugen Fischer's short note on race in the light of Mendelian heredity (reprinting of the original would have helped interpretation of the imperfect English translation) and Sir Arthur Keith's (1936) review of Guha's report on physical anthropology in connexion with the 1931 census of India. Some observers make a deep difference between the majority of South Indian autochthones, such as the Paniyan, Irula, etc., and the Kadar on the grounds of hair character alone, calling the latter Negrito. It is interesting that Keith's review described Kadar hair by the adjective spiral, rather than the term kinky, and Sarkar inclines to the view that there may be several parallel mutations towards closer spiralling of the hair without close genetic connexions. Similarly there may be parallel mutations towards pigmy stature, and Sarkar quotes Speiser's valuable interpretation of the mountain pigmies of some Melanesian islands as stunted variants of their taller coastal congeners. Isolation and inbreeding can produce change, and it has now been shown that sex reproduction is always producing variants of gene patterns. Blood-group studies occupy a chapter. The Paniyan yielded over 60 per cent. A, 7.6 per cent. B and 21.3 per cent. O. Other groups, less emphatically autochthonous, have 37-24 per cent. A, and higher B and O. The Adiyen are much like the Paniyan, but the Kuruma, Mälé, Santal, and several Munda groups have higher B and O and in this respect are analogous with Sakai, Senoi and some other Malayan groups. The Andamanese come nearer the Paniyan in this respect.

Several pages are devoted to a study of some Mälé skeletons from Guma Pahar, Rajmahal, including a skull of a woman with cranial index as high as 79.62, an unusual figure for Indian autochthones, but the blood group study showed the Mälé as less emphatically autochthon than some others. Finger prints also receive attention in this book and results bring them into line, broadly, with those of blood group analysis.

Sarkar moves away from study of abstract race types and tries to look rather into percentage occurrences of diversities. The widespread occurrence, among isolated groups, of hyperdolichocephaly, male brow ridges, broad nose, rather short stature and often relatively dark colouring, stands out as a biological fact for a wide zone from Melanesia and Australia to the Mediterranean and Britain.

H. J. FLEURE

India's Villages. By M. N. Srinivas and others. Alipore (West Bengal Govt. Press), 1955. Pp. 198. Price 7s. 6d.

49 In October, 1951, a short article on fieldwork carried out in Mysore was published by Professor Srinivas in the *Economic Weekly* of Bombay; and during the next two and a half years a succession of similar articles appeared, written by 12 other social anthropologists—Indian, British and American—mostly about the research they were doing at the time. These have now been reprinted, with some revisions and additions, as a single volume, with an introduction by Professor Srinivas.

The collection was made, it is said, because of public demand for some or all of the issues of the journal, which went out of print. But besides this service the book, by allowing us to see all the articles together, makes it easier for us to consider what there is in common between papers written (without any outside regulation) about villages so widely scattered over the sub-continent. There is a basic continuity, of course, in the fact that the writers all have the same approach to their research. They are primarily interested in the villages as social systems, though their specific problems vary with

their several interests, as well as with the geographical, demographic and other differing factors in the villages. But there are, in addition, two other themes which emerge in several papers. The first concerns the changes now occurring in village organization and, in particular, those which have to do with the patterns of hierarchy and authority in the village—the status of the headmen, and of the caste group in particular. The second is taken up by those who discuss and elaborate the lead given by Professor Srinivas in the first paper; this is an assessment of the unity of different groups, primarily those composed of the village population, and the caste memberships therein. This results both in discussion of the villages' internal affairs and also the significance of inter-village ties, and implicit is the problem stated in another collection of papers about the village (*Village India*); to what extent is the village the appropriate unit of study?

A short review cannot deal individually with so many papers, and it would be invidious to single out one or two for discussion. All should be of intense interest to anyone who wishes to know more about the nature of Indian villages, especially in the present scarcity of full-length monographs. The only point with which issue may gently be taken is Professor Srinivas's apologetic tone when writing that the papers were written primarily for laymen and so 'the contributors tried to make their articles readable' and as far as possible avoided technical terms. Readable they indeed are, for which the profession should be equally thankful.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

The Religion of an Indian Tribe. By Verrier Elwin. Bombay (O.U.P.), 1955. Pp. xxiv, 597. Price £2 10s.

50 This book is about the religion of the Hill Saoras of Orissa. It follows the pattern set by *The Muria and their Ghotul* in that it is limited to the description of one institution rather than of the tribe as a whole.

The book has the virtues which have come to be associated with publications by Dr. Elwin. It is based upon 7 years' intermittent field research, both by Dr. Elwin himself and by his assistants. The ethnographical data, therefore, are plentiful. Of particular interest to those who study the content of primitive religions will be the Saora beliefs about the other world '... about which one has the most detailed geographical, social and economic information. ...' This information is imparted by shamans (both male and female) who 'marry' spouses from the other world.

Dr. Elwin's description of how a person becomes a shaman, and of his or her mental experiences is, to my knowledge, unique in anthropological writing in respect of its fullness and wealth of detail, and it is in this field, rather than in tribal ethnography, that the book is important.

As a reviewer one would like to be able to summarize Dr. Elwin's argument. But there is no argument. The book is, among other things, an attempt to make the reader have the 'right' emotional attitude towards the Saoras and their religion. It contains a 'message' rather than an argument, and this message is hammered in by the crude use of emotive terms, as in this sentence (p. 128): 'The placation of the vast other-world of invisible and often hostile beings occupies the energy of a small army of dedicated men and women who, armed with the fragile weapons of bow and fan, earthen pot and bamboo fiddle, and devoting themselves to supplication and sacrifice, fight bravely to protect mankind.'

Here and there the author is diverted into analysis. At p. 183 there is a short discussion on Saora metaphysical beliefs about images: at p. 216 the author speculates on the connexion between the Saora dance and the convulsions of the shaman: at p. 365 he talks of the

Saora motives for erecting menhirs: at p. 447 there is some special pleading about the (beneficial) function of Saora religion: and at various other places there are discussions about prayer, trance, ethics, and the connexion between fear and religion. His conclusion about Saora religion is this (p. 583): 'Their most sublime discovery is that beyond the desolation, the fever and the fret there are values and realities that can only be described in terms of love.'

The author is resolutely uninterested in the sociological aspects of religion. One is not told who—in terms of kinship or political power or anything else—are the people attending or sponsoring ceremonies. Most serious of all is the lack of an adequate outline of the social structure of the Saoras. On the other hand the author feels himself justified in including under the heading of 'ethics' a list of Saora murderers and descriptions of the event. Again, there seems to be an intimate and developing connexion between the Saora religion and Hinduism. We are given odd items of information about this process, but by way of analysis the author never gets beyond saying that the Hindus are unfair to Saoras.

The book is written with a flowing pen. The style is discursive and the Saora people, their way of life and their beliefs are portrayed with a skill found more often in a novel than in a work of analysis. But the easy style and the full reporting descends at times to sentimentality as at p. 383: 'It was a pathetic sight to see the twenty-one buffaloes, dressed in their finery, waiting patiently for the dawn that would mean their death'; or even, when describing a dead child, to nauseating sentimentality (p. 348): 'Sickness and mortality left no mark upon him and the perfect little body with its bright ornaments looked fresh and lovely even in death.'

The book is not a contribution to the sociology of religion. But for those interested in comparative theology there is full information about the content of Saora beliefs and rites concerning the other world. Finally, like all Dr. Elwin's works, this book, with its wealth of intimate detail and its magnificent photographs, gives a vivid impression of the Saora people. F. G. BAILEY

The Zhi Mā Funeral Ceremony of the Na-Khi of Southwest China. By Joseph F. Rock. *Stud. Inst. Anthropol.*, Vol. IX. Vienna-Mödling (St. Gabriel's Mission P.), 1955. Pp. xvi, 229, 10 plates, numerous text figs. Price 25 Sw. Fr.

The Na-Khi who inhabit a remote inaccessible corner of China bordering on Tibet formerly possessed a highly elaborate religious system the liturgies of which were written in a script peculiar to themselves. The characters of the script are, for the most part, mnemonic ideograms—that is to say, the picture writing, when translated, amounts to a kind of code which is meaningful for an indoctrinated priest but a mere jumble of symbols for anyone else. Dr. Rock has devoted many years to the analysis and translation of

a large number of these esoteric writings. This is the thirteenth of his publications on the Na-Khi and one of its most useful features is that at p. xii appears an authoritative bibliography of the other twelve.

Those who are acquainted with the author's other work will hardly need to be informed that this is a work of meticulous scholarship and vast learning. For the less specialized the following points may be noted. The book contains translations and commentaries of texts which were chanted at the normal type of Na-Khi funeral. Dr. Rock lived among the Na-Khi for 25 years and witnessed many ceremonies of the type to which the texts refer. His work is thus a combination of literary exegesis and first-hand ethnography. The Na-Khi are, for all practical purposes, the same people as the Mo-so and their religious ideas form a link between the sophisticated Tibetans on the one hand and the non-literate hill tribes of mainland South-East Asia on the other.

This is not a work which anyone is likely to read for mere amusement, but it is clearly a quarry for all sorts of specialists. Linguists, sinologists, ethnologists, psychologists, experts in the history of writing and in comparative religion, and many others can all browse here with wonder and fascination. E. R. LEACH

The Bukidnon of Mindanao. By Fay-Cooper Cole. *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, Vol. XLVI. Chicago (Natural History Museum), 1956. Pp. 140, 67 figs. Price \$4.

Though the Bukidnon are described in the present tense the material now published was gathered in 1910, when external influences had already made considerable inroads on some aspects of their culture. This account is therefore one of a culture which, if not dead, now exists only in a greatly modified form, and as such is to be especially welcomed. Professor Cole gives a well illustrated general survey covering material culture, the life cycle, social and political organization, religious ideas and ceremonies, mythology, with notes on other cultural matters and on physical type and origin. Inevitably in a pamphlet of 140 pages not all sections are equally well covered, and social anthropologists in particular may be disappointed. Material culture and ritual are probably best served; but even here, perhaps because of the need for compression, description is sometimes inadequate. The account of iron-working on p. 45, for example, seems to imply that it is quenching in water that converts hot iron into steel.

However, this little book is the result of writing up, over forty years later, notes made during seven months in the field. One must make allowances for the difficulty of working from 'cold' notes, and be thankful that Professor Cole found time to give us this account of conditions obtaining at a period when some of the people were still relatively untouched. B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

'Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence.' Cf. MAN, 1956, 186

53 SIR.—Mr. Ruel is within his rights in being disappointed (MAN, 1956, 186) with my account of the Igala and Idoma peoples of Nigeria, for his reaction is necessarily related to what he expected to find in a summary account. I cannot agree, however, that I have misrepresented Clifford's thinking on the origin of the Igala kingship, although I obviously dissent from it. I say, 'Clifford argues . . . that the present dynasty is Jukun in origin and was founded by a noble of the court at Wukari some time during the first half of the eighteenth century, a tradition in favour with one section at least of the ruling house.' (*Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence*, p. 50). This seems to me as good a statement of Clifford's position as the passage which Ruel quotes. I even go on at the end of the paragraph in question to bring in fresh evidence, from Shaw's and Leslie's reports on various Idoma districts, which tends to support Clifford's views and to counter my own.

If my account of the Igala kingship, and of other matters in this survey, seems a bit spare, it is because in the present state of Benue studies any general description of these institutions is necessarily

conjectural and must be pieced together out of what seem valid and meaningful data in the existing sources. These sources, including Clifford's useful monograph, must be criticized at many points. When we see that the Jukun language is no closer to Igala than it is to Tiv or to Fulani, that the Igala and Jukun kingships differ sharply both in structure and symbolically, that the royal masks at Wukari bear no resemblance to those at Idah, that the Jukun have matrilinear succession and the Igala patrilinear, with lineage rotation, that there is sacred regicide in Wukari, whereas the Igala kings die of old age, and that neither the Jukun nor the Igala have been adequately studied in any case, then one wonders what meaning can possibly be ascribed to the statement that the one kingship institution has been derived from the other.

When we compare the Igala and other kingship institutions, we must bear firmly in mind the differing requirements of the various levels of analysis. There is first the problem of defining the concept 'kingship' and of identifying its variants. There is secondly the problem of the sociology of kingship. Finally there is the problem of ethnological relationships, including the problem of the contacts

of elite groups of various kingdoms with each other. There is a minimum of features which an institution must have before we are justified in calling it a 'kingship' and in translating such West African words as *ata*, *etsu*, *hene* or *oche* with the English word 'king.' It is meaningless to compare Igala political structure with that of a neighbouring kingdom in terms of 'the importance of a ruling or superior class and the central position of the *Ata* in the "state" organization; the system of titled offices and of groups associated with the *Ata* . . . ' If both bodies politic are kingdoms, they will have all these features and more besides (*i.e.* religious, military, and judicial functions). It is also meaningless to suggest that the Nupe and Igala kingdoms are similar because both have a system of checks and balances involved in the kingship. This fact belongs to the sociology of kingship, and it seems to me to be a necessary part of any such institution. One might just as properly compare Igala with Siam on this point. When we turn to the problem of the ethnological relations of the kingship institutions of the Confluence regions, the data available are enigmatic, to say the least. On the basis of the evidence now at hand, I cannot see that the Igala kingship is any closer ethnologically to Nupe than to Buganda: it is not very similar to either, once we subtract similarities due to the fact that all three are fairly prosperous kingdoms and that the peoples of all three are Africans who speak Niger-Congo languages. Ruel speaks particularly of the role of 'the counterpoised office of Ashadu' in the system of succession to the kingship. I was quite interested in this office, both in Igala and in the Boju District of Idoma, but can find no mention of such a title nor of an analogous office in either Nadel's or Forde's writings on the Nupe.

Mr. Ruel finds my discussion of the Idoma-speaking peoples confusing; I find the region and its 25 distinctive groups confusing. I can only plead that this is an attempt to deal with heterogeneous peoples whose total numbers are about equal to the aboriginal population of the United States. 'Land' and 'chief' do not mean the same thing in all these groups. I brought what order I could into the tangled usages of the terms 'Idoma' and 'Akpoto,' but it will take many months of fieldwork in many different districts to produce a complete and orderly account of the meanings of these terms. Without a visit to Igbara country, I was unable to settle the question whether there is a connexion between 'Kwotto' and 'Akpoto.' I rather hoped that the reviewer would call attention to my attempt to give some indication, fragmentary though it had to be, of the range of variation of the constitutions, economies, and settlement patterns of the various Idoma-speaking groups and some hint at least of the unique 'feel' of each of these intensely individual districts.

Atlanta University

ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG

A Missing Skull of Early Type from Zululand

54 **STR.**—When in 1951 I visited Mr. W. E. Jones of Mfongosi, Zululand, to see his archaeological collection, he told me of a burial he had excavated about ten years before near his house, which lay close to the River Tugela in the difficult and remote gorge between Jameson's Drift and Tugela Ferry. According to his account, the skeleton was fairly complete and was accompanied by many beads of ostrich eggshell. He was emphatic that the skull was of Neanderthaloid or Broken Hill type. Realizing its interest, he gave it to Dr. Warren, Director of the Natal Provincial Museum, who is believed to have taken it to London in the second half of the war. He died in London, and the skull has disappeared, nor was any report published on it.

Mr. Jones, though not an expert anatomist, was a man of good education, a careful observer and naturalist, with interests not only in archaeology but in snakes, insects and many other local phenomena. Thus we may accord confidence to his observation and memory that the skull was of unusual type, and that in particular its massive brow ridges and receding forehead resembled more or less closely the Broken Hill skull. At the same time, in the warm acid soils of Natal human bones and eggshell beads are unlikely to have survived for many centuries, certainly not for the many millennia which separate us from the Broken Hill and Hopefield fossils. It therefore seems possible that until holocene times this extinct human type survived, perhaps crossed with Bushman or others, in a remote

valley in one of the most remote provinces of the African continent.

The purpose of this letter is twofold. Mr. Jones's skull may still be somewhere in England and may be rediscovered. Secondly, if one unusual skeleton has been found in the Tugela valley, there must be others, and scientists may be tempted to explore closely this region, which my own researches proved to be of considerable archaeological interest.

University College, Achimota, Gold Coast

O. DAVIES

'Slash and Burn.' Cf. MAN, 1955, 144; 1956, 22, 59, 177

55 **STR.**—Whilst endorsing M. Éric de Fautereau's views on the general unsuitability of 'Brandwirtschaft,' I yet feel that a factual misconception should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. The word is an abbreviation of *Brandrodungs(Land)-Wirtschaft* which means: economy, based on deforestation, by fire, not 'Brand-Land-Wirtschaft,' which would mean 'agriculture by fire' and be indeed monstrous.

May I add that in my opinion the North Indian word *jhum*—and the South Indian *pothu*—are shorter terms than any known from European languages and, like *tabu*, *totem*, *mana*, *igloo*, *ulu*, *tipi*, etc., have the advantage of historical connexions with a people or groups of peoples, among whom the described phenomenon is, at any rate today, still a living feature? The term *swidden* has much in its favour, but it may create the wrong impression that a particular kind of plant cultivation, practised in north European countries only, is indicated—and not one of global distribution.

Would a term, taken from a language the speakers of which still practise the described technique habitually, not be sufficiently clear, especially if occasionally qualified when necessity arises?

University of Madras

U. R. EHRENFELS

Oil Lamps in South India. Cf. MAN, 1954, 290; 1955, 158

56 **STR.**—Oil lamps made of half-coconuts with the flesh are used in temple processions in Kerala on the west coast of South India. The half-coconut is filled with vegetable oil and a piece of cotton rag is twisted and used as a wick, weighted down with rice grains. The half-coconut is placed in a bell-metal plate and carried in procession by women who offer this service in fulfilment of vows.

Oil lamps of bell metal or earthenware using vegetable oil were the chief lighting device throughout India till kerosene lamps gradually replaced them. But for all ritual purposes earthenware and bell-metal oil lamps continue to be used all over India in Hindu temples and houses. There was considerable opposition to the introduction of electric lighting in temples some time back. At present, however, electric lighting has become common in temples for all non-ritual purposes, while for ritual purposes metal and earthenware oil lamps continue to be used exclusively. The use of coconut lamps is a survival of a past when such oil lamps were universal.

Government Museum,
Egmore, Madras, India

A. AIYAPPAN
C. J. JAYADEV

The Cruck Truss. Cf. MAN, 1956, 107, 167; 1957, 16, 17

57 **STR.**—I cannot allow Lord Raglan's statement that 'the *nenffyrch* was more probably a forked post' to pass unnoticed. *Nenffyrch* (the plural of *nenfforch*) were two of the three free timbers mentioned in the Laws of Hywel Dda, the third being the *nenbren* (ridgepiece). The cost of one *nenfforch* was 20d., and of a pair, also known as a *gafael*, 40d. *Gafael* would never be a form used for two 'forked posts' and as C. F. Innocent, S. O. Addy, F. Seebohm and others have long assumed, the *fforch* or *nenfforch* was a cruck. Indeed in Durham and Yorkshire, a cruck truss was known as 'a pair of forks.' For a fuller discussion, see *The Welsh House*, chap. VI.

Furthermore, there is in Wales no tradition whatsoever of ridge-pieces held on 'forked posts,' while houses built of the three 'free timbers' (ridgepiece and a pair of crucks) were common throughout the land.

This evidence from the Welsh Laws, much earlier in date than any Gothic arches, finally disposes of the theory that the cruck truss was a copy in wood of the Gothic stone arch.

St. Fagans

IOR WERTH C. PEATE



(a) In the courtyard of a potter's house; the doorway leads to the pottery room



(b) The entrance to a cave dwelling



(c) A walled-up cave dwelling

CAVE DWELLINGS IN LA ATALAYA, GRAN CANARIA

Photographs: James Walton, 1956

THE TROGLODYTE VILLAGE OF LA ATALAYA, GRAN CANARIA*

by

JAMES WALTON, F.S.A.

Maseru, Basutoland

58 The village of La Atalaya consists almost entirely of cave dwellings carved out of a hill which rises steeply from the Barranco de las Goteras to the west of the Caldera de Bandama. The hillside descends in a number of narrow terraces, so that the courtyards in front of one set of cave dwellings are the roofs of those below. The main interest of the village lies in the links which it provides with the Guanches, the indigenous inhabitants of the Canary archipelago, on the one hand and with the troglodyte settlements of Tripolitania and Tunisia on the other.

courtyard doorways lead to a rectangular room on the north side, to another similar rectangular room on the east side and to two interconnected rooms on the west side. The boundary of the courtyard is completed on the south side by a free-standing stone-walled room built on a rock platform. The rectangular rooms represent a more sophisticated development and one contains a bed. The other two rooms, one of which is a clay store and the second a pottery, retain more traditional features. The clay store is a circular room entered through a long tunnel entrance in the sides of which

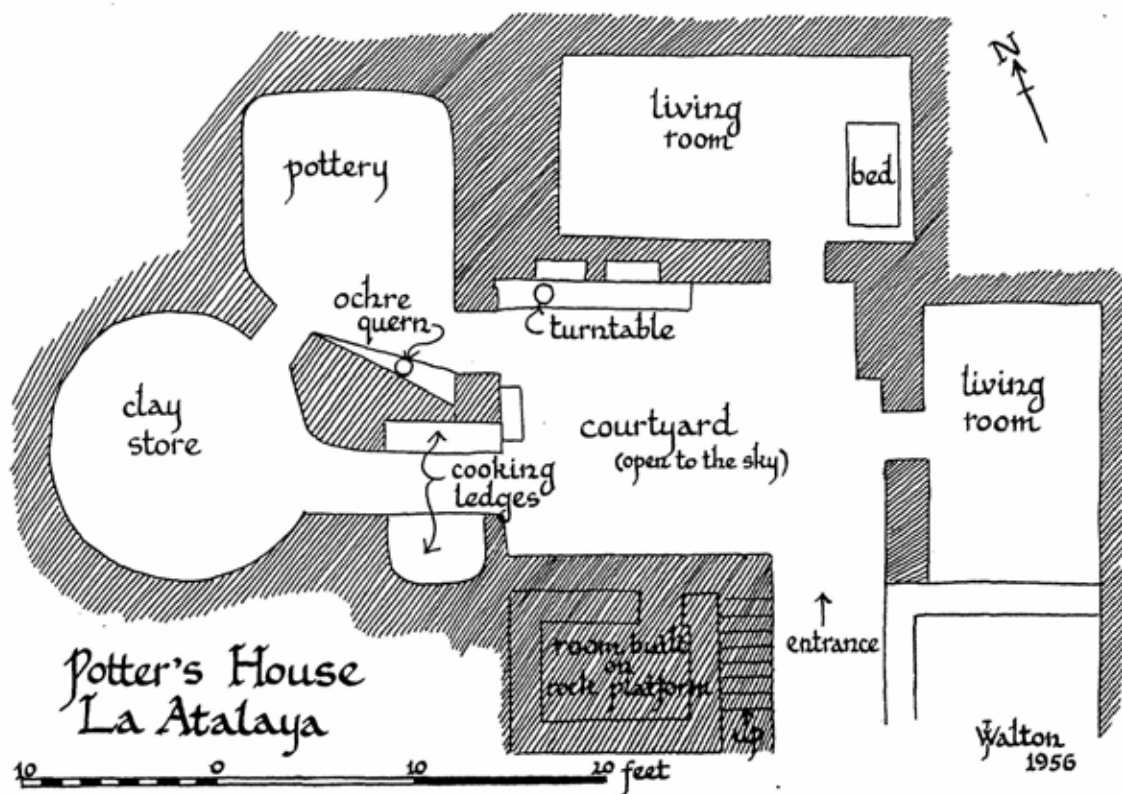


FIG. 1. PLAN OF POTTER'S HOUSE, LA ATALAYA

The cave dwellings of La Atalaya fall into two typological groups. In the first, which I shall refer to as the 'sunken courtyard type,' the rooms lead off from a sunken courtyard around which they are grouped (fig. 1). In the second, the 'open type,' from which the first was derived, the cave rooms are entered from an open area in front of the doorways, which may be enclosed with a low stone wall or a fence and is covered with an awning of cloth, straw or similar temporary roofing.

The potter's house, of which a plan is given (fig. 1), has a central courtyard excavated out of the hillside. From this

* With Plate E and a text figure

are recesses used for cooking. The pottery is a sub-rectangular room utilized chiefly as a store for the finished and unfinished pots rather than as a place where the pots are manufactured, and on a ledge is a rotary quern for grinding broken pots and ochre.

The pots themselves are made outside in the courtyard where the potter sits on a raised stone platform on which rests a flat stone turntable (Plate Ea). Plant pots which can be hung against the wall (Plate Eb) are the commonest articles produced and they are built up by hand by the method of coiling.

In other cases the cave rooms are excavated directly into

the hillside and the levelled space in front of the entrance is covered with sacking or similar material under which the cave dwellers carry out their duties (Plate Eb). This space is frequently enclosed by a low stone wall. Natural caves are also converted into dwellings, stables and cattle sheds by walling up the front (Plate Ec), and it is undoubtedly in this way that the cave dwelling originated.

The use of caves as dwellings, the method of manufacturing pottery, and other cultural features such as the employment of euphorbia poison by fishermen and the retention of *gofio*, salted roasted grain, as the staple diet, are generally regarded as survivals of Guanche customs. Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator who landed in the Canaries in 1455, wrote that the Guanches had 'neither walled houses nor huts but lived in caves and caverns in the mountains.'¹ Only the front parts of the caves were occupied and recesses were hollowed out of the walls for sleeping. In the eastern islands, such as Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, caves were not available and there large holes were excavated in the ground, surrounded by stone walls and roofed with wood or large flagstones. Entrance was gained by a sloping tunnel staircase through a low doorway.

In many ways the troglodyte dwellings of La Atalaya are comparable to those of Tunisia and Tripolitania.² Despois classifies the cave dwellings of Tripoli into four types: horizontal; sunken with small forecourt; sunken with large forecourt; and a mixed type containing both caves and *ghorfas*. The first group includes cave rooms excavated out of the hillside, the material so removed being spread out in front to form a level platform which is surrounded by a low stone wall or hedge. This is equivalent to the 'open type' at La Atalaya. In the second group the rooms open out of a sunken court reached by a sloping ramp. The third group is somewhat similar except that the courtyard is larger and completely open to the sky and the main living room is longer.³ In plan these two groups are comparable to the 'sunken courtyard type' at La Atalaya.

The similarity in plan may be extended also to many details. The Tripolitania cave rooms frequently have alcoves carved out of the sides which are used as sleeping places after the manner of the Guanche caves. Holes in the

sides for cupboards and shelves or ledges carved out of the rock are common to both. Tunnel entrances do not occur at La Atalaya or on Gran Canaria generally, as suitable rock faces are available, but it is evident from early literary sources that they were general on Fuerteventura where the courtyard was excavated out of the level ground as a pit.

Allowing for the effect of Spanish influence and the long period of time which has elapsed for local development, the similarity between the cave dwellings of Gran Canaria and those of North Africa is sufficiently marked to suggest a common origin involving a cultural spread from North Africa to the Canary Islands through the Guanches. Guanche skeletal remains indicate Berber or Shilluk affinities while Arab skeletons have been found in Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. According to Espinosa, other cultural features of the Guanches support a North African origin.

Norris regards the troglodyte dwellings in Tripolitania as representing a developed form of a prehistoric feature⁴ and Crawford expresses the same idea when he writes: 'It is probable that a special type of habitation (the bear-pit) consisting of caves (rooms) opening on to a central open court, developed at a very early date, probably in the western Mediterranean, in a region of soft earth, not rock.'⁵ If this suggestion is correct it may prove that the cave dwellings of the Canary Islands do not indicate a cultural spread from Tunisia or Tripolitania but that both groups had a common origin in the western Mediterranean and represent parallel developments. Until more archaeological evidence is available it is impossible to decide.

Notes

¹ A. da Cadamosto, *The Voyages of Cadamosto*, translated and edited by G. R. Crone, Hakluyt Society, second series, Vol. LXXX, 1937; see also: A. de Espinosa, *The Guanches of Tenerife with the Spanish Conquest and Settlement*, translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham, Hakluyt Society, second series, Vol. XXI, 1907.

² Among the many publications dealing with the cave dwellings of Tunisia and Tripolitania the following are probably the most useful: O. G. S. Crawford, chapter on 'Caves, Houses and Tombs' in *Archaeology in the Field* (1953), pp. 151-65; H. T. Norris, 'Cave Habitations and Granaries in Tripolitania and Tunisia', *MAN*, 1953, 125; Jean Despois, *Le Djebel Nefousa (Tripolitaine)*, Paris, 1935.

³ Despois, *op. cit.*

⁴ Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵ Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

ASPECTS OF BRIDEWEALTH AND MARRIAGE STABILITY AMONG THE KACHIN AND LAKHER*

by

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59 Readers of *MAN* may recollect an extensive correspondence that took place during 1953 and 1954 under the general heading *Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage* (*MAN*, 1953, 75, 122, 223, 279; 1954, 96, 97, 153).

* With two text figures

This centred round certain propositions first formulated by Professor Gluckman in a contribution to *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. The present paper¹ has some bearing on the matters there discussed. The hypotheses which Professor Gluckman sought to defend are to be found at pp.

190-192 of his original article and seem to be three in number:

(1) Divorce is rare and difficult in societies organized on a system of marked Father Right and frequent and easy to obtain in other types.

(2) The frequency of divorce is an aspect of the durability of marriage as such, which in turn is a function of the kinship structure.

(3) The amount of goods transferred (in bridewealth payments) and the divorce rate tend to be directly associated but both are rooted in the kinship structure. It is rare divorce which allows high marriage payment.

Professor Gluckman's argument is related primarily, though not exclusively, to African materials. In his view the third hypothesis is quite subsidiary to the other two.

The purpose of this paper is not to controvert Professor Gluckman's thesis but rather to draw attention to certain ambiguities.² The first of these is the use of the expression 'marked Father Right.' *Father Right* in anthropology is a translation of the Roman legal concept *Patria Potestas*. As such it is not necessarily associated with patrilineal descent. For example, Garo society is certainly organized on matrilineal principles but authority within the co-resident extended family (*nok*) is vested in the senior husband in the group, the *nokma*. It is he who exercises control over his wife's property and disposes of his daughters in marriage. A man has only marginal influence in the affairs of the households of his married sisters. The Garo, though matrilineal, seem to be a Father Right society. But Professor Gluckman was not using the expression in this way. On the contrary, in his essay 'marked Father Right' appears to be a synonym for some such expression as 'strong patrilinearity.'³ On this reading, his hypotheses presuppose that the descent structure of any particular society can be given a position on a continuous scale, the markers of which might read: Marked Father Right—Moderate Father Right—Bilateral (cognatic)—Moderate Matriliney—Extreme Matriliney. The general thesis seems to be that as we move along this scale from Marked Father Right towards Extreme Matriliney the probability of frequent and easy divorce increases while the probability of quantitatively large bride-wealth payments decreases, the causal factor being the type of descent structure.

My method of testing this hypothesis will be to consider the relevant data from three societies which are culturally very similar. All three of these societies are generally described as patrilineal; but whether all or any of them deserve the label 'Marked Father Right' is a matter of definition. Part of my task is to investigate the meaning of this expression; for clearly, unless we know what this phrase means, the truth or untruth of Professor Gluckman's thesis cannot be verified.

My three societies are: (i) The Gumsa Kachins of North Burma, particularly those living on the Burma-China frontier east of Bhamo. I shall refer to these as 'Ordinary Jinghpaw.' (ii) The Gauri Kachins who are immediate neighbours of the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' but differ from

them slightly in matters of dialect and custom. (iii) The Lakher, an Assam tribe who are neighbours to the Haka Chin of Burma, whom they closely resemble in general culture. These last live some hundreds of miles to the southwest of the Kachin groups and are not in direct contact with them. Kachin and Haka Chin culture is however so similar in its general aspects that at least one distinguished anthropologist has confused the two groups (Lévi-Strauss, 1949).

In ethnographical accounts of the Kachins, 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' and Gauri are not usually clearly distinguished but, in fact, Gilhodes (1922) is concerned exclusively with Gauri and Hanson (1913) almost exclusively with 'Ordinary Jinghpaw.' Carrapiett (1929) refers to 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' when citing J. T. O. Barnard and to Gauri when citing P. M. R. Leonard, D. W. Rae and W. Scott. Kawlu Ma Nawng (1942), himself a Gauri, is usually writing about 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' in Chapter XI of his work he is writing about Gauri.

The general pattern of marriage that prevails among the Kachins (Jinghpaw as well as Gauri) has been described by me in previous publications (Leach, 1952; 1954); the Lakher system has been analysed by Parry (1932). Briefly the position is that in all three societies there is high evaluation of class hypogamy, while class hypergamy is deplored. A young man is expected to marry a girl of higher social status than himself, and he must in all events avoid marrying a girl of lower status than himself. If anything, the Lakher stress this evaluation even more strongly than the Kachins. Lakher men can have concubines (*nongthang*) of low class but in marriage proper (*nonghia*) the wife is always expected to be of higher status than her husband, and a man may have to postpone marriage for many years to achieve this end (*op. cit.*, pp. 292, 311, 340). In the long run this discrimination has economic as well as snob value. The amount of a girl's brideprice varies according to the rank status of the patrilineage to which she belongs. If her father, her father's father, and her father's father's father have each in turn married women of higher class than themselves, then the girl may be able to claim a brideprice which is higher than that to which her patrilineage is normally entitled (*op. cit.*, p. 311).

Associated with this pattern of hypogamy is a political structure that in some ways resembles feudalism. The system is reflected in a marriage rule which makes it proper to marry a woman of the category of mother's brother's daughter, while prohibiting marriage with the father's sister's daughter. Typically, a man's father-in-law is also his political overlord. What I have written previously with regard to the Kachin in this matter (Leach, 1952; 1954) is valid also for the Lakher.

All three societies have a patrilineal lineage structure, but, among the Lakher, lineages are not, it would seem, ordinarily of the segmentary type. On this point, however, Parry's material is not very specific. The residence pattern and general ecology seem to be very similar in all three cases.

On the other hand, in the matter of bridewealth and divorce the three groups show some interesting variations. 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' seem to fit Professor Gluckman's

hypothesis very well. Though semi-permanent pre-marital liaisons are frequent, there is also a formal religious marriage rite (*num shalai*) and once this has been gone through the only orthodox mode of divorce is for the bride to be exchanged for one of her lineage sisters. The marriage itself is indissoluble (Carrapiett, 1929, pp. 35-37; Kawlu Ma Nawng, 1942, p. 60). The wife's children belong absolutely to the lineage of her husband and there is a system of widow inheritance which possibly deserves the name levirate (MAN, 1954, 96). Bridewealth transactions in this society are complicated and expensive (Hanson, 1913, p. 185), but these do not reach the elaboration of the Lakher system (Parry, 1932, pp. 311-339).

Lakher, on the other hand, seem to run quite contrary to the theory. There is no religious element in the formal marriage rite (*op. cit.*, p. 299). Divorce is easy and apparently frequent (*op. cit.*, p. 343). Widows may remarry and need not remain with the first husband's lineage (*op. cit.*, p. 295). Yet by ordinary criteria the Lakher seem to be just as patrilineal as the Kachins. Moreover their bridewealth transactions are not only very expensive but extraordinarily complicated. The husband must not only make a large main payment (*angkie*) to the lineage of his wife, but, once his household is established, he must make a payment (*puma*) of similar scale to the lineage of his wife's mother's brother, part of which (*lokhen*) is then transferred on to the lineage of the mother's brother of the wife's mother's brother.

As I have indicated, Gauri custom is in most respects barely distinguishable from that of the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' but there are some special features with regard to marriage and divorce in which the Gauri somewhat resemble the Lakher. Gauri divorce is not common but is quite possible. Where a marriage is unsatisfactory the easiest procedure (as with the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw') is for the bride's lineage to provide another girl as substitute. But where this is not possible the marriage can be brought to an end simply by returning the brideprice (Gilhodes, 1922, p. 222; Leonard in Carrapiett, 1929, p. 37; Kawlu Ma Nawng, 1942, p. 62).

Again, a Gauri widow is only provisionally at the disposal of her husband's lineage. If the latter do not provide a new husband whom her parents consider suitable then they may take her back (against partial repayment of the bride-price). She is then completely free to marry again (Gilhodes, 1922, p. 227).

In contrast, among the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' 'when once a woman has completed the ceremony of eating rice from her husband's hand at the evening meal of their wedding day, she becomes his wife for all her life' (Kawlu Ma Nawng, 1942, p. 60) and the husband's kin have an inescapable obligation to support her even after the husband's death.

The Gauri have another striking custom which is relevant. Gauri girls often go through the formal marriage ceremony and then immediately return to their own parents where they remain for a number of years before joining their husbands. While they are at home they do not hesitate to entertain lovers, though the latter risk punishment as adulterers. It is considered most shameful for a Gauri bride to settle down with her husband immediately

after marriage (Gilhodes, 1923, pp. 221f.). This, I suggest, is a symbolic gesture which serves to discriminate the fact that while the marriage ceremony has served to transfer to the husband's lineage all offspring of the bride, however begotten, the physical person of the bride herself has not been so transferred. She remains a free and independent member of her own original patrilineage.

Now it is true that 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' brides are also rather prone to making a show of running away from their husbands on the marriage night. It is a gesture of contempt for the low status of the husband's group, and it apparently has the approval of the bride's parents. Nevertheless, in my experience, an 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' bride is always immediately sent back to her husband where she thereupon settles down. Of the ethnographers, only Kawlu Ma Nawng (1942, pp. 60, 62), who is himself a Gauri, seems to claim that 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' and Gauri custom are here virtually the same. I admit that 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' and Gauri custom are very close but the difference that exists is not an accident. 'Ordinary Kachin' marriage transfers both the bride and her offspring to the jural control of the husband's lineage; Gauri marriage transfers the offspring only.

The nature of the marriage ceremony itself and the scale and pattern of the brideprice payments among Gauri and 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' seem to be indistinguishable.

Finally as to politics. In writing previously of the Kachin I have suggested that all Kachin *Gumsa* chiefs (including the Gauri) model themselves on Shan princes and that, of all Kachins, the Gauri chiefs have been the most successful in this respect (Leach, 1954, p. 225). As compared with that of the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' Gauri society is more clearly class-stratified and the chiefs are more effectively autocratic. From my reading of Parry I should judge that the same is true also of the Lakher.

Is anything to be inferred from these various differences? In terms of Professor Gluckman's original hypotheses it should presumably be the case that the Gauri have 'less marked Father Right' than the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' and the Lakher 'less marked Father Right' than either; for among the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' divorce is impossible, among the Gauri divorce is possible but rare, and among the Lakher it is easy and frequent. But how can we measure the degree of Father Right? Is it a question of a father's authority over his sons or over his daughters or over both?

In Professor Gluckman's argument the stress is on the rights in a woman acquired by the patrilineage of the woman's husband as a consequence of marriage. But what has this to do with Father Right? Could we not argue that, if Father Right is a variable at all, then, in a patrilineal society, it is concerned with the degree of permanence with which the patrilineage of birth continues to exercise jural control over all its members throughout their lives. Surely the Father Right of a father who retains considerable control over his daughter's person even after she is married is greater than the Father Right of a father who surrenders all such control to his daughter's husband? Even though Professor Gluckman would now withdraw his use of the ex-

pression Father Right³ the problem still remains. What can we mean if we say that, of two patrilineal societies, one is 'more strongly patrilineal' than the other?

Let us look at our specimen material from this point of view. I suggest that as between the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' on the one hand and the Lakher (and to some extent the Gauri) on the other, there is *no* difference in the system of descent but that there *is* a significant difference in the nature of the institution of marriage.

With the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' marriage involves a transfer of the bride from the jural control of her own patrilineage to that of her husband, and this transfer is absolute and final. The husband's lineage acquires by the marriage not only rights in the bride's potential children, but also absolute physical control over the person of the bride herself. The strength of the affinal tie in this case rests on the strength of the sibling relationship between the bride and original patrilineage. In the case of a quarrel it is this sibling link rather than the marriage link that is presumed to give way. The affinal (*mayu/dama*) relationship between brothers-in-law may become ineffective, but this cannot lead to a divorce.

In this case the bridewealth transactions can correctly be described as a 'brideprice'; ownership of the physical person of the bride and all rights that adhere to her are transferred in exchange for the goods of the marriage payment. In this situation, as Professor Gluckman had predicted, divorce is impossible.

With the Lakher on the other hand marriage is concerned only with the begetting of children and the jural status of these children. The husband's group, whose inferior status is emphasized, can be regarded as 'hiring' the procreative powers of the bride for the purpose of raising children of relatively high status. In this way the husband's lineage acquire permanent rights in the children so produced, but they do *not* acquire permanent rights in the person of the bride. On the contrary, the bride never gives up her effective membership in her own superior patrilineage and she is free to return there whenever she likes. The bride's children belong to the husband's group but not absolutely so; her own patrilineage retains a kind of lien on her children (particularly her daughters) so that when these daughters in due course come to be 'hired out' on marriage her original patrilineage claims half the rent.

According to some anthropologists (*cf.* Brenda Seligman, 1928) we should recognize in this last feature a 'submerged' principle of matrilineal descent, but I find this artificial and unhelpful; Kachins and Lakher alike seem to me to have an exclusively patrilineal 'ideology' with no concepts at all that can usefully be described as those of double unilineal descent. My own interpretation is different. The evidence shows, I suggest, that in the Lakher case, the sibling link between the bride and her own patrilineage is never threatened at all. If the affinal link (*patong/ngazua*) becomes ineffective it is the marriage itself that is allowed to come to an end. This is in contrast to the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' case where the marriage is deemed unbreakable but the sibling link between the wife and her brothers can become ineffective. My argument is, in fact, an exemplification of

Professor Gluckman's second hypothesis as cited in the first paragraph of this paper.

The schematic difference, by which 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' marriage establishes an affinal link between lineages the effectiveness of which depends upon the continued recognition of the sibling relationship, while Lakher marriage establishes an affinal link between lineages the effectiveness of which depends upon the continuation of the marriage itself, is illustrated in figs. 1 and 2. In both cases the 'affinal

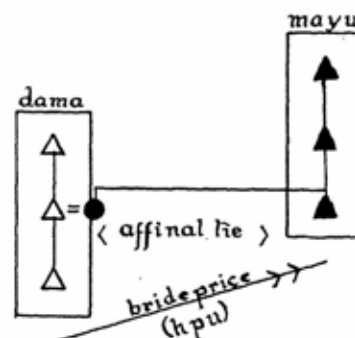


FIG. 1. 'ORDINARY JINGHPAW' SYSTEM

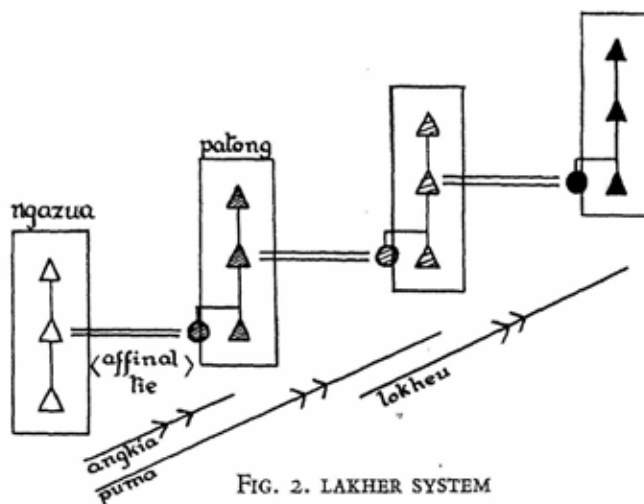


FIG. 2. LAKHER SYSTEM

tie' established by a new marriage is a potentially fragile element in the continuing social structure; in the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' case the fragility is located in the sibling link between the bride and her lineage brothers; in the Lakher case the fragility is in the marriage relationship itself.

Now it seems to me arguable that it is in the general nature of kinship that a sibling link is 'intrinsically' more durable than a marriage tie. If so, the large and extended marriage payments of the Lakher (which on Gluckman's thesis are paradoxically associated with easy divorce)⁴ may be interpreted as an attempt to consolidate the intrinsic weakness of the *patong/ngazua* relationship (*cf.* Parry, 1932, p. 343).

It may be observed that the fact that the Lakher and Gauri are more sharply stratified—more class conscious—than the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' also fits with the pattern I have described. Jinghpaw aristocrats 'sell' their daughters

outright; Gauri and Lakher disdain to do so, they merely permit their inferiors to have sexual access conditional on the long continued payment of tribute fees.

This perhaps may seem like the language of a stud farm, but the analogy is appropriate. Lakher notions of class do imply that they think of 'good breed' in humans much as we think of 'good breed' in horses. In both contexts 'good breed' is a valuable commodity and available for hire rather than for sale.

But if my readers accept this analysis, what is left of Professor Gluckman's original propositions? If the degree of Father Right is a significant variable in these matters where does one locate the maximum? Among the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' who give their daughters away, or among the Lakher and Gauri who seemingly never do so? If we are required to hold that the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' are in some way 'more patrilineal' than the Lakher, what is the basis for this discrimination? My purpose, as I said before, is not to controvert Professor Gluckman but rather to seek a clarification of concepts. And this is not just an idle matter of playing with words. It is the whole nature of the concept of 'descent' which is at issue.

Let me elaborate. The importance of the work of Evans-Pritchard and his associates with regard to the general theory of unilinear descent systems is now generally recognized. Since the publication of *The Nuer* (1940) strictly comparable segmentary structures have been reported from many parts of the world (Fortes, 1953). All this has greatly enhanced the general theory of corporate group structure which stems originally from Maine and Weber (Krader, 1956). It has also served to throw great, and perhaps exaggerated, emphasis upon the principle of descent as the fundamental principle of social organization in all relatively 'homogeneous' societies.

In all this analysis the stress has been upon ties within the unilinear corporation or between different corporations linked by ties of common descent. The structural ties deriving from marriage between members of different corporations have been largely ignored or else assimilated into the all-important descent concept. Thus Fortes (1953), while recognizing that ties of affinity have comparable importance to ties of descent, disguises the former under his expression 'complementary filiation.' The essence of this concept, which resembles the Roman distinction between agnation and cognation, is that any Ego is related to the kinsmen of his two parents because he is the descendant of both parents and not because his parents were married. The marriage tie itself is of minor importance as compared with the sibling link uniting the 'complementary' parent to his (or her) original descent group. In effect, the structure of affinal relationship is assumed always to be of the type represented by fig. 1 rather than that shown in fig. 2. For Fortes, marriage ties, as such, do not form part of the structural system. They are of interest only because they serve to distinguish the individuals from one another. Citing Laura Bohannan he remarks that 'ties... arising out of marriage exchanges result in a complex scheme of individuation for distinguishing both sibling groups and persons

within the lineage' (Fortes, 1953, p. 33). But the material which I have presented in this paper throws some doubt upon the adequacy of this analysis. For in the Lakher and Kachin cases, although the above generalization is true, it is also the case that the *mayu/dama* and *patong/ngazua* ties are a crucial part of the continuing structure of the system. These are systems in which, as usual, 'filiation—by contrast with descent—is bilateral' (*op. cit.*). In our usual terminology they are patrilineal systems in which the complementary matrilineal descent line assumes very great importance. Ought we then to say that these are systems of double unilinear descent (which conflicts with the ideology of the people themselves as reported by the ethnographers) or should we think again about the relationship between 'corporateness' and 'descent' and qualify our interpretation according to whether the 'complementary filiation' is of the type of fig. 1 or fig. 2?

It is relevant here, that, as is indicated in the diagrams, the cross ties linking the different patrilineages laterally are not felt by the peoples themselves to be of the nature of descent. The continuity of the structure 'vertically' through time is adequately expressed through the agnatic transmission of a patrilineage name. But the continuity of the structure 'laterally' is not so expressed. Instead, it is maintained by a continuing chain of debt relationships of an economic kind, for it is of the very essence of the *mayu/dama* and *patong/ngazua* ties that some part of the bridewealth payments (*hpu*, *angkia*, *puma*, etc.) is left outstanding from generation to generation. It is the existence of these outstanding debts which assert the continuance of the affinal relationship. If the debt is repudiated the affinal tie becomes ineffective; in the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw' case this is likely to lead to feud, in the Lakher case it will lead to divorce and the total cancellation of the affinal (*patong/ngazua*) link.

A similar and related problem exists in the field of Australian studies where there has been a long standing debate as to whether (or in what circumstances) the descent systems described by Radcliffe-Brown and Lloyd Warner can properly be described as systems of double unilinear descent. Schematically this is often the simplest form of description but how far is it adequate? Radcliffe-Brown's attempts to represent the Murngin system as simply a variation of the more usual Australian patterns take cognizance of the kinship structure alone and serve to mask rather than to illuminate the economic elements in the situation.

In sum, my problem is this: Are the categories 'complementary filiation' and 'double unilinear descent' as demarcated in Fortes (1953), adequate for the interpretation of data such as I have presented? Or must we, as I suspect myself, take cognizance of the political and economic context before we can give a label to the structural type? I think perhaps that this is the point at which my opinions diverge from those of Professor Gluckman, for at one stage he appeared to be insisting that the kinship structure *per se* is causal to all the other factors in the total situation; but perhaps I misunderstood him. The value of the particular instance I have analysed in this paper is that, as between the 'Ordinary Jinghpaw,' the Gauri and the Lakher, a very large number of the possibly significant variables are com-

mon to all three societies so that it becomes likely that the particular differences that have been noticed are, in fact, the functionally discriminating factors.

I suspect that, in the end, we may have to distinguish two entirely different categories of unilineal descent systems. There is the category into which most of the African lineage systems seem to fall and which would include the non-exogamous lineages of Islamic Western Asia. In this case the ongoing structure is defined by descent alone and marriage serves merely to create 'a complex scheme of individuation' within that structure. In contrast, there is the category of those societies in which unilineal descent is linked with a strongly defined rule of 'preferred marriage.' In this latter case 'complementary filiation' may come to form part of the permanent ongoing structure, but to understand how this comes about we need to consider economic and political factors as well as the kinship structure in isolation.

In both categories of society the principle of unilineal descent is all-important, but it plays an entirely different structural role in the two cases.

Notes

¹ I am indebted to a personal grant-in-aid from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation for facilities in the preparation of this article.

² Professor Gluckman has kindly read this paper in draft and authorizes me to make the following comments on his behalf. He agrees that the above paragraph contains a fair summary of his original argument but suggests that the reader ought to refer to the original article. In summary of his present views he states:

'I do not think that the kind of bridewealth is simply related to agnatic descent, since it is affected by so many other factors. What I do believe is that it is unusual for there to be a high

marriage payment in a system with unstable marriage, and therefore high marriage payments are unusual in non-agnatic systems. I may not have stated this quite clearly in my article, but I think it is clear that this is what I meant.'

³ Professor Gluckman agrees with this statement and says that in any reformulation of his hypothesis he would avoid the expression 'Father Right.'

⁴ I should stress that Professor Gluckman is well aware of instances, even in the African literature, where high marriage payments go with easy divorce, but in his view these cases are 'unusual' (see Note 2 above).

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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

An Akawaio Amerindian Village, British Guiana. A colour film shown to the Institute, 27 September, 1956, by Dr. Bassett Maguire, Curator Co-ordinator of Tropical Research at the New York Botanical Garden, with a discussion presented by Dr. Audrey Butt, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Summary by Dr. Butt

In February 1952 I was living at Kataima, which is one of the villages inhabited by the Akawaio Indians of the Upper Mazaruni District of British Guiana. At this time, Dr. Bassett Maguire arrived in the area, equipped with a ciné camera and Kodachrome colour film, intending to film some of the typical everyday activities of the Akawaio.

Dr. Maguire had been engaged in botanical research in Venezuela. He had found himself near the western borders of British Guiana, without a sufficient number of porters, and had decided to make the three-day journey via the Kamarang River to seek assistance from the Akawaio whom he had met on a previous visit. At the same time, he felt that it would be a pity not to use the opportunity to make a film record of these interesting Indians and the traditional way of life which they still follow.

As soon as I heard of his intention I volunteered to act as interpreter—as far as my knowledge of the language allowed—to advise on types of activities which should be filmed and to help organize the Kataima inhabitants so that these activities could be

filmed as comprehensively as possible in the short time available.

The film which we showed at the Royal Anthropological Institute is a copy (which Dr. Maguire has very generously placed on loan in the Pitt Rivers Museum) of somewhat more than half of the original, which is in New York.

The main subjects covered by the film are as follows:

The process of making a garden, from clearing the forest until planting.

The process of making cassava bread, from the time of digging up the roots to the final baking of the flour.

Various crafts such as making baskets, twine, a bark canoe, pottery, huts, etc.

Also shown are various activities such as brewing, fetching water, the village communal meal, hunting, giving a hunting charm and dancing.

Among these, the sequences showing the dancing are particularly important since they record a form of dancing which is now known to only a few individuals and is practically obsolete. It is doubtful whether these dances can ever be filmed again among the Akawaio for the principal actors who danced for Dr. Maguire have since died. Similar dances have already been completely forgotten among neighbouring Carib-speaking tribes.

Dr. Maguire's film is therefore a unique and valuable ethnological record.

Village Politics in Trucial Oman. By Peter Lienhardt, *Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 3 January, 1957*

61 Trucial Oman consists of a group of seven small Arab states lying near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Their foreign affairs are, by treaty, conducted through the British Government. Their internal government and their mutual relations are in the hands of their own rulers.

The Trucial States are barren countries depending much more on imports than on their own natural resources. They lie on an ancient sea-trade route connecting the lands of the Persian Gulf with those of the Indian Ocean. Until the 1930's, the principal source of income of the Trucial states was from pearl fishing, but this declined with the development of cultured pearls in Japan. *Entrepôt* trade is of considerable importance to their economies and now the people depend a great deal also on employment in the oil states of the Persian Gulf area.

The economic power of the coastal towns has enabled them to dominate the desert and the fishing and oasis villages. From the towns spreads a type of authoritarian government based, to some extent, on the ability of the town rulers to pay for the services of armed retainers out of customs duties and, formerly, out of pearling taxes. The authority of these rulers is held in check by the frequency of *coups d'état* within the ruling families and further by the ability of their people to move away from them. Population movement is one of the most striking characteristics of Persian Gulf life. It can be seen to depend on the absence of a peasant class in the society due to the barrenness of the countries and upon the traditional dependence of the people on seafaring or nomadic pursuits such as allow them to move from one place to another without losing their source of income.

There are several examples in Trucial Coast history of whole tribes and tribal sections from the settled people as well as the nomads moving together from one place to another. The greater part, however, of population movement is made up of movements of individuals and small groups. These are integrated into the society of the localities into which they move through the Arab customs of protection for the neighbour, *jar*, and the *protégé* (locally called *zabin*, more commonly, in Arabic, *dakhil*), through inter-marriage and through the treaty of God, 'ahd Allah, whereby a man can at will make a political contract which overrides tribal duties.

Tribal organization survives in the Trucial States, but survives more strongly in the villages and among the bedouin than in the towns, from which the tribal leaders tend to be expelled in the course of unsuccessful *coups d'état*. The town rulers govern those communities of their subjects who are not accessible, because of distance, to their personal rule, through the tribal leaders. Thus, particularly in the villages and amongst the bedouin, there are two kinds of hereditary right, neither dependent on the other: the right of the ruling families with reference to which the states as wholes are united and led, and the right of the tribal sheikhs with reference to which local groups within the state are united and led. This corresponded in the past to the realities of a political situation in which the town rulers were concerned to obtain the support of bedouin and villagers to assist them in their internal troubles within the state and their external wars. The lack of definition of the relative spheres of local and state right corresponded to a situation where the strength of the town rulers' positions in internal and external politics was extremely variable.

The possibility that oil exists underground has led to a new situation. Formerly the land itself had little intrinsic value, but now its potential value has, in effect, changed the political value of the people inhabiting it. Village sheikhs have tried to assert their complete independence of the town rulers, whilst the town rulers, for

their part, have denied that the village sheikhs are more than appointed governors and have expelled them. Formerly, the town rulers were concerned to assert rights over their villages in order to obtain political support from their inhabitants; now, they tend to assert rights over the inhabitants in order to establish absolute economic rights over the land beneath which oil may be found.

Religion and Society in South-Eastern China. By Maurice Freedman, M.A., Ph.D., *Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 7 February, 1957*

62 If we examine the published evidence on the south-eastern Chinese provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we are able to suggest significant connexions between certain religious facts and special social and political conditions. In these two provinces agnatic organization was highly developed (many large local communities being composed of single lineages), while the region was notorious for its turbulence. Its reputation for unruliness rested both on popular opposition to the government and armed hostilities between local communities. A localized lineage was likely to be internally differentiated in terms of status deriving in part from connexions with the national bureaucracy. Large-scale lineages, extreme social differentiation, and the links between the local communities and the bureaucracy are aspects of rural society in Fukien and Kwangtung which throw light on two features of its religious system: ancestor worship and unorthodox religious activities.

Ancestor worship as it was practised in this area was not a simple entity. Domestic ancestor worship was structurally and ideologically a different cult from ancestor worship conducted in ancestral halls. In principle, when a socially mature man or woman died his or her tablet was installed in a domestic shrine where it was kept until the lapse of time removed it some four generations from the senior living generation in the house. Household families tended to split in each generation, the tablets remaining in the care of the senior son. No tablet could be duplicated, because it was ritually invested with the soul of the dead man or woman at the graveside; so that the worship of any domestic collection of tablets might bring together the members of several household families related in close agnation. However, junior household families were able to conduct independent ancestor worship, if they wished, by using ancestral plaques, which were boards on which had been copied the details on the individual tablets passed in the senior line. Only in the domestic cult were relations between the ancestors and the living personal and intimate. The ancestors when newly dead relied on the living for aid in their difficult passage through the underworld, which was a replica of bureaucracy on earth. They received regular offerings of food and incense and were kept informed of important family affairs. On their side, the ancestors maintained an essentially benevolent interest in the doings of their descendants. They were not agents of moral control.

When, after some four generations had passed, a tablet was superannuated from domestic worship it was either burnt or buried. It might then be replaced by a tablet of different design which could be set up in an ancestral hall. The genealogical segmentation of the lineage was matched, at least at its highest levels, by the arrangement of ancestral halls, so that new tablets were placed in the lowest hall in the hierarchy of halls. However, while ancestral halls were ritual centres for determinate lineage segments, they also expressed the status differences within segments. In some halls only the tablets of the rich, the eminent, and the virtuous—certainly overlapping categories—were admitted, while the total collection of tablets in a hall was likely to be arranged not simply according to genealogical position but also by principles of superi-

ority and inferiority in social status. Moreover, the control of and attendance at ancestral rites performed in the halls displayed the competition for social status between agnates. If we look at the conflicts arising from the burial of the dead according to geomantic principles we see even more clearly how the successful members of the community were ritually chased by the would-be successful.

Resistance to the state took a religious turn in religious sects which were sometimes of a messianic complexion. Confucian officialdom looked with horror on sectarian activity, seeing in it a political threat as well as an attack on ideological orthodoxy, and was at pains to suppress, ruthlessly if necessary, unorthodox practices and organizations. More important than the sects of this kind were the secret societies, which were anti-dynastic in their professed objectives and primarily of a political and secular nature. However, the religious elements in their organization were significant, as we see from their elaborate initiation ritual and their mythical charter in which their origin was traced to the injustice suffered by a band of Buddhist monks at the hands of the government early in the Manchu dynasty. The secret societies appear to have been widely spread in Fukien and Kwangtung and to have been organized, at least nominally, on a provincial basis. In so far as

unorthodoxy produced a solidarity running across local communities it provided an alignment contrary to the endemic hostility between local communities (which sometimes took the extreme form of pitched battles between 'armies' recruited from opposed communities). It is possible that the chaotic conditions of south-eastern China were kept in some kind of check by the twofold alignment of conflict.

Conflict of both kinds was also checked in part by the gentry who were members of local communities. Since they were closely identified with the bureaucracy in ideology, status, and profession, they were not likely to encourage unorthodoxy and open breaches of the peace. They were able to mediate between the local communities and the government officials and to exert their influence to prevent violence between communities.

Ancestor worship and unorthodox religious activities were, of course, only two aspects of a larger religious system, and they certainly cannot be fully understood outside the context of this total system; but part of their social significance seems to lie in the manner in which they expressed and took into account certain striking features of rural society in Fukien and Kwangtung: social differentiation within large-scale localized lineages, hostility between these communities, and opposition to the state.

SHORTER NOTE

Ibo Club Heads. By M. D. W. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D., University of the Witwatersrand. With a text figure

63 Lagercrantz in his very valuable book *Contribution to African Ethnography* (Lund, 1950) has, under the heading 'Weapons' (section on stone balls), references to stone balls mounted in hide on the ends of staves. Such staves form formidable clubs because the haft is not liable to shatter however hard a blow is delivered. I have been informed that the scrotum of a goat or a ram is used as the pouch or bag in which the round stone is set to secure it to the head of the staff. The skin is soaked in water and on drying grips tightly both stone ball and wooden haft; the neck end of the bag is then tightly lashed to the stick.

Among the Ibo of the Awka division in the Onitsha Province of Southern Nigeria, I purchased in 1930, through funds provided by the Wellcome Foundation, two curious weapons analogous to these stone-ball-mounted staves. These two curious weapons are Nos. 120785 and 120786 in the illustration. The Ibo name for these two objects was *utali akpukpo*. The staff was of twisted hide, 33 inches long and in the case of No. 120785 this hide staff was strengthened with a steel rod. In the other there was no stiffener. Each staff was surmounted by a ball of knotted and coiled metal loops. Swung by a lusty man, such a weapon delivered a crushing blow, with no fear of being left defenceless with a shattered staff in one's hand. Where the weapon lacked any stiffening, parrying such a blow with a guard stick was not a complete defence because the flexible hide staff would allow the metal head to curve round the parry and strike the parrier.

These weapons also had a ceremonial use and were carried by titled men. The staves could also be given to young people and to women to carry as a sign of protection and as a warning to any one not to molest the carrier lest he bring down upon himself an assault with the *utali akpukpo*.

The walking stick, No. 120791, is called *nkpo diuru* and is used by old men. This specimen was 32 inches long. It had a loop handle, was studded with brass nails and had steel bindings.

Walking staves 120792 and 120793 are called *nkpo ekpe* and measured 54 and 53 inches in length respectively. The description of No. 120792 runs as follows. Carved wood, head in the formation of two discs, knopped collar, reeded cylinder, sphere, knopped

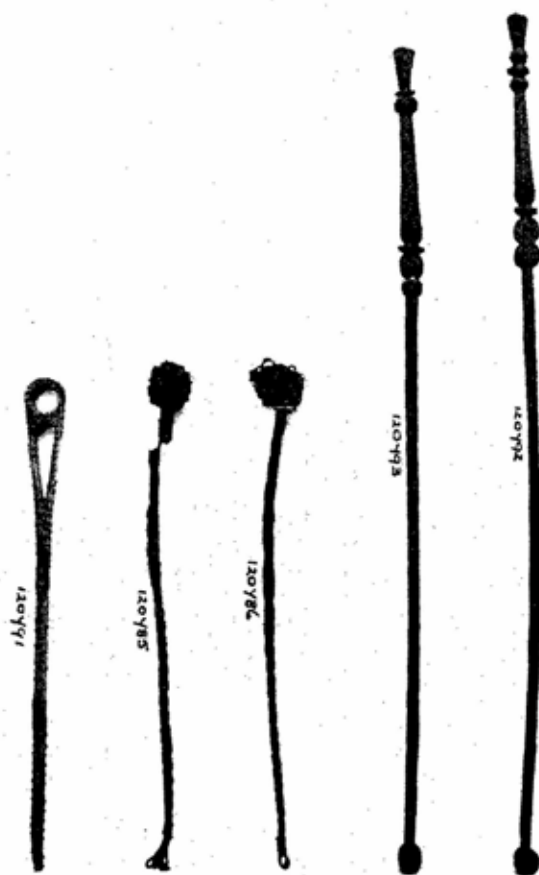


FIG. 1. IBO CLUBS AND STAVES

collar, sphere, cone. The foot terminates in a disc. These staves are used by men who have gained advanced titles in the title-taking hierarchy of these Ibo. Women who have amassed sufficient

wealth to feast their village by having an ox killed for it are given the title of ox-slayer and are also allowed to use such a staff.

Such staves may, like the *utali akpukpo*, be handed to any one to carry as a passport of safety when going from one village to

another. No one would molest such a carrier for fear of incurring the wrath of all the surrounding titled men.

These specimens are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Estudios Saharianos. By Julio Caro Baroja. Madrid (Instituto de Estudios Africanos), 1955. Pp. xvii, 502. Price 250 pesetas

64 This important work is presented as a series of provisional ethnographical studies concerned mainly with related aspects of social and economic life among the camel-herding nomads of the Spanish Sahara.

The intensive field investigations carried out under the auspices of the 'Director-General of Spanish Morocco and Colonies,' and of the 'Institute of African Studies, Madrid' during a relatively short period in 1952-53, have been supplemented by extensive consultation of previous literature, mostly French, of which the author presents a brief appraisal. The latter forms a useful summary of recent material on native society in the north-west Sahara.

Sections I and II, on the Traditional Social Order, and on the Economy of the Sahel, form valuable complementary studies of special interest to the ethnographer. Both are well illustrated by a considerable number of original sociographs, line drawings, and photographs. Section III is concerned in detail with the social structure of one important component tribe, and Section IV, on communal life, presents detailed studies of social relationships and property among the great nomads of the included area, illustrated by reference to six selected encampments.

The remainder of the book presents related but independent studies: of an important Saharan 'holy man,' his family and descendants, with which is included a descriptive account of their remote headquarters, Smara; an account of the inter-tribal wars of the Sahel, as related by the nomads themselves, and illustrated by a useful map showing the ranges of dominant tribes in relation to main caravan routes; and a study of the forms in which historical facts present themselves in a society with a very strong oral tradition but almost no written documents.

After several interesting appendices there is a good subject index, but some readers may be disconcerted by the absence of a paginated table of contents.

The whole forms a most readable, valuable, and well documented addition to knowledge of desert camel-herding societies in general, and of those of the little-known Rio de Oro in particular.

WALTER FOGG

II Cannibalismo degli Asandé (o Niam-Niam). By Renzo Carmignani. Collana di Studi Etnografici. Rome, 1954. Pp. 75,

65 10 plates, text figures, 6 maps

The author's intention in this booklet is to make a contribution to the study of cannibalism as a 'general problem of ethnographical science' by means of a detailed study, from the literary sources, of cannibalism as it was practised by the Azande. The Azande, or Niam-Niam as they are often named in the early accounts, are a negroid people of the Nile-Congo Divide who, because they were rumoured not only to eat human flesh but also to have tails, were the cause of much interest in the geographical societies of Europe during the nineteenth century. The tail story was soon proved to be untrue, but most, if not all, of the early travellers in Equatoria recorded some comment about Zande cannibalism, variously denying or confirming that some of the Zande were cannibals. S. Carmignani must be congratulated both on the number of early references he has tracked down (many of which must have been previously unknown to English students), and the discrimination he has shown in evaluating their reliability. The thesis is thoroughly documented by apt and extensive quotations, in chronological order, from the travellers and the works of Hutereau, Czekanowski and Lagae. It is most unfortunate therefore that its

author seems unaware of the publications of Larken, Evans-Pritchard, Maes and Boone and Lelong.

Following Lagae the author concludes that cannibalism was only prevalent on the fringes of Zandeland among the *auro*, that is, those peoples already resident in the country when it was conquered by the Avungura and their Ambomu followers, and who were not yet completely 'zandeized.' Among the *auro* it was a widespread custom and not merely the aberrant habit of a few individuals. This being so, he then asks for what purposes human flesh was eaten: nutritional, juridical, magical or ritual. The conclusion drawn, with good reason considering the sources which are used, is that the Azande ate human flesh for magical purposes. Yet in *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* Professor Evans-Pritchard does not suggest that cannibalism used to be related to any of the many magical practices of the Azande. Schweinfurth, a most accurate and perspicacious observer, suggested that the acute shortage of meat in Zandeland and the consequent passion of the Azande for meat, of whatever unpalatable type or condition, might be a motive for Zande cannibalism. This seems more likely than that it was a magical practice.

The text of this book is clearly printed between broad margins on good paper. It is a pity therefore that the maps and plates, several of which are irrelevant, were not reduced in number and better presented. Schweinfurth's sharp drawings in particular deserved better reproduction.

PAUL BAXTER

The Tswana. By I. Schapera. *Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Southern Africa, Part III.* London (Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. 80. Price 8s. 6d.

66 Professor Schapera's comprehensive and succinct account of the Tswana completely fulfils the aim of this series 'to present a concise, critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, distribution, physical environment, social conditions, political and economic structure, religious beliefs and cult practices, technology and art of the African peoples.' The editor of the survey has warned us that 'these studies cannot claim to be complete or definitive.' This warning is based on the 'unequal value and unsystematic nature of existing material,' and often enough individual volumes have justified the warning. In addition, some previous volumes have suffered in quality not only from the deficiencies of existing material but also from the inadequacy of the compilers. Such criticisms do not apply to this authoritative volume, which amply demonstrates the advantages gained when compilation is entrusted to hands as expert and experienced as Professor Schapera's. The material is illuminated throughout by the author's first-hand knowledge of the people. Indeed, *The Tswana* is a model of what is possible in the way of condensing a mass of ethnographical material and presenting it in an orderly and readable form. The extensive bibliography is tersely annotated, the index comprehensive, and the map adequate for a book of this size. This is an ideal introduction to the Tswana.

W. WATSON

Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization. By O. Mannoni. London (Methuen), 1956. Pp. 218. Price

67 £1 2s. 6d.

M. Mannoni here describes the relations between the French colonists and the Malagasy and their attitudes to each other, and concludes that these relations and attitudes are typical of colonies in general. His explanation of these similarities is that nobody becomes a colonist unless he has a Prospero complex (pp. 97, 102) which includes 'a grave lack of sociability combined with a pathological urge to dominate,' and that none can be colon-

ized unless they have a Caliban complex, unless, that is to say, they 'experience the need for dependence' (p. 85). This seems fantastic. Any situation in which a man finds himself for any length of time leads to the adoption of certain mental attitudes, and those of the colonist seem comparable to those of the teacher, the army officer, or the judge. As for the Caliban complex, the Zulus can hardly be supposed to have had it in 1879, yet they have been colonized. And what of all the waves of invaders who reached these shores from the earliest times till 1666, and became in turn the colonizers and the colonized; did they at some stage switch over from a Prospero to a Caliban complex?

But though one may differ from the author on this and other points, his book is a very interesting one. Particularly interesting is his account of how the dependence of the Malagasy on their dead ancestors has survived their nominal acceptance of Christianity (p. 51).

Towards the end of the book he remarks that there is no possibility of progress for peoples such as the Malagasy. It is not that they lack logic or intelligence, but that they have not yet freed their personalities from whatever obstacle it is that hinders the development of the experimental spirit. 'Before we could do so, however, we had to pass through religious and social upheavals such that our personalities emerged with an entirely new structure' (pp. 190f.). It may be that M. Mannoni, as Mr. Philip Mason suggests in his critical but very appreciative foreword, is led by his extreme individualism to exaggerate the independence of Europeans in general.

The translation, though marred by a few lapses into slang such as 'that far,' on the whole reads very well.

RAGLAN

AMERICA

Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Frontier Community. By Evon Z. Vogt. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1955. Pp. xii, 232, illus., index. Price £1 14s.

The staff of the Laboratory of Human Relations at Harvard University will study five distinct cultural groups living within 50 miles of the Texan community at Homestead, which is the subject of this book. In this area of New Mexico Navaho, Pueblo, Spanish-American and Mormon groups live near each other. They all differ in settlement and activity patterns from the Texan settlers.

The bulk of the present book is a description of selected characteristics of the society that the hard-working, feuding, drinking pioneers from the 'bible-belt' of the American Middle West built up in the years 1929-1949 on a dry plateau, 60 miles from the nearest highway. These modern frontier families, clearing their beanfields among the pinyon trees, become triumphantly alive as the book proceeds.

Its importance lies, however, not in the power of the writing but in the way that Professor Vogt attempts to explain the behaviour of the people. With five different social styles of life in one environment, geography cannot be used. Changes in the behaviour of the Texan settlers distinguish them from the communities they left behind; in fact, they now enjoy dancing and drinking. Since there was no selection at work which could account for this change, continuity in history or traditions must, like geographical determinism, be rejected as factors in the explanation of present behaviour. The activities of the Homesteaders, it is claimed, 'can be meaningfully treated in terms of the central value-orientations of the community.'

Three complex value-orientations appear as chapter headings. I, *Hopeful Mastery over Nature* is advanced to account for the way this population tries to conquer its environmental hazards of low rainfall and frosts due to high altitude by selecting the quick-growing pinto bean as a cash crop instead of copying the graziers of Navaho or Spanish-American origin or the irrigation farming of the Mormon and Pueblo societies. II, *Living in the Future* explains the discounting of hardships in the past through the continuous expectation that a desired goal will be reached next year. III, *Working and Loafing* describes the activity of the men in terms of the social organization of the society. The informal male discussion groups, which are what is meant by loafing, also function to reinforce the value system. For

Inleiding tot de Studie van de Kongolesse Bantoetalen. By Amaat Burssens. Kongo-Overzee Bibliotheek, Vol. VIII. Antwerp (de Sikkel), 1955. Pp. xxii, 151.

68 This is a very handy introductory book, which, if read early enough, should save students a great deal of individual research. It falls naturally into three parts (though these are not indicated as clearly as they might have been):

Chapters I-III: Survey of African languages in general and the languages of the Belgian Congo in particular, with an additional reference to Swahili; this section gives us a very good summary of the various attempts at classifying African languages, ending with Greenberg, and contains some very useful critical material.

Chapters IV-VIII: Phonetics, intonation, basic forms in Bantu; much of this of course is already to be found in Westermann and Ward's *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages* and Meinhof's *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*.

Chapters IX-XXX: Detailed analysis of four languages selected by the author as specimens of various types of Bantu language—Ciluba, Swahili, Mongo, Lingala; here the chapters are arranged according to more or less conventional grammatical conceptions, and all four languages are discussed in turn in each chapter. Thus there are chapters on Noun Classes, Adjectival ConCORDS, Verb Pronominal Prefixes, Pronominal Prefixes and Connectives, Numerals, Demonstratives, Absolute Pronouns, Possessives, Interrogatives, Verb Tense Affixes, positive and negative, Subjunctive and Imperative, Object Infix, Relative Conjugation, Verb Derivative Forms, Immutable Words.

The book should be worth translating into French or English, so as to serve a wider circle of Africanists.

A. N. TUCKER

example, the Mormon village and the Homestead scattered farmstead community each began to build a school gymnasium in the same year. The Mormons now have a building, while at Homestead only the foundations exist. The common good evidently meant for the people of Homestead the progress of each nuclear family, not agreement on cooperative work for the community.

From long interviews with 20 hand-picked individuals out of the 61 families, and from his own observations, Professor Vogt has produced a valuable exploratory study. The style of research to which it points the way will attract as much attention as the conclusions it reaches on the atomistic social order. Along the path of causal explanation begun in this text lie the elaboration of hypotheses so that they can be tested instead of illustrated, sampling on some agreed basis before generalizations are made, questionnaires and measuring instruments evolved from them. Some of these tools of research, the random sample and the formal questionnaire for example, have been used in this exploratory work as auxiliaries to personal interviewing and observation. This development, so different from our own ideal that the anthropologist should study two very different societies at the same level of analysis, should not pass without comment.

The aim of social anthropology has long ceased to be a reconstruction of tribal life before contact with the modern world took place. As description lost its appeal the analysis of primitive society as a functioning system of institutions became the aim of some fieldworkers. Professor Vogt has made a definite contribution to the evolution of the subject by showing how the social anthropologist can contribute significantly to the growing body of social theory. His detailed treatment of some of these broad hypotheses will be awaited with interest.

JOHN MOGEY

Developments Towards Self-Government in the Caribbean.

70 A symposium held under the auspices of the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation at The Hague, September, 1954. The Hague (Van Hoeve). Pp. 285. Price 9.50 florins

This symposium consists of a series of data papers and a brief comparative discussion. The Caribbean territories dealt with are dependencies of Britain, Holland, France, and the U.S.A. The data papers start with a survey of the present constitutional position in

the territories under review (92 pages), and conclude with a survey of the metropolitan policies adopted for fulfilment of national aspirations in the region (85 pages). Sandwiched between these reviews of metropolitan administration is an inadequate section giving a 'sociological analysis of the political situation' (pp. 95-147). Overconcern with metropolitan administrative adjustments in the area finds further expression in the concluding discussion which simply underlines the fact of divergent development for the various territories consequent on differences of governmental method and aim between the colonial powers.

Omission of a comparison of the territorial economies, and of the relationships between these economies and the metropolitan powers, was perhaps unavoidable in a survey of this kind, but does weaken its value. Henry Wells for instance shows clearly how the peculiar economic relations between Puerto Rico and the U.S.A. condition the arguments about Puerto Rican status at all levels. The current argument that British Caribbean Federation alone can provide hope for self-government among the British territories rests on the assumption that Federation alone can provide a strong enough economic basis for self-government. This is certainly worth serious discussion, but it can only be approached by way of studying the past and present patterns of economic relations linking the B.W.I. to one another and to the U.K.

Perhaps the most striking point to emerge from the symposium is the extent to which, even today, divergent metropolitan policies and goals extend and deepen the differences already existing between the various territories. This is unlikely to be intentional, at least initially. But it points to an indefinite period of separate and perhaps divergent development within this area, unless of course control falls completely into the hands of one or other of the colonial powers.

Another point which emerges quite clearly is the imprecision of the term self-government, and consequently the variety of forms in which it may be held to obtain. We are told on p. 244 that 'the Factors Committee of the U.N. Commission on Article 73 of the Charter did not succeed in finding a definition' of self-government. This book may thus be entitled *Developments towards the Indefinable!* On the whole it appears that such developments have many different forms and directions in the Caribbean.

It is useful to have regional data of this character in such a handy form; but the scope of the survey itself rules out the prospect that it may shed much light on its data.

M. G. SMITH

The Human Element in Industrialization: A Hypothetical Case Study of Ecuadorean Indians. By Beate R. Salz.

71 University of Chicago Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change. Vol. IV, No. 1, Part 2. October, 1955. Pp. ix, 265, 3 maps. Price \$2.50 for 4 consecutive issues of Economic Development and Cultural Change (paper covers)

In this 'arm-chair' study the author examines the problems which might arise if an attempt were made to introduce manufacturing industry into the predominantly agricultural economy of Ecuador. Further than this she is concerned to work out some kind of framework within which it would be possible to examine other societies to determine their potentiality for industrialization in terms of their 'human resources.' She says that 'The present study thus intends to perform the type of scouting which today tends to precede, as a matter of systematic procedure, the initiation of actual development projects... it means to alert the technical personnel in actual charge of industrial operations among non-industrial people to the specific problems presented by the meeting of different traditions.'

Part I deals with certain quantitative factors in the Ecuadorean situation which constitute 'controlling conditions.' Population size, ethnic composition, size of the labour force, communications, geographical factors, and raw material resources are all examined and systems of agricultural land tenure are discussed.

The major part of the study deals with the qualitative aspects of the population of the highland region. On the basis of Part I the author decides that the Indian population of this highland region is the most likely labour reservoir, and so she makes a detailed survey of the literature concerning these people, paying particular attention to their work habits and their relations with 'outsiders.' There is no doubt that she does her best with monographs of varying quality,

newspaper extracts, government reports and so forth, but one still feels that if she had spent more than three weeks actually in Ecuador her analysis would have carried more authority.

Her conclusion that only 'interstitial' industrialization (that is, the establishment of small industries at strategic points in between other economic sectors) appears to be feasible is a fairly obvious one. The economic problem is to decide what type of industry is most likely to prime the economy and lead to growth. The one fact which no social scientist can confidently predict, as yet, is the rapidity with which industrialization can create its own conditions for growth once it has passed an unknown, yet crucial, point. This is as much a sociological as an economic problem.

Since the author is now working in Puerto Rico perhaps we may look forward to an equally bold study of what has actually happened to the culture and social structure of a small under-developed territory with the actual implementation of a vigorous programme of industrialization.

Quite apart from anything else the present volume provides a good survey of the literature on Ecuador, and its low cost is at least partly due to the fact that it is reproduced directly from a typewriter by some form of lithographic process.

R. T. SMITH

Acculturation: Critical Abstracts, North America. Edited by Bernard J. Siegel, assisted by Rose Wax. Stanford Anthropological Series, No. 2. Stanford, Calif. (U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1955. Pp. xiv, 231. Price £1 12s.

72 This volume is the second one resulting from a programme of research on social change which is being developed by the Stanford Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, and which has previously produced F. M. Keesing's *Culture Change: An Analysis and Bibliography of Anthropological Sources to 1952*. The present item resembles the earlier work in that it is essentially an inventory and stocktaking endeavour preliminary to research yet to be done. In that it 'processes' accumulated ethnographical materials, it also falls in the 'tradition' of the Human Relations Area Files and its co-ordinated Cross-Cultural Survey.

Specifically, the book intends 'to codify what is known about the dynamics of acculturation and related phenomena.' It proffers, accordingly, the digests of 39 monographs and 55 articles published, with one exception, between 1932 and 1952. Three-quarters of them relate to indigenous North American groups in their encounter with European culture; the remainder comprises various enclaved or 'minority' groups of the United States and Canada. The various items, listed simply albeit not very meaningfully in the alphabetical order of their authors, are presented according to a standard form ('an ideal scientific organization of studies') which includes, by means of more or less direct excerpts from the original text, statements on the purpose or problem of the study, propositions, hypotheses, definitions, assumptions, methods and techniques, the abstracted data, and explicit and implicit conclusions resulting from the study. The compilation thus reduces a number of primarily descriptive and very heterogeneous studies to standardized categories and formulations so as to render them more nearly comparable with regard to general and theoretical aspects of the type of culture change commonly referred to in American anthropology as 'acculturation.' This task has been undertaken in the hope 'that a systematic simplification of the enormous welter of empirical evidence will lead ultimately to the establishment of a series of compendent propositions at the middle level of theory, that is, intermediate between hypotheses geared to specific groups of data and highly generalized theory.' The major interest as regards the subject of these 'compendent propositions' appears to be in such epiphenomena ('meaningful theoretical categories') of culture change and contact as leadership and innovation, factionalism, and cultist and nativistic movements.

In being thus primarily concerned with the conceptual aspects rather than the substantial content of the studies which are here brought together, it is perhaps inevitable that the various societies as societies become lost from view. At any rate, the absence in this work of such elementary data as numbers or any numerical aspects of the groups studied is noteworthy. Likewise lacking are systematic indications of periods and length of time of the investigation, of the

length of time of the 'contact continuum,' of location and approximate affiliation of the indigenous or minority groups. These lacks are only partly due to 'the astonishingly unsystematic methods of formulating and reporting on research.' It is apparent that they are also a matter of editorial inattention to such basic 'objective' data, a matter the more surprising in view of the compilation's orientation towards objective, more strictly scientific procedures. What it betrays is a startling insensitivity to the pertinence, even in social scientific studies, to space, time and number as key variables in any given situation of change.

This inventory of acculturation studies on North America, and similar ones being prepared by the same Committee on other major areas of the world, is made available to those among an academic

readership who are 'interested in culture change and value studies' in order to facilitate 'rapid survey and comparison of special fact and interpretations in the field.' Its handbook-like scope makes the volume indeed an adequate instrument of survey. But in view of the rigorous processing which the studies have undergone and in view of the dense quality of the work's literary style and exposition, it is doubtful that the book supersedes normal reading of monographs, articles, and other primary sources when it comes to searching for 'special' fact and 'interpretations.' It must be stated that what has been published here is still, after all, raw material whose relevance beyond the envisaged project is difficult to see, but which appears to be the 'evidence' submitted in anticipation of future work and future findings.

BEATE R. SALZ

ASIA

Where the Gods are Mountains. By René von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, translated from the German by Michael Bullock. London (Weidenfeld & Nicolson), 1956. Pp. 256. Price £1 1s.

The author spent three years in Sikkim and the adjacent district of Darjeeling. He has given us a series of essays on the culture of the area, based on his personal experiences and information obtained from Tibetan Lamas and others, and compounded with a solid scholarship and flair for meticulous observation and recording. He is at his best and happiest when describing people, events and ceremonies, and in bringing before us the atmosphere and flavour of Lamaism, which he does remarkably well. Chapter XV is particularly good in this respect—'An Offering to the Mighty Thunderbolt.' I wonder if the human mind has ever thought up anything more grotesque or fantastic than the spells and incantations accompanying the practice of Black Magic. To quote but one instance, in order to ensure diabolical aid in destroying one's enemies an offering should be made 'of a cake of dark flour and blood, five kinds of flesh (including human flesh) and the skull of an incestuously-begotten child filled with blood and white mustard seeds. These three offerings have to be placed on the skin of a raven...' (p. 249).

Dr. von Nebesky-Wojkowitz (or his translator) is not so successful in his descriptions of places and scenery, which read like a blend of a museum guide and an American travelogue film: for instance in Chapter IV (p. 65): 'A warm wind, impregnated with the overpowering scent of huge noctiflorous bell-flowers, wafts bizarre cloud formations across the horizon. . . .'

Chapter IX 'Sherpas and Snowmen' is not up to the standard of the rest of the book. It is not true to say that Europeans designate all porters in expeditions as Sherpas irrespective of their real tribal group. Nor is it certain that the Sherpas are of Tibetan origin; for all we know they may have found their way up from the south in the remote past.

The photographs are good, but would have been much better if less formal and rigidly posed. Let us hope that the author will give us another and fuller book on his special subject of Lamaism and Tibetan religious culture. It should be very good indeed.

The publisher informs us on the jacket that Dr. von Nebesky-Wojkowitz visited Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet in his travels. One can only assume that he is influenced by the same disregard for physical boundaries that is so important in Lamaistic philosophy; for the author makes it quite clear that he carried out all his researches in Sikkim and Darjeeling.

CHARLES STONOR

Pleistocene Studies in the Malaprabha Basin. By R. V. Joshi. Deccan College Res. Inst. Publ., Vol. I. Poona, 1955. Pp. xi, 112, plates, maps

This paper is a study of pleistocene deposits and their stone artifacts in the Malaprabha basin of the western Deccan. It opens with a description of the underlying geology of the region and of the river profile. This is followed by a general geographical account which includes details of the modern countryside, the rainfall, soils, natural vegetation and crops. Such a description is of great value, not only to the outsider unacquainted with Indian geography, but also to the student of Indian archaeology who is frequently at a loss for this type of information. There follow some

brief remarks on the later cultural history of the area, which although of a very general nature serve to place it in the wider perspective of Indian history.

Descriptions of the sites studied by the author are accompanied by section drawings and analyses of soils. Although clear enough from some points of view, the descriptions are not always sufficiently exact to enable future fieldworkers to identify them.

The sequence of deposits in the Malaprabha basin may be summarized as follows: immediately overlying the bed rock is a layer of silty clay, followed by the implementiferous gravels. Over these is a deep sand layer and finally black cotton soil. As the author points out, this sequence shows a general similarity to that of Gujarat but is considerably less complex. As elsewhere, the probable interpretation is that the gravels represent a wet phase and the sand a dry phase. The lack of minor oscillations such as are found in Gujarat, he very reasonably points out, may be accounted for by the fact that the Malaprabha basin lies well within the monsoon belt, and would therefore be unlikely to be affected by minor oscillations and variations in rainfall which would be immediately evident in Gujarat, lying as it does on the extreme edge of the monsoon belt and in close proximity to the Sind desert.

The artifacts occurring in a single gravel bed nonetheless show great variation in *état physique* and a wide range of tool types. With an honesty and objectivity all too rare among prehistorians the author points out that no coincidence can be found between these two factors. A further example of his power of intelligent observation is given when he points out that the majority of the tools are made of quartzite and other raw materials which are all available in the area. Again he notices that the majority of the tools are made on flakes, apparently knocked off by the block-on-block technique, from huge boulders, and the secondary work subsequently carried out on the banks of the river, as there only trimming flakes but no parent cores were to be found. In support of these assertions he notes the almost total absence of pebble tools which are found elsewhere in India, but suggests that this may be due as much to local tradition as to the limitations of the available raw material.

The classification of the tools is detailed, sometimes almost too detailed, and the illustrations are good. Comparisons are drawn with material from other parts of India, and also from the comparable environmental regions of South and East Africa.

The author and the Poona Research Institute are to be congratulated on this paper, and it is to be hoped that further studies of the same nature will be forthcoming.

BRIDGET ALLCHIN

Himmelstier und Gletscherlöwe: Mythen, Sagen und Fabeln aus Tibet. Edited by Matthias Hermanns, S.V.D. Eisenach and Kassel (Röth), 1955. Pp. 259, 2 maps. Price DM 3.80

This little collection of tales, fables and myths collected by Professor Hermanns from among the Tibetans of Amdo forms one volume of the series *Das Gesicht der Völker* published by Erich Röth-Verlag. The aim of the series is to facilitate the approach to the peoples of other nations by selecting and publishing from artistic creations of the present and recent past and from folk literature whatever may illustrate, and awaken respect for, the differing individualities of these peoples. The series already includes volumes of tales, myths and legends from Korea, Indo-China,

Alaska, Ireland, Albania and the Ivory Coast, as well as the present collection from Tibet.

In his short introduction the author describes the countryside of Amdo and the cheerful loquacious people among whom he spent many years. Of his collection of folklore material much had to be left behind in Tibet and is lost, including recordings of 40 folk songs, but luckily he was able to preserve the present collection, as well as other material, some of which has been published (*Mythen und Mysterien, Religion und Magie der Tibeter*, Cologne (Pick), 1955). The publication of other material, concerning the Ge sar and A khrag lha mo sagas, is promised.

The texts assembled in this book are here printed and published for the first time. They consist of creation songs, songs on the origin of customs, of panegyrics recited at feasts, and of tales and fables. Some of the latter are familiar to us already, in somewhat

different dress, from *Aesop*, and one occurs in the well-known collection of stories 'The Wise Man and the Fool' (*mDzangs-blun*). The panegyrics and the one long tale of the dispute between the monkeys and the birds about the title to a piece of land well illustrate the loquacity and love of eloquence which the editor ascribes to the people of Tibet. The fables, as the editor says, show a very strong Indian influence, but the creation songs and songs of origins are characteristic of a people still living in a mythical age. For us modern people this is a submerged world, like the lost Atlantis. This mythic conception of the world seems so strange and peculiar to us, so exotic and abstruse, that we cannot conjure up any understanding of it, and are quick to dismiss it or scorn it. Yet we must penetrate this strange world of ideas and try to understand it, if we want to judge these people correctly.

C. R. BAWDEN

OCEANIA

New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation—Manus, 1928–1953. By Margaret Mead. London (Collins), 1956. Pp. xxi, 548. Price £1 5s.

This book is said to be both 'the record of a people . . . who have skipped over thousands of years of history in just the last twenty-five years' and also 'food for the imagination of Americans.' I propose to discuss the 'record,' not the 'food.' It records the rise and fall of a cargo cult known as 'The Noise,' the rise of a new political movement known as 'The New Way' and certain related social and cultural changes which have recently occurred in and near Manus, an island in the Admiralty Group north of New Guinea, where Dr. Mead did field work in 1928 and in 1953.

Words are Dr. Mead's worst enemies: rhetorical words ('We both knew how fateful for New Guinea, and therefore for Australia, and therefore for the whole free world, were tiny social experiments like this one . . .'), sensational words ('slowly coming into focus as our clumsy work boat lunged and plunged in the south-east and a schizophrenic Baluan woman who thought she was the Virgin Mary sang out of tune against the roaring of the wind'), and impenetrable words ('So, in the development of a spiritual theory of human nature, the Manus model has stressed the importance of freedom of movement, a prime essential in the relationship of children and adults to the physical world and to one another . . . the importance of freedom of thought and of control over one's thinking'). Its verbiage clouds every page of the book.

What exactly did happen in Manus? How do the people now subsist? How are they organized? What specifically do they say about themselves, or Paliau, or white men, or God? There is practically no detailed ethnography in the book. Dr. Mead tells us how she was impressed but she rarely tells us what exactly did impress her.

Dr. Mead says that change in Manus since the war has been 'unique.' There is of course a sense in which everything is unique; but she might more pertinently have noted that post-war changes in several other parts of Melanesia have been neither less speedy nor less drastic. A comparative perspective might have tempered her histrionics and improved her sociology.

The sociology is slovenly. Observe, for example, the book's piecemeal references to clans and lineages: 'The old clans, the old "houses" or lineages within the clans . . . all that is gone,' Dr. Mead says. Yet she also says that 'clan membership still lies just below the thinking of the older men' (wherever that may be) and that 'the manufacture of fishing devices . . . is still a clan practice.' Five pages later further contradictions are presented: 'Today there is a tendency, where clan membership is perceived at all, to override [the distinction between lineages within each clan] . . . Meanwhile, old genealogical experts will tend to emphasize those lineages more than they did in the days when the important groups clustered around entrepreneurs and cross-cut . . . lineage . . . lines . . . As the memory of those cross-cutting entrepreneurial groups faded . . . the lineages . . . come [sic] into focus again.'

Unless we know whether and in exactly what respects such things as clan and lineage affiliation, methods of subsistence, technology, specific ritual beliefs, political procedures, the composition of working groups, demographic trends, etc., have changed, the very word 'change' can itself be no more than a slogan. In this book it is used as such, for purposes of political propaganda. It is irresponsible for Dr. Mead to conclude from a single example, ill portrayed, that the quicker and more whole-hearted the changes in their society the happier a colonial people will be. Yet that is the book's major point.

This book exhibits neither the descriptive accuracy nor the theoretical discipline which we nowadays expect in a field monograph. If Dr. Mead wants to be taken seriously by those of her colleagues who 'bloom on the outmoded tree of European history,' she may profitably read again her own earlier study of Manus kinship to discover what a good anthropological monograph is like. And if she wants to improve upon *Kinship in the Admiralty Islands* she would do well to take with her on her next field trip some interest in sociological theory in addition to the cameras, tape recorders, short-hand techniques, stopwatches and research assistants that she apparently considers the necessary conditions of what she calls 'fine-grain' field work.

MURRAY GROVES

CORRESPONDENCE

The Cruck Truss. Cf. MAN, 1956, 107, 167; 1957, 16, 17, 57

SIR,—Addy does not say that crucks were called forks, but that pairs of crucks were called forks (p. 39); a pair of crucks, joined near the top, does form a fork. Innocent, indeed, says that crucks were called forks, but goes on to say that this 'gives some indication of the descent of the curved pairs of posts from one upright post' (p. 36).

Dr. Peate himself wrote of 'curved timbers crossing and so forming a fork' (p. 163), but he now says that a *nenfforch* was a single cruck, and that houses were 'built of three "free timbers" (ridge-piece and a pair of crucks)'; he must surely know that it is impossible to build a house with fewer than four crucks. So far as

I can find, he has adduced no evidence that the word *nenfforch* was used after 1200, or that there were cruck houses in Wales before the fifteenth century.

RAGLAN

Ush

Pygmy Music and Ceremonial. Cf. MAN, 1955, 31

SIR,—In the note of C. M. Turnbull, 'Pygmy Music and Ceremonial' in MAN, 1955, 31, some of his assertions provoke me to contradiction.

C. M. Turnbull writes that there is an almost complete lack of instrumental music among the Bambuti of the Ituri Forest. The author and the reader may be referred to my publication *Die*

Bambuti-Pygmaen vom Ituri, Brussels, 1941, Vol. II. In the chapter on dances and musical amusement all musical instruments used by the Pygmies are carefully described by me.

It is true that the Pygmies use drums for dancing which are of Negro origin. But, if they have no Negro drums at hand, they use an original instrument of their own, called *igbombo*, which is a combination of an earth drum and a string bow (*op. cit.*, p. 247, fig. 62). The Bambuti further like their dances to be accompanied by the *baruma* flutes, a kind of Pan-pipes; even 12 pieces may be played together. There is no doubt that these *baruma* are of Pygmy origin. At some places the women make use of the *obe-obe* (Efé) or *ba-kere* (Kikango) for the accompaniment of the dances. This sounding beam (*Klangholz*) is a small long pole lying on the ground. The women sit on both sides of it beating the tree in accompaniment to the rhythm of the dance, singing at the same time. In other cases, the womenfolk animate the dancers by clapping two pieces of wood against each other. A very common feature among all Pygmies of the Ituri Forest is the custom of using rattles which the men wear on their legs or which they swing in their hands. There are further musical instruments among our Bambuti which are merely used for personal amusement, as for instance two kinds of bow strings, which realize, no doubt, an original product of the Pygmy culture.

C. M. Turnbull believes that there exists a form of initiation for Bambuti girls, called *alima*. He says that this custom is not of Bantu origin, and that there is a special music for that purpose. However, that is a mistake, for *alima*, or, properly, *elema*, as it is spoken by the Babira and Bakaego—the Bales call it *pepa*—is a customary Negro institution. Only the Pygmies who live in close contact with Negroes have adopted such customs in celebrating the first menstruation or even the first pregnancy. The Bambuti among themselves nowhere celebrate such a ceremony. The same can be said about the circumcision ceremonies which are of Negro origin.

The author also mentions the *lusumba*. Among the Pygmies themselves *lusumba* primarily means the huge trumpet used in their secret society; referring to it also the society itself is called *lusumba*. Its proper name, however, is *molino* in this region where the Bambuti speak Bira. Among the Efé the secret society is called *tore*.

As far as I know there is a severe tabu prohibiting the singing of the *molino* songs in public. So, whenever the Epulu Pygmies disregard these tabus it is an infallible sign that their original culture is decaying, as I myself was able to establish among the Putnam Pygmies on the Epulu river, who have been spoiled by the frequent visits of American people since the Ituri Forest has been opened by modern motoring roads.

From my own information which I got in the three years of Bambuti explorations I am able to say that all interpretations of Pygmy institutions, whenever they are given from a single place of the Ituri Forest, lead to false conclusions. Mr. C. M. Turnbull should be advised for his further studies among the Bambuti to look after the literature that already exists about them. Then he will be prepared to continue his studies with more use and with more essential insight into the Pygmies' souls.

PAUL SCHEBESTA
Anthropos-Institut, St. Gabriel-Mödling, Austria

'Land Tenure in Basutoland.' Cf. MAN, 1957, 7

79 SIR,—I must protest at the irresponsibility of the review of the above book, in particular at the tone of its splenetic final paragraph. I am not referring to the minor points of historical, technological or linguistic details which your reviewer as a former District Officer and Sesuto linguist is more competent than I am to deal with, and I can sympathize with his irritation at having to master an entirely novel and unorthodox terminology. What I take exception to is the suggestion implicit in the closing paragraph of the review that Dr. Sheddick's commission in Basutoland failed to do what it was asked to do and that this report which embodies his findings is both useless and a discredit to social anthropology.

What was this commission? According to the foreword by the Commonwealth Relations Office, who published the report as No. 13 in the Colonial Research Series, it was 'To conduct a fact-finding survey into Native Land Tenure similar to a survey already undertaken in the Bechuanaland Protectorate by Professor Schapera.' In other words Dr. Sheddick was asked to report on the existing

land-tenure system in Basutoland, and that, I submit, is precisely what he has done. No doubt some Government officers and departments in Basutoland were disappointed with some of his findings and would have liked him to have conducted another kind of survey. They took care in the foreword to dissociate themselves from the more unpalatable of Dr. Sheddick's facts and they obtained the facts they wanted from another survey (*Basutoland Agricultural Survey, 1949/50: Report*, by A. J. A. Douglas, M.B.E., and R. K. Tennant, Maseru, 1952). But I do not see how Dr. Sheddick can be blamed for this. He was not asked to find facts about land usage and crop yields but about land tenure.

What were the unpalatable facts to which the Basutoland Government objected? I quote from the foreword to the report:

'The Basutoland Administration cannot accept the references in the report to the lack of appreciation within Basutoland of the problem attendant upon introducing European agricultural practices (p. 77), to the imposition of restrictions on grazing (p. 112), and to refusal by the Basuto to implement a policy of stock limitation (p. 130). Grazing control has not been imposed on the Basuto; but rather measures based on traditional methods, suggested by the Agricultural Department, were introduced by the Paramount Chief who accepted their necessity and has wholeheartedly co-operated in their implementation. Again, while the Basutoland Administration has urged the policy of stock limitation, this has not been imposed and there has therefore been no question of any refusal by the Basuto to carry out directions by the Administration. As is stated in the *Annual Report* for the Department of Agriculture for 1951 to which Dr. Sheddick makes reference, the Paramount Chief has now accepted a policy of stock reduction.'

Two of these points can be dismissed summarily. As I read the offending sentence on p. 77, Dr. Sheddick is there referring to lack of appreciation of the dangers by the Basuto themselves and is, I am sure, as fully aware as the reviewer of the extent to which the Basutoland Government and the Paramount Chief have appreciated and attempted to combat these dangers. On the question of stock limitation the Basutoland Government admit in their disclaimer that they have been unable to do more than urge the Basuto to limit their stock and to persuade the Paramount Chief to accept their policy. I submit that this supports rather than contradicts Dr. Sheddick's assertion that the Basuto themselves are not prepared to implement a policy of stock limitation, for in the matter of controlled grazing on the other hand the Government has been successful in persuading the Paramount Chief not only to support their policy but to implement it by passing orders to control it.

This does not mean, however, that the majority of the Basuto supported this policy, particularly when some of them found, as they did when I was in Basutoland in 1949, that areas which they were accustomed to use for summer grazing had, without prior notice to them, been closed to grazing for what they understood to be an indefinite period. Rather did they consider this as constituting a restriction of their former grazing rights.

This raises the question who has the right to control this grazing. The Basutoland Government takes the view that grazing rights in cattle-post country are common to all Basuto with the corollary that these rights can therefore be controlled by the head of all the Basuto, the Paramount Chief. The Ward Chiefs (Dr. Sheddick's Provincial Governors) and their people take the view that the cattle-post area of a Ward is only open to the subjects of the Ward Chief, and that it is for him therefore and not the Paramount Chief to say who can and who cannot use it. Your reviewer, while admitting that this is what he calls the 'official' view, takes Dr. Sheddick to task for saying so. What he should have described according to the reviewer is the law and not the exceptions that prove it. But, as far as I am aware, Basuto land laws remain customary and uncoded and therefore fluid and capable of divergent interpretations. Dr. Sheddick was commissioned to find the facts about Basuto land tenure, and in this case they would appear to be as he has stated in his report and to corroborate what other competent observers have previously stated.

I would ask therefore that if you are not prepared to dissociate your journal from this unreasonable and unrestrained attack upon Dr. Sheddick's competence as an anthropologist, you should at

least publish the official views of the High Commissioner on this work. They read as follows:

'Such divergencies of view between Dr. Sheddick and the Administration do not however affect the value of the report as a whole. The High Commissioner and the Basutoland Administration are most grateful to Dr. Sheddick for his comprehensive and detailed study which contains much valuable information about existing practices in the Territory.'

Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge G. I. JONES

Note

The Hon. Editor of MAN is glad to publish Mr. Jones's comments; but there is no occasion for the editor of any learned periodical in this country to dissociate himself or it from the contents of any review, since the well established rules of British book-reviewing accord to the reviewer complete freedom, under the law, to state his opinions without having to share his responsibility with any other party. To what has already been said on this topic (MAN, 1955, 102, 207) the Hon. Editor would only add that, especially in the case of a hostile review, the interests of truth and of the author of the book are best served if the reviewer makes as clear as Mr. Patrick Duncan has done both the precise grounds of his comments and the strength of his own feelings, in order that the reader may have all the means of a proper assessment.—Ed.

Prehistoric Rock Paintings in Spain and France. With a text figure

80 SIR,—In June, 1956, I visited several caves in Spain and France, and although I am not a prehistorian, the following interpretations may be of interest.

Castillo Cave, near Santillana. In a group of silhouetted hands (fig. 1) are blobs of paint apparently placed at random. These might represent the stars of the northern hemisphere—Ursa Major being on the



FIG. 1. SILHOUETTED HANDS IN CASTILLO CAVE

right, the two pointers directed towards Polaris which is one of the stars on the lower bull. This might have some bearing on the significance of the hands.

Lascaux Cave, Dordogne. The 'Licorne' of Lascaux, although called 'imaginary,' has tentatively been identified as the Tibetan Antelope (Dorothea M. Bate, *Archaeological News Letter*, Vol. II, No. 11 (1950), pp. 182-184). It is not known that the Tibetan Antelope ever ranged as far west as France. I am acquainted with both the Saiga and the Tibetan antelopes in the wild state, and, on seeing the 'Licorne,' I at once thought of the former, which is known to have lived in southern France in palaeolithic times. The Saiga (P. L. Sclater and

M. R. O. Thomas, *The Book of Antelopes*, London, 1894, Plate XLIX) is an animal of cold climates and in winter has a thick pelt which is moulted in spring, often giving a moth-eaten appearance. The blotches on the 'Licorne' might represent a beast in moult.

Fifty years ago I had considerable experience in trying to drive the vast herds of game then on the plains of Kenya. A hundred men were insufficient. If game is alarmed it will go through any line of beaters unless they are almost shoulder to shoulder. There is a scene in Lascaux which is interpreted as a horse-drive over a cliff; the success of such a drive would entail many hundreds of able-bodied men. In that case, the Dordogne must have been well populated.

A remarkable aspect of these rock paintings is that they must have been executed from memory, as it would have been impossible to drag the carcasses of mammoth, rhinoceros, bison, etc., into the caves. It seems unlikely that small etchings on bone were done in the field as a guide. Moreover, they were done in lighting probably inferior to modern candle light, so that Lascaux man has the highest claims to artistic skill.

London, W.11

R. MEINERTZHAGEN

Indians in Africa. Cf. MAN, 1956, 24, 89

81 SIR,—May I draw attention to one aspect of the problem raised in Dr. Homburger's article, which may help in dating common features between India and East Africa?

Dr. Margaret Murray pointed out that a 'jungle cock' sketched on an XVIII Dynasty potsherd in Egypt indicates diffusion of this bird as a domestic animal from India to Egypt in the second millennium B.C. The absence of the horse in the Indus civilization sites of the period and the absence of cavalry among the south-west coast Nayar at the height of their power in the fifteenth century A.D. was one of the points which led me to believe in cultural affinities between the Indus type of civilization and theirs (cf. *Mother-right in India*, O.U.P., pp. 181 ff.). This feature (among others) also applies to pre-Hyksos Egypt. Traditional architecture on the south-west coast of India, like that of ancient Egypt, also makes ample use of the slanting wall construction which offers aesthetic possibilities; particularly in a tropical country where short shadows stress the architectural deviation from the vertical.

Dr. Murray also mentions the unity of ideas expressed in the sanctity of cobra and lotus in both India and Ancient Egypt. Apart from the fact that the sacred *Nagattan kavu* (snake grove) and temple tanks with lotus flowers are particular characteristics of traditional Nayar style on the south-west coast of India, we find there also the ritualistic stress on bull races. Similarly, the sanctity of the bull is characteristic in Egypt, probably in the Indus Civilization and South Indian Saivism, while in Vaishnavite Hinduism the cow is prominent. These and similar culture configurations (theriomorphic iconography—reincarnation) have been interpreted by me in 1941 as indicative of culture-diffusion from India to East Africa. However, the appearance of the domestic cat, of Egyptian origin, in South India and its prominence in the domestic animal population on the south-west coast of India—quite apart from the palaeo-mediterranean physical type of her human population—may yield a clue for dating the reverse direction of culture contacts.

University of Madras

U. R. EHRENFELS

Masks and Diseases. Cf. MAN, 1957, 18

82 SIR,—For comparison with Mr. Simmons's account of the representation of gangosa in Nigerian masks, I would refer to a study by the physician H. H. Noosten and the palaeontologist Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald of masks and diseases in Java and Bali ('Maskers en Ziekten op Java en Bali,' *Djawa: Tijds. van het Java-Instituut*, Jogjakarta, Vol. XVII, Nos. 5 and 6, September-December, 1937, pp. 311-17; also in Bali: *Bijdr. over Bali en Lombok*, Java-Instituut, Jogjakarta, pp. 111-17). In this article eight photographs of masks are accompanied by eight photographs of illnesses, viz. leprosy, frambæsia, harelip and cancer. The only comparable masks cited there are from Ceylon (see *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, British Museum, 1925, p. 73, and Grünwedel in *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, Vol. VI, 1893).

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

C. HOOYKAAS



(b) 'David and Bathsheba,' attributed to Hans Memling



(c) The Issenheim Altarpiece (right-hand portion only) by Mathias Grünewald at Colmar

(a) 'The Stigmatization of St. Francis,' by Stephano di Giovanni Sassetta (1392-1450), Sienese School, in the National Gallery, London. 'He beheld a Seraph having six wings . . . coming down from the heights of heaven . . . there appeared between the wings the figure of a Man . . . fastened upon a Cross . . . Forthwith there began to appear in his hands and feet the marks of the nails, even as he had just beheld them in the Figure of the Crucified' (St. Bonaventura, 1221-74, The Life of St. Francis)

(d) 'David and Bathsheba,' by Nicolas Poussin

(e) 'The Adoration of the Lamb,' altarpiece in Ghent Cathedral (central portion only), by Hubert van Eyck, completed in 1432 by his brother Jan



(d)



(e)

SOME BIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF JEWISH RITUAL*

by

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83 I would like to say something about the biological aspect of some Jewish laws, especially those connected with circumcision and menstruation. Hence one cannot avoid talking about religion, and there should be no need to avoid doing so, for of all the religions of the world, Judaism seems to me to be most closely bound up with the everyday life of the household even at the present day, and this is one of its attractive features.

Judaism and Christianity

While Judaism lays down various rules against any excessive indulgence in food and drink, and against undue sensuality, it attributes no virtue, in so far as I understand the matter, to the self-inflicted sufferings and deprivations which are meritorious among Christians.

Various contributors to *Hygiene und Judentum: Ein Sammel-schrift* (Dresden, 1930), namely Jakob Segall, Gustav Löffler and M. Bamberger, quote many precepts from talmudic and rabbinic literature which lay down that natural desires should be satisfied, but enjoin strict moderation in this satisfaction. Thus the rule 'When you are hungry, eat' is qualified by the admonitions 'When food tastes best, withdraw your hand' and 'In summer take two-thirds of the amount of food that you take in winter.' Young people should be married at 18 and are guilty of sin if they are not married at the age of 20, but sexual intercourse should be regarded as a creative act rather than as a source of pleasure, and should take place preferably at midnight and in darkness. The aversion to the sight of the naked body, either of oneself or of others, which is exemplified in the story of Noah's intoxication (*Genesis*, IX, 20-27) has a similar anti-sensual quality. The story of David and Bathsheba (see below) is of interest in this connexion.

As an example of Christian ideals in this matter one might take the preposterous sufferings from hunger, cold and vermin inflicted upon himself by St. Francis of Assisi (1181?-1226), of which we can read in his three biographies in one volume of 'Everyman's Library.' Many of the tales told about him are obvious lies, but this does not in any way affect the moral standards which his alleged actions exemplify.

Friar Leo asked him in great wonder and said, 'Father, prithee in God's name tell me where is perfect joy to be found?' And St. Francis answered him thus:

'When we are come to St. Mary of the Angels, wet through with rain, frozen with cold, and foul with mire and tormented with hunger; and when we knock at the door, the doorkeeper cometh in a rage and saith, "Who are ye?" and we say, "We

are two of your friars," and he answers, "Ye tell not true; ye are rather two knaves that go deceiving the world and stealing the alms of the poor; begone!" and he openeth not to us, and maketh us stay outside hungry and cold all night in the rain and snow; then if we endure patiently such cruelty, such abuse, and such insolent dismissal without complaint or murmuring, and believe humbly and charitably that that doorkeeper truly knows us, and that God maketh him to rail against us; O Friar Leo, write—there is perfect joy. And if we persevere in our knocking, and he issues forth and angrily drives us away, abusing us and smiting us on the cheek, saying, "Go hence, ye vile thieves, get ye gone to the spital, for here ye shall neither eat nor lodge;" if this we suffer patiently with love and gladness; write, O Friar Leo—this is perfect joy. And if, constrained by hunger and by cold, we knock once more and pray with many tears that he open to us for the love of God and let us but come inside, and he more insolently than ever crieth, "These be impudent rogues, I will pay them out as they deserve;" and issues forth with a big knotted stick and seizes us by our cowls and flings us on the ground and rolls us in the snow, bruising every bone in our bodies with that heavy stick—if we, thinking on the agony of the blessed Christ, endure all these things patiently and joyously for love of Him; write, O Friar Leo, that here and in this perfect joy is found.'

Also, the stigmata in the hands, feet and side which he received in imitation of Christ (Plate Fa) gave unbearable pain, and the nails(!) which appeared in his feet prevented him from putting them to the ground so that he had to ride on an ass.

Again Becket, after his murder in Canterbury Cathedral on 29 December, 1170, which made him St. Thomas of Canterbury, delighted the monks who undressed his corpse on the following day by revealing a hair shirt and drawers, 'boiling over' with vermin, which vile garments he had removed only to inflict his daily scourging, of which his flesh bore the marks (Stanley, 1854). The hair shirt was still in use, in Oxford at any rate, 700 years later, and was included by the great theologian Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) among the artificial sufferings of which the mere enumeration occupies many pages of his biography-in-four-volumes (Liddon, 1898). He was, somewhat ironically from our present point of view, Regius Professor of Hebrew. He resolved to smile only with children and to eat only unpleasant food if available, and could not drink a glass of water without thinking of hellfire.¹

Circumcision

Significance. The story of the institution of circumcision as a covenant between God and Abraham (*Genesis*, XVII, 10-14, 23-27) does not give the slightest indication of any hygienic intent; the question of the truth of the story is of course wholly irrelevant. No one could ever have supposed that the health of an infant was endangered by deferment of the operation beyond the eighth day, but there was every reason for him to receive the indelible mark of the covenant as early as possible.

* A paper read before the Medical and Dental Branch of the Friends of the Hebrew University, Manchester, November, 1955. The Hon. Editor of MAN is indebted to the author for a contribution towards the exceptional cost of illustrating this paper. With Plate F, nine text figures and two tables

The absence of any hygienic intent in the rite of circumcision is shown by two facts. First, there is the need to carry out the operation upon the body of an infant who has died before the rite could be performed.

'An infant, who has died previous to his circumcision, should be circumcised at the grave with a flat stone or a reed, so that he be not buried with the foreskin attached, but no benediction should be said on this occasion. But a name should be given to perpetuate his memory. If through forgetfulness he was buried uncircumcised and they became aware thereof at a time when it would not be apprehended that the body had decomposed, his grave must be opened and he must be circumcised; if, however, it be surmised that decomposition had already set in, the grave should not be opened' (Friedlander, 1924, p. 186).

'With regard to a dead child of thirty days old . . . , if it be a male child whose circumcision had for some reason been postponed, he should not be buried on the first day of a Festival, even in spite of the decay, for it is necessary to remove his foreskin, which should not be done by a non-Jew; the body should therefore be kept until the second day of a Festival, when his foreskin should be removed and he should be buried.

'If a child died on the second day of the Festival . . . , if it were a male child not yet circumcised, in spite of decay setting in he should not be buried even on the second day of the Festival by a non-Jew but he should be kept until after the Festival when his foreskin should be removed and he should then be buried' (Friedlander, 1924, p. 212).

Second is the need to perform some kind of operation in the extremely rare event of congenital absence of the prepuce.

' . . . even one who comes into the world circumcised (such very exceptional cases do occur) must be subjected to a small operative manipulation . . . ' (Erich Schlüssell in *Hygiene und Judentum*, p. 73).

'If a child were born circumcised and requires only to undergo the operation causing a few drops of the "blood of the covenant" to flow, no benediction should be said . . . ' (Friedlander, 1924, p. 185).

The absence of any hygienic intention in Moslem circumcision also is shown by the following passage from Ammar (1954, p. 120):

'The sociological significance of the ceremony cannot be exaggerated, as it must take place even in the case of children whose foreskin is congenitally contracted or damaged by disease. Although such children are believed to be circumcised by the angels, the ceremony is still held, even without any operation on the child.'

Among the Falasha Jews of Ethiopia (see below), a girl undergoes an 'excision' comparable to circumcision which can be performed by a man or by a woman, while the circumcision of a male can be carried out only by a man; the person who performs either operation must wash completely before being considered clean, a rule which is absent from the Jewish and Moslem ritual.

At the present time one might distinguish in Europe and the U.S.A. three types of community in relation to circumcision: (1) where the operation is a religious ritual, and is universal (Jews, Moslems); (2) where it has no religious significance and has rapidly become more frequent (England, U.S.A.), being found in from 12 to 95 per cent. of various populations; (3) where it is performed only as a remedy for a pathological condition (Iceland, Norway). In Central and Southern Africa, tribes occupying adjacent

areas may differ in regard to the performance, or absence, of circumcision.

A picture of the ceremony. Fig. 1 shows a picture, from the collection of works of art of the Jewish community in Berlin, representing a circumcision among Portuguese Jews (Erich Schlüssell, 'Hygienische Auswirkungen der Beschneidung,' in *Hygiene und Judentum*). The father kneels



(a) (c) (d) (e) (f) (b)

FIG. 1. CIRCUMCISION AMONG PORTUGUESE JEWS

(a) The father; (b, above) the mother; (c) the godfather; (d) the vacant seat for the prophet Elias; (e) the Mohel, who performs the operation; (f) a Rabbi. Figs. 1-3 are reproductions (after *Hygiene und Judentum*, 1930) of pictures in the Art Collection of the Jewish Community in Berlin.

at the side of the godfather who holds the child; the mother, who is of course in a state of impurity, is seen in another room on the right. The operator (the Mohel) has just carried out the excision; an attendant holds a tray for his instruments (which are shown in fig. 2), and behind him



FIG. 2. THE INSTRUMENTS FOR CIRCUMCISION

stands a rabbi bearing a cup of wine. On the left hand of the godfather is a vacant chair for the prophet Elias. The artist perhaps suggests a slightly immodest curiosity on the part of the Christian lady on the right wearing a crucifix. In fig. 3 is shown another example of the chair for Elias, certainly of a capacious character.²

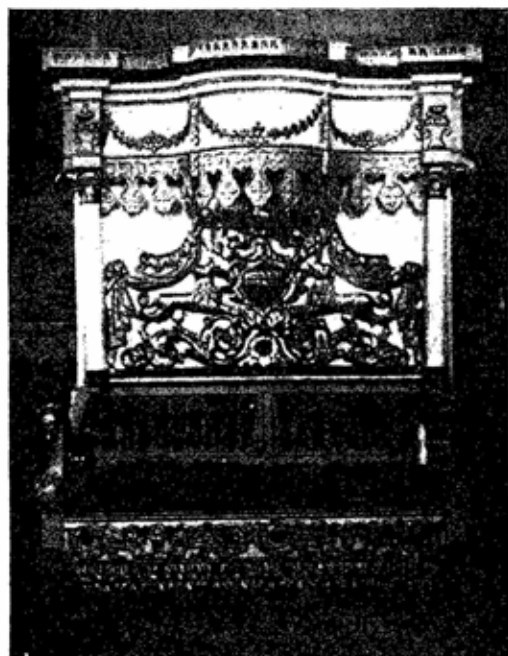


FIG. 3. SEAT FOR THE PROPHET ELIAS IN THE LENINGRAD MUSEUM

Some effects of circumcision. Circumcision is of great value in that it eliminates phimosis. The opponent of circumcision can of course say that the child can be circumcised at a later age if necessary. But in practice, at any rate until recent years, the child might reach adult life with an unretractable prepuce; the father, if he ever thought of the matter at all, regarded it as the mother's business, and she, if not completely ignorant on the whole subject, thought it improper and best left alone, which was easy as the hygienic care of children was wholly in the hands of the nurse.

The exposure of the glans to friction which is brought about by circumcision may prolong the duration of coitus necessary to produce the male orgasm and hence would tend to secure the full satisfaction of the female partner. This result is the exact opposite of that of the drastic operation described as 'circumcision of the female,' practised in some parts of Asia and Africa, in which the whole area from which pleasurable sensations could arise is excised. A physician of long experience in the Sudan tells me that the scarring produced by these mutilations may be such that a woman may require something like a quarter of an hour to empty her bladder.

The union and separation of epithelial surfaces. Harold Burrows (1944-5) collected a number of instances of this

process and published a beautifully illustrated account of the subject.

In the embryo mammal the glans penis, at first free, is gradually enveloped by the growing prepuce, and the epithelial covering of the two surfaces mingles so that the two become attached (fig. 4a, b). In the human infant the prepuce is usually free at birth; but the detachment is not always complete at this time and bleeding may be caused during circumcision by the manipulation required to free a prepuce which is still adherent to the glans at one or more places. In the mouse this separation does not take place until about the forty-sixth day.

In several species of mammals castration has been shown to prevent this separation. The glans clitoridis and its preputial fold are attached in the same way (fig. 4c, d). Other adjacent epithelial surfaces which are united thus, and separated at stages of development varying in different species, are those of the eyelids, exterior auditory meatus, nares, urethra and vagina. The rat and mouse are born web-footed owing to union of the digits in this way.

Cancer of the penis. The fact is now well established that cancer of the penis, excluding the meatus, has never been found, perhaps with one exception, in anyone circumcised by the Jewish method. Moslems are circumcised at some time between the seventh day and the sixteenth year, but in most communities between the third and twelfth years. Some Arabs claiming descent from Ishmael, who was circumcised when 13 (*Genesis*, XVII, 24-26), carry out the rite at that age; others require that the boy should be able to declare his faith that 'There is no God but God.' Lane (1842), writing of Egypt, depicts a procession in which the boy sits on a led horse holding a handkerchief before his face as a protection against the Evil Eye; a part which could not be played by an infant (fig. 5).

Cancer of the penis occurs in circumcised Moslems, but we have no data about the time relations in these cases, which would be of great interest.

Fig. 6 shows the course of events in 16 cases occurring in the U.S.A. of cancer of the penis following surgical circumcision (Kennaway, 1947). Since none of these would have followed the Jewish operation, the development of cancer must have depended upon some process active in the years (average 23) before the operation and this must have required a further period of incubation (average 23 years) to culminate in the production of cancer. Possibly other forms of cancer arising after the second 25 years of life, e.g. cancer of the stomach, may be predestined to occur by factors to which the body was exposed during the first 25 years of life. The juvenile death rate, as a measure of social factors, draws attention to the children who die, but the others may survive injury of which the effects appear later in life.

More data about the incubation of cancer in man are very desirable. An instance of this need at the present moment is afforded by the study of the time relations of the increases in consumption of cigarettes, and in the incidence of cancer of the lung, in which any conclusion that can be drawn rests upon some kind of estimate of the incubation period.

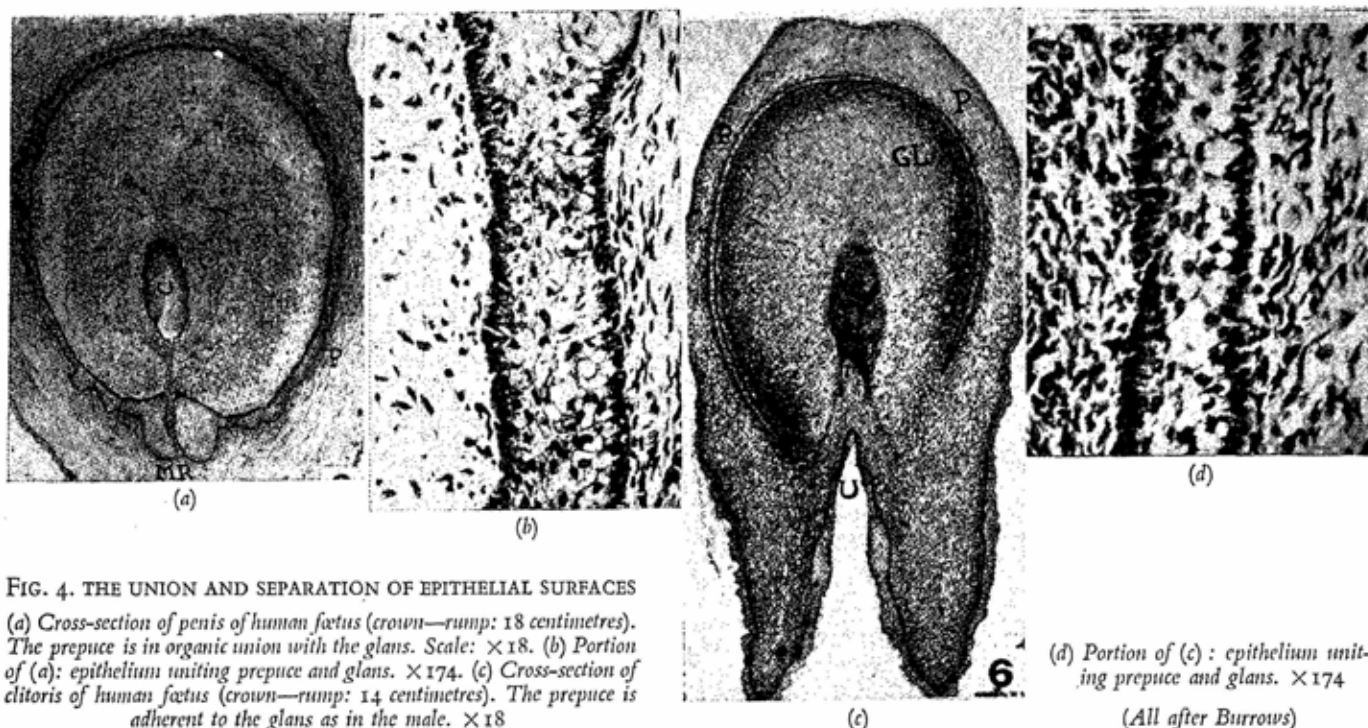


FIG. 4. THE UNION AND SEPARATION OF EPITHELIAL SURFACES

(a) Cross-section of penis of human fetus (crown-rump: 18 centimetres). The prepuce is in organic union with the glans. Scale: $\times 18$. (b) Portion of (a): epithelium uniting prepuce and glans. $\times 174$. (c) Cross-section of clitoris of human fetus (crown-rump: 14 centimetres). The prepuce is adherent to the glans as in the male. $\times 18$.

Niddah

Moral importance. The moral importance of *Niddah*, as laid down in the book of *Leviticus*, is emphasized by a passage of *Ezekiel* in which transgression of this law is reckoned among the greatest sins.

'But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, and hath not eaten upon the mountains, neither hath lifted up his eyes to the idols of the house of Israel, neither hath defiled his neighbour's wife, neither hath come near to a menstruous

woman, and hath not oppressed any, but hath restored to the debtor his pledge . . . he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God' (*Ezekiel*, XVIII, 5-9).

Method of study. No study of the observance of *Niddah* at the present day is of any value which does not involve a definite numerical study, carried out with extreme care, of individual cases. The mere reiteration of general impressions, which are coloured by the prejudices, assumptions and wishes of the recorder and of his informants, is of no value. A collection of data about *Niddah*, and about restrictions in relation to menstruation among non-Jewish peoples, has been published elsewhere (Kennaway, 1948).

Any idea that the law of *Niddah* is now an almost forgotten matter, of merely antiquarian interest, is simply



FIG. 5. PARADE BEFORE CIRCUMCISION IN CAIRO

After Lane

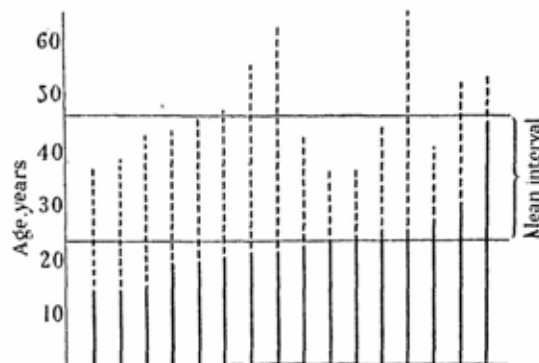


FIG. 6. TIME RELATIONS OF 16 CASES OF CANCER OF THE PENIS FOLLOWING SURGICAL CIRCUMCISION

The cases are arranged in ascending order of age at the time of operation; the interrupted lines represent the interval between the operation and the diagnosis of cancer.

After Dean, Lewis, Lenowitz and Graham

untrue. In London, at any rate, a Jewish girl whose engagement is announced in the Press receives from one or other of certain Jewish societies a simple, practical and forcible statement of the law, and often this is her first acquaintance with it. How far these instructions are obeyed is of course another matter altogether, but those to whom they are of most concern cannot be ignorant of them even here at the present day. Sandler (1955) finds that the experience of an infertility clinic indicates that the law of *Niddah* 'is far more frequently observed than many people imagine' and is an important cause of sterility in women with an abnormally short menstrual cycle.

The question whether the practice of *Niddah* is at any rate one factor in the low incidence of cancer of the cervix in Jewish women can be investigated by cautious enquiry into the habits in this respect of those of them who do develop this form of cancer. Such an enquiry by Wynder *et al.* (1954) showed that in at least 10 out of 20 such cases no abstinence from intercourse after menstruation had been practised (Table I). The matter has been discussed more fully elsewhere (Kennaway, 1955).³

There is an aspect of *Niddah* to which I have not seen any reference, namely the effect upon the male partner, whose fertility, as measured by counts of spermatozoa, is increased considerably by periods of abstinence.

TABLE I. EPIDERMIOID CANCER OF THE CERVIX IN 20 JEWISH WOMEN (WYNDER ET AL., 1954)

Days' abstinence after menses	Circumcised husband		Circumcision in husband		Total
	and no other partners	and other partners	mixed	not	
0	3	6	—	1	10
2	—	—	1	—	1
3	1	—	—	1	2
4	1	—	—	—	1
5	1	—	—	—	1
7	5	—	—	—	5
					20

The Talmud. One of the aims of the compilers of the *Talmud* was to give in advance the decision of the Law upon various occurrences, probable and improbable; for instance if three women share a bed and one of them begins to menstruate, the one in the middle contaminates the other two, but one at the side affects only the one in the middle. Such an event may seem neither very probable, nor very important, but the student of the *Talmud* is prepared for it.

The Falasha Jews. The Falasha Jews of Abyssinia, numbering between 15,000 and 20,000, whose history is uncertain, obey the Law laid down in the book of *Leviticus* (XV, 19-24) and have never heard of the *Talmud*; they do not know Hebrew, and use a translation of the *Torah* into Geez, the old Ethiopic language. They thus provide an interesting demonstration of the changes in Jewish life which the *Talmud* introduced. The most conspicuous differences are (1) the single period of seven days' isolation, and (2) the absence of the ritual immersion (*Mikveh*) which

requires an amount of construction, and a supply of water, which might be impracticable for primitive people. The following description is given by Wolf Leslau (1951).

'In appearance a Falasha village does not differ from an Ethiopian one. One sees the same circular huts of branches, perhaps covered with mud, and thatched with coarse grass, and the same grain storage bins of dried mud standing around



FIG. 7. (a) SYNAGOGUE AND (b) HUT OF THE WOMAN IN CHILDBED AMONG THE FALASHA JEWS OF ABYSSINIA (After Wolf Leslau, 1951)

the huts. There is neither chimney for fire nor window for light—merely a door through which smoke goes out and light enters. Some huts, however, are peculiar to a Falasha village. These are the synagogue [fig. 7a], the "hut of malediction or of blood," and the "hut of the woman in childbed" [fig. 7b].

'These huts are usually at the outskirts of the village, but occasionally at a small distance from it. They are easily distinguished by the low stone walls surrounding them [fig. 7b].

'At the beginning of her period a woman leaves her house and enters the hut of malediction or of blood. There she remains segregated for seven days, during which time she is considered unclean. She does no work at all and her family pour water or coffee into her cup over the wall and bring her the native bread or roasted grain without ever touching her.

On the morning of the seventh day she washes her clothes and body, spends the whole day at the outskirts of the village, and at sunset enters her house. When I first took pictures of the hut and the women sitting around it I thought they might be embarrassed, but this segregation seemed to them so natural that they were not even disturbed when the men explained the custom to me in their presence.

'At the onset of labor the woman also enters the hut of blood, accompanied by two midwives. These midwives, after delivering the child, wash themselves and their clothes before they return to their families, for until they have done so they are considered unclean. As in nearly all Ethiopian communities, the women of the village utter twelve shouts of joy if the child is a male, nine if it is a female; and both mother and father receive congratulations from the neighbors. If a male is born the parents give the priest a sum of money in keeping with their means, and the child is circumcised on the eighth day. Until that day the mother remains in the hut of blood and is permitted to eat anything but meat. Meanwhile her family builds for her the hut of the woman in child-bed. The day the child is circumcised she washes her body and her clothes, enters the hut of the woman in child-bed, and stays there for thirty-two days. If a female is born the woman must remain in the hut of blood for fourteen days before she moves to the hut of the woman in child-bed, where she stays for sixty-six days. While she is segregated her housework is done by her daughters, or, if she has none, by her neighbors. On the last day of her confinement she again washes herself and her clothes, shaves her head, and rejoins her family at sunset. The hut that she had occupied is burned and another is built when the need arises. A feast is given for the relatives and neighbors and the magical Book of Disciples (*arde'et*) is read by the priests.'

This separation of a mother, of very low economic status, from all her household duties for as long as 80 days shows the immense power of this belief in ritual impurity, a belief which has persisted for 3,000 years without any further revelation of God's will.

Bathsheba and David. The story of Bathsheba and David is of interest from many points of view.

'And it came to pass in an eventide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the King's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon . . . and David sent messengers and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her; for she was purified from her uncleanness . . . (Samuel II, XI, 2-4).

This passage describes an actual instance, at a very early date (c. 1000 B.C.), of the ritual washing of a woman after menstruation. It supports the teachings of the Talmudic writers about the sensual effect of the naked female body. The beginning of the drama has been portrayed by many artists; two of these pictures are reproduced here (Plate Fb, d), one attributed by some authorities to the Netherlands painter Hans Memling (c. 1430-1494), the other by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665). The older picture shows, on the left, an addition of the seventeenth century showing David on the roof of an adjoining house; the original picture of David has become detached and is thought to have been identified in a gallery at Chicago. One notes in both pictures the little dog, conventional in such scenes and in this case reminiscent of Jane's 'Fritz' in the *Daily Mirror*. Poussin ignores scriptural detail, as artists so commonly do, and places David upon the ground floor.

The ritual significance of blood. The abhorrence of menstrual blood is a part of the very much larger subject of the

whole Jewish attitude towards blood; thus the *Kosher* method of slaughter, and the subsequent soaking and salting of the meat, aim at the avoidance of contact with blood.

Blood in the Mosaic Law. The book of *Leviticus* alone contains 48 statements of procedure in relation to the blood of animals. A classification of these might be attempted as follows:

(1) The majority are repetitions of the rule for sprinkling of the blood of sacrificed mammals or birds 'round about upon the altar,' or of other ritual: '... the priest shall dip his finger in some of the blood and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord, even before the veil. And he shall put some of the blood upon the horns of the altar that is before the Lord . . . and shall pour out all the blood at the bottom of the altar of the burnt offering . . . (IV, 17, 18).

(2) The eating of blood is a crime: 'Moreover ye shall eat no manner of blood, whether it be of fowl or of beast, in any of your dwellings. Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people' (VII, 26, 27).

(3) Yet the consecration of Aaron and of his sons required the application of the blood of a ram to the right ear, thumb and great toe (VII, 23, 24).

(4) Leprosy was cured by application of a mixture containing the blood of a 'bird' (XIV, 6, 7).

The peculiar nature of blood is explained as follows:

'And whatsoever man there be . . . that eateth any manner of blood; I will set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people. For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul . . . For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof, therefore I said unto the children of Israel. Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off' (*Leviticus*, XVII, 10-14).

'Only be sure that thou eat not the blood; for the blood is the life; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh. Thou shalt not eat it: thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water' (*Deuteronomy*, XII, 23, 24).

Blood in Christian doctrine. Of course no attempt is made here to deal with other aspects of the religious significance of blood, but one must be impressed by the difference in this respect between the Jewish and the Christian religions although the latter was, at its origin, associated so closely with the former.⁴ One need refer only to the ritual of the Mass, and of Holy Communion, in which blood is drunk either symbolically, or, in accordance with the doctrine of the Real Presence, actually. Numerous assertions of the cleansing power of blood occur in Christian writings, and especially in hymns.

'There is a fountain filled with blood
Drawn from Emmanuel's veins
And sinners plunged beneath that flood
Lose all their guilty stains.'

Painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represent the most precious Blood pouring from the neck of the Lamb into a chalice, a scene which is unavoidably apt to suggest the *Kosher* process of slaughter. As an example one may take the 'Adoration of the Lamb' of Hubert van Eyck (1366?-1426) at Ghent (Plate Fe), one of

the most wonderful pictures in the world, whether from the technical, religious or anthropological standpoints. The scene depicted is based upon passages in the book of *Revelation*, of which the following states most clearly the doctrine of the cleansing power of blood:

'These are they which come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God; and they serve him day and night in his temple . . . ' (VII, 14, 15).

Another example of the subject is to be found at the foot of the Cross in the Issenheim Altarpiece of Mathias Grünewald (1460-1530) at Colmar (Plate Fc).

TABLE II. CANCER AMONG NUNS IN QUEBEC (FABIEN GAGNON)

Annual Average 3280 Nuns—Period of Time 20 Years Malignant Tumours of all Organs			
Thyroid, Skeleton, Spleen	1 each	Digestive tract	42
Omentum, Mesentery		Breast	53
Parotid, Pancreas	2 each	Ovary	9
Skin, Buccal cavity	3 each	Corpus Uteri	2
Liver	4	Cervix Uteri	nil
Urinary tract	5		
Total = 130			

These examples of the cleansing power of blood are comparable to its use in the ordaining of priests, and in the cure of leprosy (see above).

Cancer of the cervix in Jewish women. The low incidence of cancer of the cervix in Jewish women is now established by so great a quantity of evidence (summarized by Kenaway, 1948, and by Wynder, 1954) from many different countries that we can take it as settled.

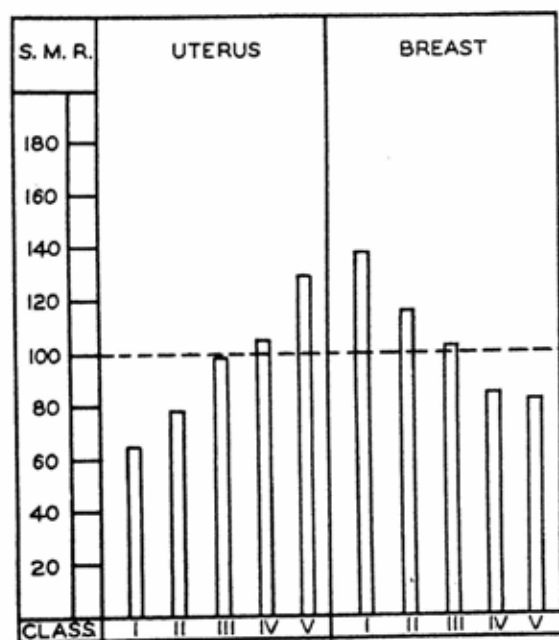


FIG. 8. CANCER OF THE BREAST AND UTERUS
Standardized mortality ratio of registered to 100 calculated deaths in the five social classes, England and Wales

This comparative immunity is the more remarkable because Jewish women have been especially exposed to factors which in other races increase the liability to this form of cancer. Such factors are (1) early marriage; (2) child-bearing; (3) low economic status; (4) the fact that Jews are predominantly town-dwellers. The study by Fabien Gagnon (1950) of the forms of cancer occurring in a celibate population, namely the nuns of Quebec, indicates the importance of the first two of these factors (Table II).

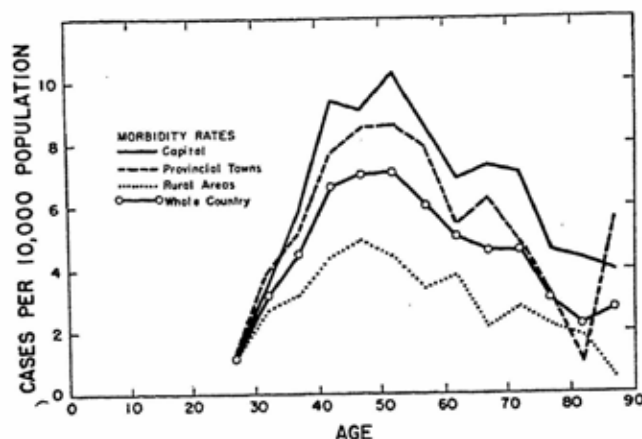


FIG. 9. INCIDENCE OF CERVICAL CANCER IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

After J. Clemmesen, *The Danish Cancer Registry, 1943-47*

A large amount of the data on the third factor were obtained from Jews living under conditions of poverty, e.g. in London and New York. The figures of the Registrar General for England and Wales show a gradient for this form of cancer which is inverse to social status, while mammary cancer varies in the opposite sense (fig. 8). As to the fourth factor, in Denmark the incidence of cancer of the cervix is considerably higher in the town than in the country (fig. 9).

Notes

¹ A fuller account of these matters is given in my book *Some Religious Illusions in Art, Literature and Experience*, London (Watts), 1953.

² Two such chairs were lent by the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks, to be shown at the Exhibition of Anglo-Jewish Art and History at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1955-6. They are described in the Catalogue as follows:

249 Circumcision Chair. Sheraton period. Mahogany, with footrest. (In the rite of circumcision, it is customary for the godfather to sit on such a chair, holding the child.) c. 1790.

250 Circumcision Chair. Mahogany. The upper rail inscribed in Hebrew 'This is the chair of Elijah of Blessed Memory 5587 (1827 A.D.).' Elijah is associated with circumcisions. 1826-7.

³ Dr. A. Hochman, of Rothschild Hadassah University Hospital, Jerusalem, has a valuable collection of similar data which will, I hope, soon be published.

⁴ The Apostles, after the Ascension, returned to Jerusalem and 'were continually in the Temple, blessing God' (Luke, XXIV, 53), although the hierarchy of the Temple had brought about the death of Jesus.

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THE EXAMINATION OF SOME COPPER ORES*

A REPORT OF THE ANCIENT MINING AND METALLURGY COMMITTEE

by

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84 A spectrographic analysis was carried out by Mr. G. S. Sainsbury, by courtesy of Morgan Crucible Company, Ltd., on eight specimens kindly provided by Dr. G. F. Claringbull, British Museum (Natural History), with the results set forth in Table I.

Any attempt to establish the provenance of early copper and bronze artifacts, by correlating impurities present in ores and artifacts, must be based on two main assumptions. In the first place, the ore specimens examined are taken to be representative, both of the immediate locality and of the material which would have been accessible to early man. It has been said that museum specimens may not justify such an assumption. On the other hand, it may be argued that the modern collector and the early metalworker might both have been attracted by the same qualities, *i.e.* colour and crystallinity, and hand-picking would seem not only natural but also practicable to a large extent, in view of the small quantities involved. In addition it is generally accepted that there is virtually no variation in the pattern of trace elements contained in mineral deposits in a given locality, until considerable depths are reached (*e.g.* Otto and Witter, 1952, p. 37).

Secondly, it is assumed that impurities will pass from the ore into the artifact on smelting according to certain metallurgical criteria. Although there is still a great deal of uncertainty about details, the general outlines of these criteria are sufficiently well established to justify attempts at correlation. Thus broadly speaking, silver, tin and bismuth, and also lead and zinc, would be expected to go with the copper—the first three almost quantitatively. On the other hand, iron and silicon will form a slag which will absorb aluminium, magnesium and in most cases also manganese almost completely, and will separate from the copper-rich phase. This separation into two principal groups would not depend, qualitatively, on any variation

in the conditions under which ores were smelted in antiquity; also, it would have to be reasonably complete, quantitatively, with respect to the iron before useful copper could be obtained.

Nickel and cobalt could, and usually do, go into both metal and slag. Arsenic, antimony and phosphorus can, similarly, be either volatilized or dissolved in the metal. In the case of these two groups, the extent to which the impurities are taken up into the copper depends almost entirely on the conditions of smelting and refining.

Considering only the elements which figure in Table I, it follows that for purposes of correlation

- iron, silicon, aluminium, magnesium and manganese are probably not significant;
- nickel and cobalt are not helpful—unless large quantities are present in the ore (as *e.g.* in the case of Sumerian copper artifacts), and this may to some extent apply also under (a), but probably only in special cases;
- silver, tin, bismuth, lead and zinc are probably the most useful tracers—but where large quantities of tin have been added deliberately, and the tin has come from a different locality, the additional impurities introduced in this way will have to be taken into account (*cf.* Royal School of Mines, *Report*, 1954)—the same may apply to additions of lead;
- phosphorus and, particularly, arsenic and antimony occupy a very special position.

On the one hand, the same specimen of arsenic-bearing ore will produce a metal poor or rich in arsenic, according as the smelting conditions are predominantly oxidizing or reducing. The same applies to antimony and phosphorus. On the other hand, there is some evidence (*e.g.* Otto and Witter, p. 46) that arsenic may have been added deliberately, like tin, and in fact in many respects with comparable

* With a text figure and two tables

TABLE I. ANALYSIS OF EIGHT COPPER ORES

Elements sought			Sn	Pb	Ag	Ni	Co	As	Sb	Bi	Fe	Zn	Mn	Si	Al	Mg	P
Limits of detection			0.005	0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.02	0.001	0.0001		0.005	0.00005		0.005		0.01
Sample type	Locality	B.M. No.															
Cuprite	Cornwall	57910	n.d.	0.01	0.001	n.d.	n.d.	0.25	0.05	n.d.	0.02	n.d.	n.d.	0.5	0.05	0.0001	n.d.
Malachite	Somerset	54536	n.d.	0.0001	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.1	0.1	n.d.	0.03	n.d.	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.0005	0.02
Malachite	Cornwall	Camborne	56110	0.02	0.001	n.d.	n.d.	0.25	0.02	n.d.	0.02	n.d.	0.0001	0.1	0.07	0.0001	0.01
Malachite	Ireland	Limerick	91538	n.d.	0.1	n.d.	0.003	n.d.	n.d.	0.08	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.08	0.15	0.0005	n.d.
[Malachite*	Ireland	Limerick	91539	n.d.	0.05	n.d.	0.002	0.0001	0.002	n.d.	0.0006	0.5	0.1	n.d.	0.05	0.05	0.05
Chalcocite	Cornwall	St. Just	40706	0.02	0.0001	0.002	n.d.	0.5	n.d.	0.0001	0.5	n.d.	0.0001	0.02	0.03	0.0005	n.d.
Chalcocite	Cornwall	Redruth	47009	m.q. (1 p.c.)	0.0001	0.008	n.d.	0.001	0.5	0.1	0.008	0.5	0.01	n.d.	m.q. (5 p.c.)	0.05	0.001
Tetrahedrite	Ireland	Ballycummisk	43309	n.d.	n.d.	0.01	n.d.	0.001	m.q. (5 p.c.)	m.q. (10 p.c.)	0.01	0.25	0.05	n.d.	m.q. (5 p.c.)	0.02	0.001
Chalcopyrite	Ireland	Ballycummisk	43307	0.005	n.d.	0.001	0.001	0.003	n.d.	n.d.	0.005	m.q. (30 p.c.)	0.005	0.0005	0.01	0.05	0.0001

All figures are 'of the order of,' and given as percentages of the element estimated to be present in the total ore sample examined in each case. The high limit of detection for arsenic is due to the conditions of analysis which, in giving the maximum of information from any one exposure, inevitably made close estimation of arsenic impossible. The same also applies to the figures for silver, to a certain extent. n.d. = not detected. m.q. = major quantity, with the probable order of magnitude in brackets.

* The results of this analysis, previously carried out by the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association and published in MAN, 1955, 4, are here given for comparison. Samples 91538 and 91539 are probably from the same mine, and possibly from the same vein, but almost certainly not from the same ore specimen.

effect. Since smelting conditions in most particular instances must remain unknown, there can only be indirect evidence on this point. The various considerations here are interrelated, but they provide limits within which, at least, certain possibilities may be ruled out.

To begin with, the maximum theoretical quantity of arsenic transferable with copper from ore to metal can be calculated. If the amount of arsenic actually found in

artifacts exceeds this in a number of significant cases, then deliberate addition is strongly indicated although an exceptionally arsenic-rich ore deposit is not ruled out. Unfortunately, the amount of arsenic that would have been added by a metalworker fully conversant with its effect, i.e. 6-8 per cent., is well within the limits of possible transfer from certain ores.

On the other hand, only complex sulphide ores are

TABLE II. IMPORTANT ELEMENTS EXPRESSED AS POSSIBLE IMPURITIES IN METAL SMELTED FROM ORE

Elements considered				Sn	Pb	Ag	As	Sb	Bi	Zn
B.M. No.	Type	Nominal Composition								
57910	Cuprite Cu_2O	$\text{Cu} = 88.8 \text{ p.c.}$		n.d.	0.01	0.001	0.3	0.06	n.d.	n.d.
54536	Malachite $\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$	$\text{Cu} = 57.5 \text{ p.c.}$		n.d.	0.0002	n.d.	0.2	0.2	n.d.	n.d.
56110	Malachite $\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$	$\text{Cu} = 57.5 \text{ p.c.}$		0.035	0.002	n.d.	0.45	0.035	n.d.	n.d.
91538	Malachite $\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$	$\text{Cu} = 57.5 \text{ p.c.}$		n.d.	0.2	n.d.	n.d.	0.15	n.d.	0.2
[91539*	Malachite $\text{CuCO}_3 \cdot \text{Cu(OH)}_2$	$\text{Cu} = 57.5 \text{ p.c.}$		n.d.	0.1	n.d.	0.0035	n.d.	0.001	0.2]
40706	Chalcocite Cu_2S	$\text{Cu} = 79.8 \text{ p.c.}$		0.02	0.0001	0.002	0.6	n.d.	0.0001	n.d.
47009	Chalcocite Cu_2S	$\text{Cu} = 79.8 \text{ p.c.}$		m.q. (1.5 p.c.)	0.00015	0.01	0.7	0.15	0.01	0.015
43309	Tetrahedrite (grey copper ore, 'Fahlerz') range from $\text{Cu}_8\text{Sb}_2\text{S}_7$ to $\text{Cu}_8\text{As}_2\text{S}_7$ (tennantite)	From $\text{Cu} = 52.1 \text{ p.c.}$ $\text{Sb} = 24.8 \text{ p.c. to}$ $\text{Cu} = 57.5 \text{ p.c.}$ $\text{As} = 17 \text{ p.c.}$		n.d.	n.d.	0.02	m.q. (7 p.c.)	m.q. (14 p.c.)	0.02	0.1
43307	Chalcopyrite CuFeS_2	$\text{Cu} = 34.5 \text{ p.c.}$ $\text{Fe} = 30 \text{ p.c.}$		0.015	n.d.	0.003	n.d.	n.d.	0.015	0.015

These are recalculated figures which have been rounded off to the nearest 'half-unit.' n.d. = not detected. m.q. = major quantity, with the probable order of magnitude in brackets. For localities see Table I.

* Recalculated for comparison. See * in Table I.

likely both to contain enough arsenic *and* to have been accessible in sufficient quantity. Now there are two circumstances about such ores which are of diagnostic value: they are almost certain to contain a great many other impurities, and they will need roasting, *i.e.* oxidizing conditions, at some stage and to some degree, in order to release any copper at all.

In other words, if an artifact is found to contain an appreciable amount of arsenic but no other impurities, then the arsenic has probably been added. But if the same quantity of arsenic appears accompanied by a number of trace impurities, especially a fair amount of antimony and perhaps some phosphorus, then it is more likely that all the arsenic in the artifact was already present in the ore.

When the results of the analysis given in Table I are considered in the light of the foregoing, great caution is needed as preliminary deductions from a short first run such as this could be more misleading than helpful. No attention has been paid, in the following, to the strictly quantitative aspect of the variation in any one of the elements from sample to sample; nor would it be wise, in general, to regard as significant anything short of a difference in order of magnitude, *i.e.* as between 0.1 and 0.01, or 0.1 and 1 per cent.

It has so far not been possible, either, seriously to consider proving the presence or absence of traces of the rarer elements. This is a matter which may well turn out to be far more important than anything else in characterizing a particular locality (*cf.* Bromehead, 1948).

It would seem, therefore, that this work needs the development of a technique, or combination of techniques, capable of distinguishing between orders of magnitude for the commoner elements, and at the same time picking out minute traces of as many others as possible. Improvements in the sensitivity and versatility of the method would thus appear to be more important than quantitative standardization and reproducibility. As limits of detection are refined, it becomes possible to compare results with greater certainty, especially where the borderline between a low figure or 'trace' and 'not detected' is involved.

Despite these and other difficulties, which are coming to be generally appreciated, a certain amount of interpretation seems justified and even necessary, and should prove useful if accepted with reserve.

Clearly no importance can be attached to the figures for magnesium, aluminium, manganese, nickel or cobalt; the amounts are so small that any traces transferred into a copper artifact would be of no value. The same applies to phosphorus, but the general absence of this element may have some significance. Similarly, but for the different reasons stated above, silicon and iron must be disregarded, though all the specimens (excepting the chalcopryrite, 43307 are surprisingly free from contamination by iron, whose ubiquity and power are the spectrographer's bane.

Before the more significant figures can be properly appreciated they must be recalculated in terms of the copper present, rather than considered as expressed in Table I—on the basis of the total ore material. This is

relatively unimportant for the first five specimens, which are all over 99 per cent. pure copper compound *and* contain 60–90 per cent. copper; though even here, arsenic is increased in 57910 from 0.25 to 0.3, for instance; and in 56110 from 0.25 to 0.45 per cent. Although much less pure, 40706, 47009, and 43307 are not much affected by the recalculation because their impurities are not of the significant kind. In 43309, however, the effect is most marked: quantities are raised by half, arsenic from 5 to 7, antimony from 10 to 14 per cent. The revised figures for the seven important elements are given in Table II. Fig. 1 shows the same figures in histograms for direct graphic comparison.

The most surprising feature is the high arsenic content found in malachites, approaching the quantities present in chalcocites where it would have been expected; yet absent from the chalcopryrite. The arsenic in the tetrahedrite could, theoretically, lead to the production of copper containing 7 per cent. of arsenic; but the metal would then also carry 14 per cent. of antimony. In any event it is unlikely that more than about half those quantities would be retained at the end of the smelting process (although *cf.* 16–17 per cent. *As* and 13 per cent. *Sb* in crude metal containing 30–40 per cent. *Cu* and 2–4 per cent. *S* (Witter, 1938)).

In considering the metal that would be obtained from the ores for which analyses have been here given, the following trends would seem to be discernible. In Irish material, zinc could be high, tin would be absent except in one trace; arsenic and antimony would be relatively low and silver present except in metal from malachites. Bismuth would be present probably only in metal from sulphides; there lead would be absent, though high in metal from malachites.

The material from South-West England is not so neatly characterized. All one can say is that arsenic could, theoretically, be relatively high though never exceeding about 0.5 per cent., and would then be accompanied by antimony except in one case. Zinc would be absent except in one case, and tin would be present in significant quantities in Cornish material except that derived from the cuprite. Again, bismuth would probably be present only in metal from one of the sulphides. Lead might be present in small quantities.

It is interesting that in both the Irish and English material bismuth would be higher than lead in sulphide-derived metal, and *vice versa* in metal from 'oxide' ores. Otherwise the 'impurities patterns' of the two geographical groups are about as different as one would like them to be; and where an English specimen is cited as an exception for a particular element the rest of the pattern bears no relation to any of the Irish material. This is quite clear from a comparison of the histograms.

No correlation was possible between these patterns and those of the metal artifacts published in the course of the Committee's research programme up to and including the last report (Case, 1954). On the contrary, it is safe to suggest that none of the ores here described could have yielded, without admixture (*beyond* that of tin and possibly

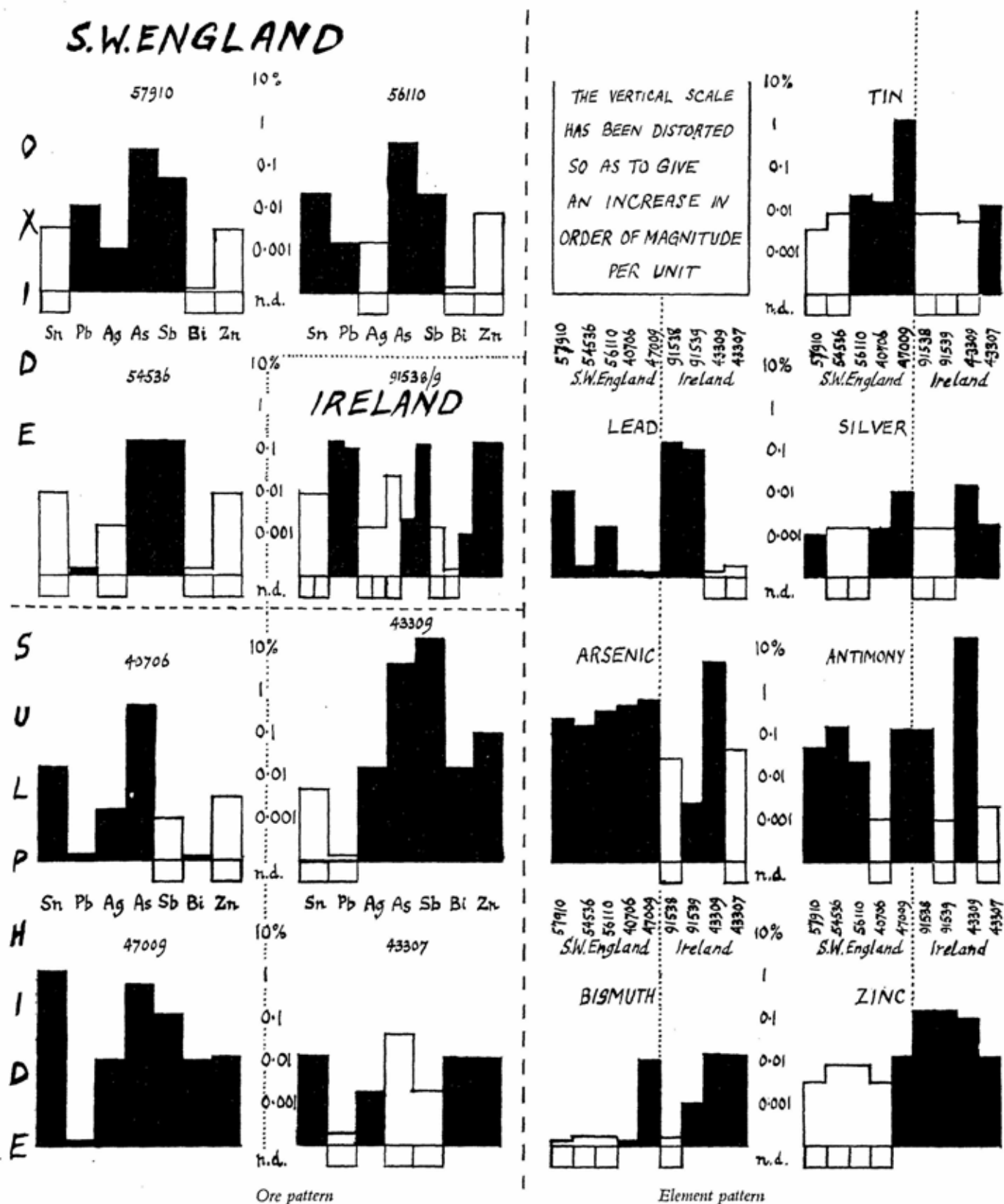


FIG. 1. POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANT IMPURITIES IN METAL WON FROM THE ORES
n.d.=not detected (above the upper limit of the white space)

arsenic where appropriate), the metal for any of those artifacts. It does seem, however, that we shall have to look to the kind of complex sulphide exemplified by the tetrahedrite, 43309, as a probable raw material for the great majority of the implements, with certain significant exceptions, in particular the tin bronzes.

Acknowledgment

I am indebted, on behalf of the Committee, to Mr. G. S. Sainsbury for his full co-operation on all aspects of the analysis. I am also very grateful to Professor F. C. Thompson and Dr. J. R. Butler, and to

many other scientific colleagues and friends, for much helpful discussion and criticism. This part of the work is obviously in its early stages and comments would be appreciated.

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SHORTER NOTE

Ancient Mexican Documents in Great Britain. By C. A. Bur-land

85 In Great Britain there are more ancient Mexican codices than in any other country in the world. This is due to the foresight of a number of antiquaries and collectors who, through the centuries, have been fascinated by the strange beauty of the painted documents. Although the Codex Mendoza at Oxford was first of all the ancient Mexican documents to be published in Europe, by Samuel Purchas, and the four major documents at Oxford are included in the volumes of Kingsborough, before 1956 only two of the pre-Columbian documents were published in a reasonably exact reproduction by modern standards. These were Codex Fejervary Mayer, now in the Free Public Libraries and Museum at Liverpool, and Codex Zouche, published as Codex Nuttall, now in the British Museum, London.

After half a century, progress is now being made with the description and publication of the codices at Oxford and it is opportune at this stage to give a review of the material which exists in this country, with a short note of probable origins and dates.

There are four codices which are concerned with Mixtec history. One of them has inscriptions written across the pages in the Spanish alphabet but the Mixtec language. This is Codex Waecker-Götter (Egerton MSS. 2895 in the British Museum). It is an itinerary of Mixtec townships with names of the rulers, and in some cases a very short genealogical table. It is important as a key document for establishing Mixtec style in painting because of the writing which identifies its origin beyond any question. The other three are identifiable as Mixtec by their use of a symbol like a capital letter 'A' to indicate a year, and by the inclusion in their historical material (as was first recorded by James Cooper-Clark in 1911) of the hero Eight Deer (Unaquaa), Lord of Tilantongo. Of the three, Codex Zouche-Nuttall is the only unquestionably pre-Conquest work, and there is some evidence on the verso side that its historical material was completed in the mid-fourteenth century. In addition there are Codices Selden and Bodley at Oxford. Selden has been dated by Dr. Alfonso Caso as written immediately after 1556, because the last town chief in the record is dated to that period from Spanish historical sources. It has served to confirm Dr. Caso's conclusion that the Mixtec years were numbered differently from those of the Aztecs (e.g. Mixtec Year 1 Acatl = Aztec year 2 Acatl = 1507). Bodley is a similar dynastic record of a Mixtec township, but much more detailed. Stylistically it is similar to Selden, but as Selden is a hurriedly overpainted palimpsest done in a style learnt before the Spanish Conquest there is no absolute reason to ascribe an equally late date to Bodley.

Other historical documents in British collections, but not

Mixtec, are the Map of Metlatoyuca in the British Museum, published by Dra. Eulalia Guzman in *Imago Mundi* in 1939. This is a post-Conquest map history of the town of Metlatoyuca, very Aztec in style, and probably painted after 1550. The Papers of Itzcuintepec in the British Museum (Egerton MSS. 2896 and 2897) are documents concerning land claims for an area in the north-eastern corner of the State of Puebla (this was identified from place names by the late Robert Barlow). They vary in period from about 1560 until as late as 1600 (determined by the number of generations of post-Aztec village chiefs). The Selden Roll in the Bodleian Library is another historical document concerning the early history of a town 'The Hill of Xochiquetzal.' The dates of the events recorded are of the early eleventh century, confirmed by a cross reference to Codex Zouche-Nuttall, and although the system of year signs used is Mixtec, the mythology is definitely Aztec in type and it is wisest to ascribe this document also to a border land between the Mixtecs and the Valley of Mexico. The date of the manuscript is certainly post-Conquest as may be seen when the final map section is compared with topographical paintings in other documents.

Some miscellaneous documents exist: a page in a late seventeenth-century Spanish hand, but written in Nahuatl, now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; a single page with heads and numerals, probably seventeenth century, in the Christy Collection of the British Museum; and a prayerbook in picture writing of a similar period in Egerton MSS. 2898, British Museum. In the Royal Albert Museum at Exeter there is a leather shield of late seventeenth-century style, to judge by the debased painting of the name glyph of a soldier Eleven Ozomatli which appears on it. This once formed part of the personal possessions of the famous Apache leader Cochise.

In the Kingsborough Papers in the British Museum (MSS. 13, 964) there is a well-known set of paintings with Spanish commentary of the late sixteenth century, the Petition of the Indians of Tepetlaoztoc. In the same volume, with Spanish notes of the mid-seventeenth century, is a series of pictures of the art of cochineal cultivation.

Of pre-Columbian religious codices we possess two of the most beautiful; Codex Fejervary Mayer in the Liverpool Free Public Library and Museum, and Codex Laud in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Fejervary Mayer is the subject of a commentary by Eduard Selser, and Laud is now being studied and a commentary prepared. Both these documents are southern Mexican, and it seems probable that Eduard Selser's opinion that they derived either from Cuicatec or Mazatec sources will be upheld by further study. The date of both may probably be the fourteenth century, but Codex Laud contains one or two sections of older documents which have not been overpainted and may prove to be as early

as the tenth century if stylistic comparison between painting and sculpture is of value in such cases.

Finally there is the post-Conquest Codex Mendoza of 1545, derived from Aztec sources. Of the beautiful facsimile edition by James Cooper-Clark there are probably less than 200 copies which survived the war-time bombing. The original was the first

of the codices in the Bodleian library to be reproduced in facsimile. Since then the Selden Roll has been published, and a commentary is being prepared on Codex Laud by myself, while Dr. P. J. C. Dark is working on the Mixtec historical Codices Selden and Bodley. A full account of Bodley, by Dr. Alfonso Caso, will appear in *J. Soc. des Américanistes*, Paris, 1957.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Primitive Art. By Leonhard Adam. Third edition. London (Penguin Books), 1954. Pp. 247, 40 plates, 50 text figs. Price 3s. 6d.

86 It so happens that this book has never been reviewed in MAN, although the first edition appeared in 1940. By now, it hardly needs a review, as it must be the most popular and well-known book on primitive art. The third edition is much better produced than the two earlier ones, affected as they were by the stringencies of war-time and post-war book production. The 'vital statistics' of the three editions, in order, are: pages 160, 271, 247 (smaller type); plate figures 32, 57, 75; text figures 38, 49, 50; pages of notes 7, 13, 17. The quality of the paper and the printing of the collogravure plates are now very good. Sub-headings have been added to the table of contents and the text, making reference much easier.

The book may be divided into three main sections. In the first, Dr. Adam discusses the meaning of primitive art, its characteristics and purpose, its relationship with religion, and its psycho-analytical and social implications. When these chapters were first published, they seemed to be refreshingly direct and matter-of-fact, while at the same time presenting some of the finer subtleties of art appreciation. Their value as an introduction is in no way impaired by the passage of time. Dr. Adam wisely warns his readers against some of the more obvious pitfalls in the study and appreciation of primitive art, such as that of dissociating it from its context and treating it as 'pure art' (which, in a primitive society, is non-existent), or viewing it in the light of our own particular predilections and prejudices.

The second, and most important, section of the book covers primitive art, both prehistoric and modern, and region by region, in Africa, Asia, Oceania, Australia and America. The author's own chief fields of interest lie within the regions of Australia and Oceania, although extending to Asia and America. The text, as far as I am able to judge, is extremely good, and includes some of the more recent developments such as the discovery of prehistoric rock art in Siberia and Central Asia, or a plate figure of one of the Yirrkalla polychrome wooden statuettes from Northern Australia. However, a greater degree of selection in choosing the subjects for the plates (especially in the cases of Plates XXIV, XXV; XXVII a and b; XXXIII b, XXXIV-XXXVI) might have produced a wider coverage of different art styles. On p. 161, fig. 39 and its caption are very badly arranged, with the bullroarer upside down.

The sphere of primitive art on which I am best equipped to comment is African art. This is also the least satisfactory portion of the book. Of the 27 pages allotted to the subject, 12 are taken up by the two chapters on the rock art of Northern Africa and the Bushmen, while the majority of the remaining pages deal with Ife, Benin and other archaeological or quasi-archaeological art styles. No account beyond a cursory mention by name and 12 not altogether well chosen plate illustrations is given of the rich and varied art forms of French West Africa, Nigeria, the Cameroons and the Congo in more recent times. European art appreciation is still very much bound up with the Mediterranean 'classical' art tradition with its use of life models, and to devotees of this group, a Baga *nimba* mask, an Ijo hippopotamus mask, or a Basonge *kifivebe* mask may appear gross, distorted and repulsive. Dr. Adam notes this approach to primitive art and the dangers thereof in his first chapter, yet I find that his own art appreciation tends somewhat the same way. Time and again, the fact that some piece of primitive art is lifelike is commented on with admiration or astonishment.

The Ife heads are described as 'these most beautiful of all African sculptures', 'distinguished by an astonishing fidelity to nature, absolutely correct proportions [true in fact only of the faces], and a lack of conventional features. The technique was excellent, and the figures show a marked sense of beauty' (p. 101). My complaint is that the African sculptor was a good enough craftsman to carve an exact representation if he wished to; most of the time he did not, and it therefore behoves us to appraise his art, not on the pedestrian basis of lifelikeness, but with a due awareness that he seemed to be using the human body as a starting point to express some concept or other in planes and curves and combinations of forms whose significance we may only dimly understand. In this context, I can do little better than to draw Dr. Adam's attention to 'The Study of African Art,' by William Fagg (*Allen Mem. Art Mus. Bull.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, Oberlin, Ohio, 1956) with its attached bibliography. It is the best published study of the subject that I know, especially from the standpoint of aesthetic and intellectual appreciation.

There are some errors in this section. Plate IIa is Yoruba, Nigeria, though Dr. Adam's attribution to the Gold Coast is based on a pre-war label in the British Museum. Plate VIII d is wrongly listed (p. 13) as a Benin warrior; it is a woman holding a mirror or tray. Plate VIIIa may come from Benin, but is in the Yoruba style, probably of Owo. The account of *cire-perdue* casting on p. 100 shows that Dr. Adam has not understood the process and its results, and his book is so valuable as a guide to students that it is worth while to correct this passage in some detail: the ducts are not thin metal tubes, but are made in wax and melted out. These ducts are not at each end of the model but always at the top of the investment, otherwise a stopper would be needed for the lower duct to prevent all the metal from running out. To describe the model as 'encased in a lump of soft clay' gives a misleading idea of the process of investment by means of successive coats of liquefied clay. This method of investment faithfully preserves every detail on the surface of the wax model, so that, except in the case of the inferior present-day castings of, e.g., Benin, it is not true that 'the surface . . . is invariably rough, and has to be finished off with chisel and file.' It should only be necessary to remove the metal duct rods at the top of the casting. The molten metal is not poured in while the wax flows out at the lower end: the wax would vaporize on contact with the molten metal and cause an explosion, whether there were a duct at the lower end or not. The wax is burned out thoroughly, the clay mould is kept at a temperature only slightly lower than that of the molten metal, and the metal is poured in until the mould is full. Although the technique of brass-casting may well have reached Negro Africa *via* Meroe, for example, there is no evidence that the Ife heads are other than purely African (cf. p. 102); the circular hole on the back of some Ife heads *did* serve a functional purpose in the casting (Leon Underwood, *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, p. 6); and some of the Nok heads give clear evidence that naturalistic figure sculpture existed in Nigeria from a very early date. The citation of Segy's *African Sculpture Speaks* in the bibliographical Note 63a as 'an outstanding work' on African art and 'an excellent introduction to the aesthetic understanding of primitive sculpture' shows a certain lack of perception in this field (cf. MAN, 1953, 193).

The final chapters deal with the interaction of European and primitive art, primitive art in museums, and forgeries. Of these, chapter XVIII is the most controversial, since it raises the question of how far the primitive artist can retain his own ability and

integrity under the pressure of Western ideas. The loss of the traditional outlook and artistic motivation almost universally results in artistic loss; commercial inspiration is a poor substitute for that of religion and personal interest. And Plate XL4, though done by an African, is simply a piece of European carving.

The Notes provide a useful though scattered bibliography; if a separate reading list could have been provided, it would have been even more useful.

Dr. Adam's book should not be judged by my remarks on the African section alone. When one remembers that he is a scholar in Indian and Chinese art as well as in primitive art, law and ethnography, it becomes somewhat carping to complain because he is not an Africanist and his aesthetics differ from my own. This book is a remarkably good (and still the best) introduction to a large and difficult subject, and the amount and range of information to be gleaned on repeated re-readings is impressive. Its continued popularity is proof of its quality; it will, I hope, go on into further and improved editions, even after Dr. Adam has brought out his larger volume on the same subject. M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Das Ballspiel im Leben der Völker. By Siegfried Mendner. Münster (Aschendorff), 1956. Pp. 170, 17 plates. Price D.M. 11.80

87 This is a beautiful book, brilliantly written and full of learning, giving the cultural history of the ball, perhaps the oldest and most universal human plaything. The history of ball playing is a tremendous subject, comprising important social and religious aspects. However, the fundamental element seems to be the playing itself, giving expression to and at the same time intensifying human vitality. Ball playing has always been a source of joy. The idea that the blessed dead are playing ball is set forth in an Egyptian pyramid text from about 2500 B.C., the oldest written document of ball playing. In the time of the Tang dynasty, polo was the favourite kind of ball playing at the Chinese court, and ladies of the court participated ably in this equestrian ball game. In the graves, pretty ceramic figures of female polo players are found; probably these should, in a magical way, warrant the joy of polo playing to the dead beyond the tomb.

Ball playing has often expressed mythical concepts, the ball representing a heavenly body (sun or moon), the playing a fight between opposite nature powers (day and night, summer and winter). Ball playing might be a way of magically influencing natural proceedings, helping the friendly powers and so enhancing fertility and human prosperity. However, originally ball playing is quite free from mystical speculations, a joyful activity, always with a strong element of competition. The hygienic value of ball games was understood and praised in antiquity by Greek and Roman physicians.

The geographical spread of different ball games may often be explained as an effect of culture history. However, the ball is a primeval and always vital element of human culture; it may have produced similarities time and again. Many of the culture-historical riddles of the ball may never be solved.

Mendner's book is delightful reading. And, nevertheless, it is a trustworthy manual on a large and very complicated theme. Greek and Roman antiquity is most satisfactorily treated. But the author takes us all over the world, in time and space, supporting his account by numerous notes. GUDMUND HATT

Das Wanderhirtentum und seine Vorstufen. By Henn Pohlhausen. Eine ethnographisch-geographische Studie zur Entwicklung der Eingeborenenwirtschaft. Braunschweig (Limbach), 1954. Pp. 176

88 The opinion that reindeer nomadism has in some way evolved from reindeer hunting is held by many ethnologists. And some workers in the field have pointed out certain cultural elements in reindeer-herding which seem derived from a hunting stage. Pohlhausen has invented a word for a transitional stage between hunting and herding; he calls it 'Rentierbegleiten.' The Begleiter follows one special herd which he spares and protects; he may utilize the animals not only for food but also in other ways, e.g. as transport animals. He published the word *Rentierbegleiten* in his

paper 'Nachweisbare Ansätze zum Wanderhirtentum in der niederdeutschen Mittelsteinzeit,' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. LXXXVIII, 1953, utilizing A. Rust's excellent archaeological work upon a mesolithic hunting culture (*Ahrensburger Stufe*) at Stellmoor. Pohlhausen finds it probable that these mesolithic hunters were already *Rentierbegleiter*, about 8000 B.C. He did not then claim that this theory was proven, but he found it probable. In his new book, Pohlhausen attempts to make his *Begleiter* idea more substantial by reckoning the Chukchi, the Koryak, and even the Fjäll Lapps among the *Rentierbegleiter*. This means that the *Begleiter* may have many tangible cultural elements, such as reindeer sledges, castration of reindeer, lasso, use of tame reindeer as decoy animals, etc. Now, if one of these tangible elements were proven for the Ahrensburger people, this would, of course, give some support to Pohlhausen's hypothesis. But as long as this is not the case, it does not help him much to enlist present-day reindeer-herders among his *Begleiter*.

The author correctly describes the Eskimo as reindeer-hunters, not herders. However, he tells us (p. 59) that the Eskimo let the reindeer carry their tent poles. This must be a *lapsus*.

A description and analysis of the economic life of some nomadic herders from different parts of the world gives the author material for a world-embracing culture-historical system. At the base of all this he places the *Rentierbegleiter* of the mesolithic people of the Ahrensburger culture. His joy in this result makes him forget that he has not yet proven that the Ahrensburger people at Stellmoor were really herders. GUDMUND HATT

They Remembered America: The Story of the Repatriated Greek Americans. By Theodore Saloutos. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of Calif. P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. 153. Price £1 6s.

89 This book corrects an important omission in the scientific literature on migrations. Most of the studies dealing with problems of immigration have tended to concentrate on the analysis of the assimilation of the immigrants in their new places of settlement and with the conditions which tend to help or impede such assimilation. The possibility of going back to the country of origin was usually seen—implicitly or explicitly—as a symptom of failure and was barely analysed, except in migration statistics. This, however, has been necessarily a very one-sided approach and the present book sets out to correct this one-sidedness by analysing one repatriate group, the Greek immigrants to the United States who have returned to Greece and have stayed there. The main emphasis of the book is on the one hand on the motives for repatriation and, on the other hand, on the contribution of the repatriated to their communities and to public life in Greece. The motives for coming back are of course varied, but seem to focus around the feeling of loneliness in the humdrum of American 'mass society' and strangeness in a mechanical civilization. The immediate experiences which bring about this feeling and the decision to go back vary greatly and could perhaps be analysed more systematically than we find in the book. The resettlement of those people in their native country has not always been very easy—at least, not in the first stages. Unwittingly they have brought back with them many of the assumptions and customs of the 'mechanical' civilization, to which they became accustomed, especially to those relating to daily comfort. Moreover, many of them came back with money, much richer than their neighbours or relatives, and with some of the usual attitudes of the 'rich uncle' or the *nouveau riche*. All this has necessarily given rise to many misunderstandings and tensions, to opposition to many of their innovating ideas, etc. But, despite this, most of them adapted themselves relatively quickly and helped in introducing many innovations in Greek public life—in improvement of sanitary conditions, of steamship services, of new trade relations between America and Greece, etc. According to the author, they did not have much influence on eating habits or trade union organization. The reasons for this selective borrowing of 'cultural traits' are not fully analysed beyond some commonsense suggestion—but the very fact of such selective borrowing is of interest.

The book suffers to some extent from an abundance of impressionistic data and lack of more systematic data. But this is to

some extent inherent in the nature of the problem studied and in the fact of its being a pioneer study. As such, it deserves recommendation and should be read by all those interested in modern migrations and in processes and channels of cultural transmission.

S. N. EISENSTADT

A Manual of Intergroup Relations. By John P. Dean and Alex Rosen. Chicago (U.P.) (London agents, C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. xiii, 194. Price £1 8s.

90 This is a 'how to do it' book. The authors—one an academic sociologist and the other a trainer of social workers—have combined to produce a synthesis of relevant research findings so phrased as to be a practical guide for 'those actively engaged in reducing segregation and discrimination in public institutions, voluntary social agencies, and in other community organizations.' Furthermore, their formulations have been tested out during a four-year period of collaboration in both the pure and the applied fields.

The advice that the authors have to offer is expressed in a series of 27 propositions. Some of these embody the results of observation (e.g. Proposition 8: Within wide limits, prejudiced persons will accept and participate in a thoroughly mixed and integrated setting if integrated patterns are established and accepted as appropriate by other participants in that situation). Others, once stated, appear self-evident (e.g. Proposition 17: A person can more easily accept criticism of objectionable inter-group behaviour if he is helped to understand that the criticism is not a rejection of himself as a person). But it is the great virtue of this little handbook that it lucidly explains many elementary principles which to the academic lecturer are so obvious that he considers it no part of his duty to demonstrate them. Most discussion of the relations between ethnic groups has hitherto been concerned ultimately with political evaluations and has tended to emphasize economic and legal factors at the expense of any systematic examination of interpersonal relations. Hence the emphasis in this book upon the avoidance of unintentional slights is apt to appear exaggerated. Do such colourful phrases as, for example, 'a nigger in the wood-pile' really have to be banished from our vocabularies? The sensitivity of so many formerly subject peoples suggests that they may have to be.

Although the issues are presented simply the text is never naive and the authors illustrate how bewilderingly the social worker's problems may vary in differing social and regional situations. Considering the extent to which it is based upon the problems and the social surroundings of the United States, it is remarkable how many of the book's conclusions are of general application. The student of inter-group conflicts in other parts of the world will gain much instruction from it.

MICHAEL BANTON

French Bibliographical Digest: Science, Anthropology, Parts I and II. Second Series, Nos. 15 and 16, January and February, 1956. Pp. 72, 96. New York (Cultural Division of the French Embassy). Free

91 These two very useful brochures are available free on application to French Cultural Services, 972 Fifth Avenue, New York City 21. Part I is devoted to Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, and Part II to Ethnology and Social Anthropology. The bibliography was prepared by Professor Lévi-Strauss, with the help of Dr. M. Bouteiller, Mme E. Lot-Falck, Mr. I. Chiva, M. G. Bailloud and Dr. H. V. Vallois. It covers books, theses, articles from national journals, and some other publications between 1947 and October, 1955. An appendix deals with bibliographies, records, photographs and films. It is well indexed.

The bibliography provides an abstract of each item which makes it especially useful, and there are four pages of plates in each section, which, though scarcely relevant, are interesting.

It covers the field very well, though Père O'Reilly's *Bibliographie de la Nouvelle Calédonie* has been missed (perhaps it was published after October, 1955). It will be useful for those who find French laborious, since it is written in English, even the titles being translated, even though it has been in part thought out in French so that there are a few unidiomatic expressions. It shows very clearly the lines along which French anthropology is working, and in particular the difference between English and French social anthropology. This bibliography does not attempt to decide the frontier of ethnology and social anthropology.

Since it is available free, this work will no doubt find its way on to the shelves of most anthropologists. It would be well worthy of a place even if it had to be bought in dollars.

FRANK WILLET

EUROPE

Family and Neighbourhood: Two Studies in Oxford. By J. M. Mogey. O.U.P., 1956. Pp. ix, 181. Price £1 10s.

92 This book is an account of the results of the Oxford Pilot Social Survey. Two contrasting areas of Oxford were chosen for the survey, St. Ebbe's, built in the nineteenth century and now in the central part of the city, and Barton, a post-war housing estate on the outskirts. Within these two areas a random sample of houses was taken, and information was collected from the householder and/or his wife by means of 'free interviews.'

This method occupies the middle ground between the exclusively quantitative 'objective' sample surveys of certain sociologists and the small community research methods of the social anthropologist. For example, there are 34 tables and several appendices of figures to satisfy the statistically-minded, and accounts of social relations within the family, the neighbour group, etc., for the student of social structure. It is a very interesting attempt to combine the most valuable features of both approaches and within the framework of the pilot survey it appears to work very well. Its suitability for full-scale survey remains to be tested.

Like all good pilot surveys, this book outlines a great many problems needing further research, and at the same time succeeds in giving a coherent preliminary account of life in the two areas. Its major theme is the contrast between the social life of an old established town district and a modern housing estate. Many of the conclusions are necessarily tentative, but the very considerable differences in family, kindred and neighbour relations are clearly

demonstrated. Differences in status and class, on the other hand, seem much more amorphous, and the treatment of this notoriously difficult subject is, on the whole, much less convincing than the remainder of the book. This must, however, be recognized as largely unavoidable: students of social class will readily appreciate the difficulties of tackling such a complex problem within the limits of a preliminary investigation.

This book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of urban life, and an excellent example of a pilot survey. It is hoped that Dr. Mogey will follow it with a full-scale study in the near future.

W. M. WILLIAMS

Colonial Students. By A. T. Carey. London (Secker & Warburg), 1956. Pp. xii, 267. Price 25s.

93 Mr. Carey is a very competent investigator, and it seems a pity that he has not chosen a more novel subject. Those interested in Colonial students are surely aware that landladies prefer white lodgers to coloured; that most English families do not readily welcome strangers; that the lighter Colonials find life here easier than the darker; that nationalism is on the increase; that Colonial students tend to the left in politics; that the West Indians have lost all connexion with Africa, and that many in this country are deplorably ignorant of the colonies. But apart from details we are told little else. The last third of the book is made up of 30 selected case studies. These are interesting and varied, too varied to afford much scope for fresh generalizations.

The book is well written except for some repetitions; the author regards 'Office' as a plural noun, but is in two minds about 'Council.'

RAGLAN

Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde. Second Part, Third Issue. Pp. v, 177-302, 18 maps. First Part, Fourth Issue. Pp. v, 283-359, 16 maps. Basle (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde), 1955-6

The 1955 issue, as the editor rightly stresses, is of paramount interest. Apart from registering the local customs associated with Ascension Day and Whitsuntide, it summarizes such important rites as the wearing of masks, the lighting of fires, processions with lanterns and torches, rough music and begging customs. I greatly de-

plore the omission of references to the Mari Lwyd and the past and present forms of 'The Beating of the Bounds' which would have emphasized the inner meaning of related Swiss customs (pp. 179, 262).

In the 1956 issue, the influence of the Second World War on clogs and the older peoples' condemnation of the spreading hatless fashion (pp. 294f.) is noteworthy. The chapter on earrings worn by men is especially satisfactory since we know that this custom originated in the French Revolution. Ornamental earrings have become part of the festive traditional costume of the 'Sennen' at Appenzell and Toggenburg, but almost half of the plain gold wire earrings are admittedly worn as amulets against eye troubles, earache and toothache.

E. ETTLINGER

CORRESPONDENCE

The Nomenclature of the British Upper Palaeolithic

95 SIR,—In selecting specimens for a museum exhibit of the geology and archaeology of the Pleistocene Period, it has proved difficult to distinguish between 'Aurignacian' and 'Creswellian' implements. In the case of the material from the Creswell caves, the Aurignacian layers were thus named, and equated with the French Aurignacian, before this culture was redefined, and its application restricted to the former Middle Aurignacian. The term 'Aurignacian' has now in consequence become false and misleading in the British Upper Palaeolithic, unless—as has not to my knowledge been shown—the British Aurignacian is strictly equivalent to the French Aurignacian in its restricted sense. I therefore propose that the term 'Aurignacian' be abandoned for the present when the British Upper Palaeolithic is under discussion.

It was intended that the nomenclature of British upper palaeolithic cultures should follow geological practice, by applying the same name to the corresponding deposit wherever it occurs. Geological stratigraphy however progresses by local studies first, using local names, before attempts are made at correlation over wider areas. It would be better to observe a similar practice in naming upper palaeolithic cultures.

I suggest, therefore, that we extend the use of the term 'Creswellian' to cover the entire British Upper Palaeolithic, the Creswellian as originally defined by Professor Garrod (*The Upper Palaeolithic Age in Britain*, Oxford (1926), p. 194) being now referred to as the Upper Creswellian, and the former Aurignacian as the Lower Creswellian. The need for this change has already been indicated by Dr. Kenneth Oakley in his account of the Whaley skull in the *Catalogue des Hommes fossiles*, edited by H. V. Vallois and H. L. Movius, Jr. (1952), p. 209, where he uses 'Lower Creswellian' for Mr. A. Leslie Armstrong's Aurignacian and proto-Solutrian and by Mr. Armstrong himself, who writes of 'The English Upper Palaeolithic now termed "Creswellian,"' in *Sheffield and its Region*, edited by O. L. Linton, Sheffield (1956), p. 95. The Fort Robert and proto-Solutrian elements which have been observed within the British Upper Palaeolithic ought to be called 'facies' until their relations with the continental stages of the same name are firmly established. Mr. Armstrong has observed, *loc. cit.*, that 'the Creswellian displays slight, if any, Magdalenian influence or Solutrian contact. . . . It is essentially a British culture, a product of evolution in isolation.'

The Manchester Museum

FRANK WILLET

Rock Gongs and Rock Slides. Cf. MAN, 1956, 23, 73; 1957, 32-34

96 SIR,—I read with interest Mr. Bernard Fagg's communication (MAN, 1957, 32) on rock gongs and slides. The following remarks relate to the custom at Pembrey to which reference is made.

I have not been able to trace any reference to this custom in any work on Welsh folk custom that is available to me. Mr. Fagg does not state on what evidence it is thought 'to date back to a pre-Christian sacred rite.' Statements of this kind are frequently made about folk customs; in the nature of things, however, sound evidence of the necessary degree of antiquity is very rarely to be had, and I

should myself be very chary of making such an assumption except where a pagan origin is clearly indicated by the character of the custom in question. In the present instance, the 'feast' element can be paralleled elsewhere in this country; e.g. in the Good Friday pilgrimage to St. Martha's Hill, near Guildford, still a going concern as late as any rate as the seventies of the last century (cf. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *British Popular Customs* (1875), pp. 156-157). There is nothing in such observances that makes the assumption of pagan origin necessary.

As to the 'slide' element, the magical (though not for that reason necessarily pre-Christian) character of the Breton custom referred to is obvious, but is it really necessary to assume that the Pembrey 'slide' is the devolved remains of a similar custom? The actors here are children; now just as the reaction of any normal healthy small boy to a tree is to climb it, so that of the same boy (or for that matter his small sister) to a rock slide is to slide down it. If the next time that Mr. Fagg is in Bristol he will take the trouble to visit the approach to the northern end of the Clifton Suspension Bridge, he will find there an excellent, if rather short, rock slide being well patronized, on any fine day, by children of both sexes (very much to the detriment of their nether garments!). I do not think that it has ever been suggested that this is the relic of a fertility ritual, and indeed such an explanation would be rather absurd, so far as this particular slide is concerned, since it would appear to owe its existence to the construction of the approach road to the Suspension Bridge and is therefore a creation of the last century. (Has Mr. Fagg, moreover, never patronized the juvenile sport of sliding down the stairs on a teatray?)

I think that before assuming a ritual origin for the Pembrey 'slide' it is at least necessary to demonstrate that the sliding is confined to the Good Friday 'feast.' This point is not referred to in Mr. Fagg's account. If it is not thus confined I suggest that its association with the 'feast' is quite probably fortuitous; since, assuming the existence of a custom for children on Good Friday to hold an open-air picnic, it would only be natural for this function to be held at a spot where the joys of buns and honey-water (or, in these degenerate days, ginger pop!) could be supplemented by those of a toboggan slide.

Bristol

R. D. GREENAWAY

The Draw-a-Man Test. Cf. MAN, 1954, 127, 202-5, 228-30; 1955, 34

97 SIR,—With further reference to the attempt of Hayward and Roland to use the Goodenough 'Draw-a-Man' test in Nigeria, your readers may not all know that Professor F. L. Goodenough has withdrawn her test and now considers it invalid. Writing with Dale B. Harris on 'Studies in the Psychology of Children's Drawings,' in the *Psychological Bulletin* for September, 1950, she says that: 'The search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory.' She goes on to state that her own earlier study 'is certainly no exception to the rule' and adds, 'The writer hereby apologizes for it.'

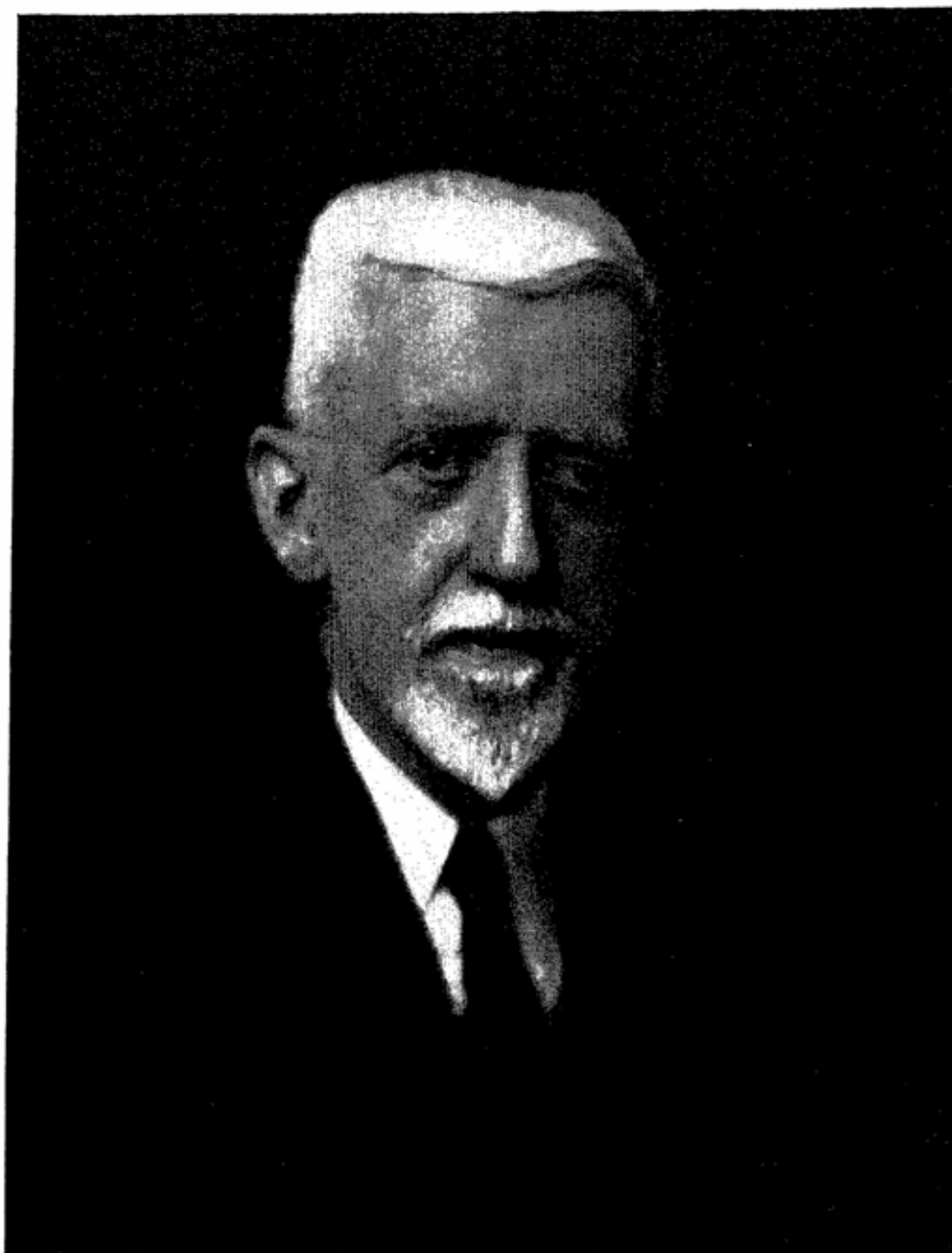
Atlanta University

ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG



- (a) A Bushwoman at Rooibank in South-West Africa with typical peppercorn hair.
 (b) A Bantu in Kruger National Park with typical woolly hair and small lobeless ear.
 (c) Tufted hair in a Hottentot boy (age 20) on a farm at Keimoes.
 (d) Tufted hair; mother Bush, father unknown; from Tweerivier.
 (e) Tufted hair (age 25) from Tweerivier; mother Hottentot, father Bechuana (Bantu).
 (f) Hottentot (Korana type) with tufted hair, peppercorn on margin.
 (g) A Hotnot man (age 45) at Keimoes, showing peppercorn hair with tufts in regular rows.
 (h) Matted hair of a Hottentot on a farm in the Kalahari.
 (i) Matted hair of a girl (age 17) on farm in the Kalahari.
 (j) Same girl in side view.

FORMS OF HAIR IN SOUTH AFRICAN RACES



*To Professor HERBERT JOHN FLEURE, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S.,
President of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1945 to 1947,
Huxley Memorial Lecturer in 1937,
and one of the great teachers of anthropology,
in honour of his eightieth birthday, 6 June, 1957,
this issue of MAN
is respectfully dedicated.*

** Plate G will be found overleaf*

FORMS OF HAIR IN SOUTH AFRICAN RACES*

by

DR. R. RUGGLES GATES, F.R.S.

Cambridge, Mass.

98 It has usually been stated that the Bushman and Hottentot races in South Africa agree in having peppercorn hair, i.e. small knots of closely coiled hair with relatively bare spots of scalp between (Plate Ga). On the other hand, Bantu hair is 'woolly,' the whole scalp being smoothly and evenly covered with intertwined, spirally coiled hairs (Plate Gb).

Observations of the Hottentots, made while travelling in South Africa with a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research in 1955, lead me to the conclusion that Hottentot hair is intermediate in character between peppercorn and woolly. A series of stages between the peppercorn of typical Bushmen and the woolly hair of Bantu can be observed in persons classed as Hottentots. This series might be regarded as continuous, but analysis shows that a very small number of genes for hair form is probably involved. As with all racial characters (see Gates, 1956a), we may expect multiple genes (probably alleles) without dominance.

The individuals concerned in these observations were seen mainly at three localities. (1) Over 200 miles north of Upington in the Kalahari Desert, at a locality called Tweerivier near the junction of the Malopo and Aub rivers. The natives here showed mixed Bush and Hottentot characters. (2) The 'Queen's Hottentots,' on the Kuiseb River in the Namib Desert of South-West Africa, which was visited previously (in September, 1955), have been receiving support since early in Queen Victoria's reign and are now partly Bush in phenotype. (3) At Upington, on the southern border of the Kalahari, and its two neighbouring native locations, and at Keimoes, on the Orange River 27 miles south-west of Upington.

The Hottentot and Bush genes have been hopelessly mixed in the modern native population, but some of these genetic segregates and recombinations may be regarded as approaching closely the phenotype of one race or the other. Some will contain such a mixture of the two racial phenotypes that it is immaterial whether we call them Bushmen or Hottentots, and some 'Hottentots' will be seen to have the peppercorn hair of the Bush. Both races agree in having typically yellowish skin, unlike the black Bantu, so the two are frequently combined under the name Khoisan. Steatopygia is also frequent and perhaps more marked in the Hottentot. Their languages also agree in having clicks. But the Hottentots are taller people, their skulls are frequently ellipsoidal in vertical view as well as being typically hyperdolichocephalic, whereas the Bush skull reaches the most extreme pentagonoid form and is less dolichocephalic, or mesocephalic. The hair form of Bush is peppercorn while that of the Hottentots is generally tufted or matted.

The 'tufted' type of hair is recognized as intermediate between peppercorn and woolly, a heterozygote of these

two hair forms (Plate Gc, d, e). The parents of (c) were both Hottentots while the mother of (d) was Bush, the father unknown.

Intermediate between tufted and woolly is another new type (Plate Gh, i, j), for which the term 'matted' appears appropriate. Thus we have the progressive series: peppercorn → tufted → matted → woolly. As the two intermediate hair forms are widespread in the Hottentots (and now, by transference, in some Bush), it appears that the origin of the Hottentot type involved originally crosses between Bush and Bantu types, or other types having respectively peppercorn and woolly hair.

In South Africa the terms Bushman and Hottentot have long been loosely used, partly because these peoples have undergone some intercrossing for centuries, so that the terms are frequently interchangeable and now based more on custom than on any knowledge of the racial differences originally involved.

In Tables I and II are recorded observations on 18 individuals which give indications of the genetic relations between hair form and other racial characters. The metrical features are shown in Table I, and morphological observations of the same individuals in Table II. This includes eyefold, nose (more or less depressed), temples full or depressed, skull shape in top view, zygoma and chin. It appears that hair form segregates more or less independently of various skull features. Line 1 of Tables I and II represents a young man whose mother was ranked as 'Hottentot' and whose father was a Bechuana (Bantu). He had mixed Bush-Hottentot characters. His near-black hair was tufted, tending to peppercorn at the margin. But the scalp (see Plate Gc, d, e) has a covering with an irregular surface, like the waves in a choppy sea. Another young Hottentot (line 2 of Tables I and II) has exactly the same type of hair (Plate Gf). Line 3 was a servant man at Upington, regarded as typical Hottentot. No. 4, from Keimoes (Plate Gg), had peppercorn hair in regular rows of tufts, his head was pentagonoid in top view, and his chin pointed (all Bush characters). No. 5 in the Tables (Plate Gc) was a 'boy' on a farm at Keimoes. His forehead showed clearly the transverse depression over the brow ridges which is characteristic of many Bush skulls. His half-depressed nose and somewhat pointed chin are combined with a more or less pentagonoid shape of head in vertical view. The almond-shaped eyes appeared to result from the presence of a top or median eyefold, but there was no epicanthus. The hair of No. 6 (Plate Gd), from Tweerivier, was equally tufted, the margin peppercorn in some places.

Plate Gh, i, j (Nos. 9 and 10 in the Tables) show the type of hair for which the term 'matted' seems appropriate. The skull of No. 9 was only obscurely pentagonoid in top view. His mother was stated to be Bush, his father a 'Strandloper.' It is recognized that the original Strandlopers were

* With Plate G and two tables

TABLE I

		Age	Eyes*	Skin†	Head		C.I.	Ears		Earlobe	Figures
					L	B		L	B		
1.	O ₃	c. 25	2	4	196	147	75.0	56.3	35	present	5
2.	O ₃	c. 30	3	3, less red	191	140	73.3	57.4	31.1	none	6
3.	O ₃	—	4	6	197	154	78.2	47.3	31	none	—
4.	O ₃	c. 45	4	4	186	142	76.3	59.8	32.4	none	7
5.	O ₃	20	3	4	185	146	76.9	52	30.9	none	3
6.	O ₃	c. 40	3	3.5	190	143	75.3	50.8	28.8	none	4
7.	O ₃	c. 25	3	3.5	188	144	76.6	45	25.4	none	—
8.	O ₃	70?	4	5	186	134	72.15	63.0	34.1	small	—
9.	O ₃	c. 52	4	4	190	141	74.2	55.8	28.8	v. small	8
10.	O ₃	17	5	6	166	135	81.4	45.1	26.8	none	9, 10
11.	O ₃	c. 65	4	3.5	189	141	74.6	63.7	37	v. small	—
12.	O ₃	nr. 100	6	3.5	179	134	74.9	52	35.1	none	—
13.	O ₃	88	4	4	192	142	73.96	69.9	37.1	big	—
14.	O ₃	72	3	3, less red	183	139	75.96	63.2	34.1	lobe free	—
15.	O ₃	70-80	5	6	186	141	75.8	58.3	37	none	—
16.	O ₃	c. 40	4	3.5	186	140	75.3	49.8	29.3	none	—
17.	O ₃	c. 12	3	3.5	146.5	115	78.5	38.9	29	none	—
18.	O ₃	100+	5?	2+	164	131	79.9	53.6	22.2	v. small	—

* These numbers are from Martin's Augenfarbentafel.

† These numbers are from the Gates (1949) chart of skin colours.

TABLE II

	Sex	Brow Ridges	Eyefold	Nose	Temples	Hair Form	Skull Shape	Zygoma	Chin	Locality and Remarks
1.	♂	slight, project laterally	topfold	½ depr.	full	tufted	rounded pentag.	not marked	pointed	Twee rivier. Mother 'Hottentot,' father Bechuana. Plate Ge
2.	♂	slight	topfold	large, depr.	full	tufted	±pentag.	broad	—	Twee rivier. Large ears.* Plate Gf
3.	♂	none	—	depr.	full	tufted	±pentag.	marked	not pointed	Upington. Very small ears
4.	♂	marked	—	near depr.	slightly depr.	peppercorn in rows	pentag.	broad	±pointed	Keimoes. 'Hotnot.' Plate Gg
5.	♂	present†	topfold	½ depr.	sl. depr.	tufted	±pentag.	not marked	±pointed	Keimoes. Hottentot. Plate Gc
6.	♂	slight‡	topfold	v. depr.	depr.	tufted	pentag.	very broad	—	Twee rivier. Mother Bush, father unknown. Plate Gd
7.	♀	none	topfold	depr.	full	tufted, peppercorn on margin	pentag.	intermed.	±pointed	Twee rivier. Mother Bush, father Hottentot
8.	♀	slight	—	½ depr.	depr.	tufted	—	broad	not pointed	Upington location
9.	♂	present	topfold	depr.	sl. depr.	matted	obscurely pentag.	marked	pointed	On farm 75 miles N. of Upington. § Plate Gh
10.	♀	slight†	topfold	nr. depr.	full	matted-tufted	ellipso-pentag.	marked	±pointed	On farm 75 miles N. of Upington. Plate Gi, j
11.	♂	heavy	—	depr.	depr.	in loose peppercorn knots	pentag.	broad	±pointed	Keimoes. Ears rather large
12.	♂	present	—	depr.	depr.	peppercorn to tufted in rows	—	very broad	±pointed	Twee rivier ¶
13.	♂	marked	topfold	depr.	depr.	±woolly	—	broad	—	Upington location
14.	♂	not marked	topfold	depr.	full	woolly	near ellipso-soidal	broad	±pointed	Upington location. Korana type
15.	♂	marked	none	½ depr.	depr.	peppercorn	±pentag.	—	—	Upington location (Keidebees)
16.	♂	not marked**	—	½ depr.	full	tufted in rows	rounded	—	not pointed	Twee rivier
17.	♂	v. heavy	partial top	depr.	full	tufted	—	broad	pointed	Twee rivier
18.	♀	none	—	depr.	not depr.	tufted, bald	±pentag.	—	pointed	Twee rivier

* Phenotypic Hottentot, placed by Government in Reserve with Bushmen.

† Prominent depression above brows.

‡ Wore a bandage on right arm, been attacked by a leopard.

§ Mother stated to be Bush, father 'Strandloper.' This farm of about 6000 hectares is 400 miles from the sea, but Strandlopers are said to have lived here.

|| Mother said to be Bush, father Hottentot.

¶ Eyes light, iris rims blue.

** 16 is the father of 17. Eyes sunken, ears very small.

taller and essentially Hottentot in character west of Cape Town, while those east of Cape Town were descended from Bushmen who had taken up a coastal type of life.

An additional gene for spirality appears to have produced the matted condition. It is not the result of accumulated dirt or anything of that sort, as might appear at first sight. This is confirmed by No. 10, a young woman on the same farm in the Kalahari, whose careful coiffure (Plate Gi, f) nevertheless shows the same matted condition. It appears to be a nearer approach to the Bantu type of so-called woolly hair. Photographs and remarks on the remaining individuals in the Tables are omitted.

As regards skin colour, several individuals (Nos. 3, 10, 15) fitted Nos. 4, 5, 6 of the Gates colour scale exactly. These three colour blocks differ only in tone, agreeing in amount of melanin. It seems—and much other evidence supports it—that the Khoisan have the factor *S*, but not *R*, which is present in the Negro (see Gates, 1953). In Table I, two individuals have a darker skin colour (No. 3 in the colour scale), and six others were scored as 3.5, i.e. between 3 and 4 in the colour scale. This dark colour is probably from ancestral crossing with Bantu. Trevor (1947) has shown that the Sandawe are an isolated Hottentot stock who have undergone crossing with the Bantu-speaking Nyaturu. They retain steatopygy, and clicks in their language, but agree with the Nyaturu in skin and hair

colour and earlobes. Evidence not considered here suggests that the genes for hair form are relatively independent of those for skin colour in segregation. The Bantu have apparently developed a gene for deep skin colour which was never present in the Khoisan.

The significance of other racial differences between Bush and Hottentots will be discussed elsewhere.

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THE AKAN AND GHANA*

by

MRS. EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ

London

99 On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast ceased to be a colonial possession and became an independent state in the British Commonwealth. It is now called Ghana after the once famous Sudanese kingdom which was founded in the seventh century and ceased to exist in the thirteenth. The name was chosen because the Akan, the chief peoples in the Gold Coast, ignorant of the name of their ancestral home in the north—traditions of origin having until recently been kept secret—believed it to have been Ghana. The question for us is, is there any reality behind this belief?

So far as I am aware there are no traditions which suggest that any group among the Akan came originally from Ghana. Moreover the Ghana kingdom came under Moslem rule before the great Akan states were founded in the Gold Coast and French Ivory Coast. There is, however, the possibility that, after the successive attacks on the kingdom in A.D. 1054, 1076, 1203 and 1240, refugees from Ghana settled in the existing Akan kingdoms, especially in the Kumbu kingdom (in the Ivory Coast). From the Bani river, the southern frontier of Ghana, to the Kong Mountains

(the Cliffs of Banfora) where the capital of the Kumbu kingdom was situated, is at the most 250 miles. A migration over this distance would have presented no difficulty.

There is the further possibility that the founders of Ghana and the founders of the Akan kingdoms had a common ancestry and it is worth while to go into this question in detail.

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE AKAN STATES

The Akan are constituted into matrilineal clans of which the *abusua* pon or great clans are represented in most of the Akan states. The great clans were originally not clans but rather confederations of clans; thus the Aduana, for instance, includes 22 clans and represents the descendants of peoples whose ancestors had for the most part come from the Kumbu kingdom;¹ in the same way the Anana (old name Agwana) clan represents the descendants of people who had originally come from the Diala kingdom on the Niger; the Asine-Aborade clan, people who had also originated from a Niger kingdom—its name is forgotten but its king had the title Fa (Fan or nasalized Fang).² Other

* With a text figure

Akan also have the tradition that the original home of their people was somewhere along the Niger bend.

I will cite some of my informants:

At a meeting presided over by the Yabum-wura (king) Ewutoma of Gonja at Damango in 1946, the Kasawule-wura said:³

'Bono,⁴ Akan,⁵ Gonja⁶ and Guan,⁷ all came originally from Dia, Dja or Nia.⁸ Their original name was Agwa. The first group that entered the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast were the old rulers of Mamprussi;⁹ the second were the Bono, and third Bono and Mo.¹⁰ The reason why they left Dia, their home, was that a Moslem people drove them out.'¹¹

been originally A'Kpan which is a variant (in western Twi) of Gban, Gwan, or Guan. Other variants which appear in state and clan names are Gwon, Gbon, Kpon, Gwun and Gbun.

a) *Gonja*. One of the oldest kingdoms in the Gold Coast. The variants of the name are as follows: Gwan-dja, Gwan-dio-wa (with Hausa ending *wa*), Gban-dja, Gban-ye or N'Gban-ye (with Guan prefix *N*),¹⁵ Ban-dja-uc,¹⁶ Gwon-dja, Gbon-dja, Gonja (*anglice*), Gunja and Gnan-nia.¹⁷

b) *Bono*. A kingdom founded circa 1295¹⁸ and Bona

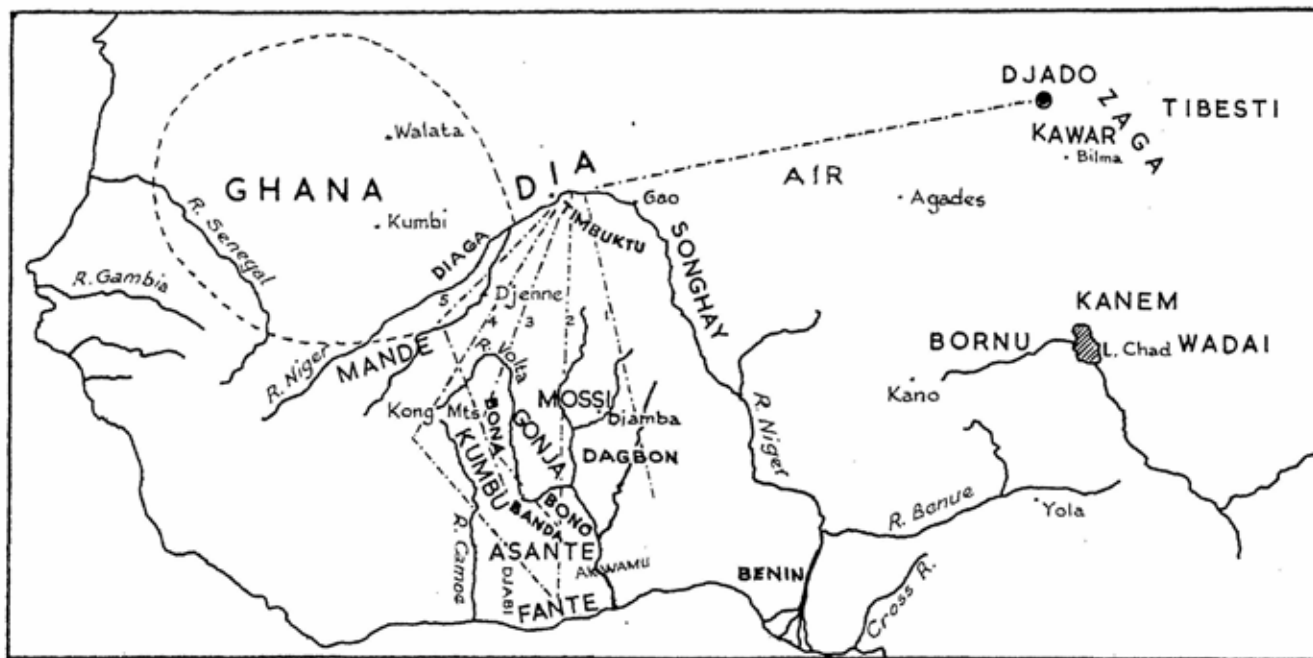


FIG. 1. THE GUINEA COAST AND WESTERN SUDAN

----- The approximate area of the Ghana kingdom (c. A.D. 800-1076).

- - - - - The main migration routes of the founders of the Akan states listed below.

1. The first Mamprussi kingdom (capital Diamba) (c. 800-1250) and the first Dagbon kingdom (capital Diani) (c. 800-1400). 2. The first Gonja kingdom (c. 1000-1600), the Bono kingdom (c. 1300-1740) and the Fante states (c. 1330, 1600 and 1750 respectively). 3. The first Bona kingdom (c. 1000-1600) and the Asante kingdom in 1701. 4. The Kumbu kingdom (c. 1000-1480), Twifo-Heman (c. 1500), Akwamu (c. 1560) and Domaa (c. 1600). 5. The first Banda kingdom (c. 1000-1630).

An elder of the Wasipe-wura at Daboya (eastern Gonja) said: 'Akan, Bono, Guan and Gonja, some Wangara, and N'Koran are all related and came originally from Dia where they were driven out by Assauano.'¹²

The Vaghala-kora of Tuna (western Gonja) said:

'Gonja, Guan, Bono and Asante were all brothers. Of the Gonja only the "old Gonja" came from Dia, the others came from Kanga in Mande.'

Thus according to the first statement the old name of the Akan was Agwa or A'Gwa (*A*=the noun prefix). Gwa in other dialects is pronounced Gwan or with nasalized ending, Gwang. Westermann¹³ and Christaller are of the opinion that Gwan or Gban and Guan are the same. Since the majority of the Akan were Guan-speaking people¹⁴ until recently, the old name Gwan or Guan can therefore be accepted without difficulty. Moreover, Akan may have

(now in the Ivory Coast), possibly founded at the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁹ Bono and Bona are the same name, the *o* has replaced the *a* owing to Mo influence (Grusi-speaking peoples among the Bono). Variants of the name Bona known to me are Gbona, Gona, Gwona, Gbuna, now given as Buna on French maps. Bono was also pronounced Bonong in the past, with the accent on the last syllable. Bonong has been corrupted, according to the opinion of the Bono-Takyiman, to Brong by Asante and Europeans. However, since 1951 they call themselves Tekyiman-Brong.

c) *Agona*. A state founded circa 1750, largely by Guans.²⁰ Variants of Agona are: Agonna, Agwana (on European maps of the eighteenth century) and Aguna, meaning: descendants of G(b)on, Gwa, and G(b)un, since the suffix *na* (as also in Bona, etc.) means 'descendants.'

d) *Agwana* ('descendants of *Gwa*'). The name of a great clan (parrot totem). Variants of the name are: *Anana* (in the Bono-Takyiman state), *Anona* (among the Fante), *Agona* (Denkyira and Asante), *Akwona* (in the western Akan states), *Aguna* (in some of the eastern regions). *Aguana* and *Eguana* are sub-clans of the *Anana*; the *Eguana* can also be found among the Fante.²¹

According to Bono-Takyiman traditions their ancestors, those who had founded the Bono kingdom, came originally from the 'white desert,' the 'country of the sand' or *Sarem*, i.e. the Sahara. The Guan-speaking *Etsi*, who regard themselves as 'brothers' of the Bono, and *Koromante* among the Akan still remember the place name—*Djadu*, *Njadum* or *Njedu*, situated in the 'region of Egypt'²² which for a number of reasons (see below) may be identified with *Djadu* or *Jado*, an important oasis in the eastern Sahara immediately west of the Tibesti mountain range which borders on Nubia. In the past, the Tibesti region, in which the *Djadu* oasis is located, was not inhabited by Negro peoples, and one must assume therefore, that the ancestors of the *A'Gwa*, *Gwan* or *Guan* were a white people, as indeed is claimed by the Bono-Takyimanhene *Akumfi Ameyaw III* and some of his clan chiefs. The question is with whom to identify the *Gwa* or *Guan*, since the Tibesti region is known to have been inhabited by a number of different peoples during the past thousand years. I suggest that the most likely people were those who bore the same name: the *Ilagwatin*, *Ilagwas* or *Ilaguantan*, the descendants of the *Iganta* or *Laguantan* of North Africa (fifth and sixth centuries). The latter were called *Luata* by the Arabs²³ when they came in contact with them in the seventh and eighth centuries; the *Luata* (or *Levata*) were at that period the most important people among the Libyan Berber tribes. These Libyan Berbers of the Tibesti region may well have been the ancestors of the founders of Akan states, since they, like the Akan, were matrilineally organized, succession and inheritance being in the female line.²⁴ Moreover the Libyan Berbers formed confederations with other peoples in the Tibesti region, whose names can also be found among the Akan.

Among these peoples were above all the *Gara*, believed to have been of Kushite stock.²⁵ The mediæval *Gara-wan* in the Fezzan and the *Kora'an*²⁶ (*Kora-wan*) of the eastern Sahara would appear to have been peoples composed of *Gara* or *Kora* and *Guan*, for *Wan* is Arabic for *Gwan* (or *Guan*). *Bovill* regards the Sudanese *Wangara* and *Soninke*²⁷ (another name for them is *Wankore*) as the descendants of Saharan *Gara*; or, more precisely, the *Wangara* seem to have been the descendants of the *Gara-wan* and the *Wankore* the descendants of the *Kora-wan* as their names suggest.

The *Wasipe-wura* of *Daboya* said that 'some *Wangara*' were related to the *Gonja* and *Akan*, by which he meant the pagan *Wangara* of the *Banda* region (Gold Coast) whom the Bono-Takyiman regard as Bono (i.e. *Gbon*). In other words the *Wasipe-wura* meant by this term those *Wangara* who are not designated as *Mande Wangara*. It is worth noting in this context that a little over a hundred years ago, the *Asante* (or *Ashanti*) among the Akan were

considered by the Moors and, what is more, by themselves to be *Wangara*. This has been reported by *Dupuis* who, in 1824, visited *Kumasi*, the *Asante* capital.²⁸

The name *Gara* is not preserved among *Akan* names but *Kora* and *Koro*, the dialectal variants of *Gara* in the eastern Sahara, are found. *Kora*, *Koran* or *Korang*, more usually *N'Koran* with *Guan* prefix *N*, are few in the Gold Coast today but still form the main population of the *Bona* kingdom in the French Ivory Coast, where they are known as *Kuranga* or *Kulango*. The *Koromante* (*Koro*—state: *man*—people: *te*), who have a tradition that they originally came with their herds from *Djadum* in the 'white desert,' are almost extinct today; their name *Koromante* is reminiscent of *Garamante*, the ancestors of the mediæval *Gara-wan* in the Fezzan.

The *Gara* were called by the Arabs *So* or *Su*,²⁹ possibly after the tribe with which they first came into contact in the Fezzan in the seventh century.³⁰ The founders of the first *Mamprussi* kingdom who, according to the statement of the *Kasawule-wura*, were the first *Agwa* to enter what is now the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, must have had a strong *So* element among them, since today they are still called *Sosi* (i.e. *So* people) by the present rulers of *Dagomba*, whose ancestors ousted them. The name *So* appears as a clan name among the *Akan*: *Asona*, *Esona* or *Nsona*, which can be translated as 'So descendants' (*A* is the *Twi*, *E* the *Fante* and *N* the *Guan* noun prefix). The *Asona* is a great clan; in the *Asante Confederacy* alone 33 stools or chiefships are in their hands.³¹

Another most important element among the founders of *Akan* states were the *Ayoko* clan people (falcon totem). The *Ayoko* kings of Bono were, according to the Bono-Takyiman traditions, *Diala* (*Diola* or *Diula*) by origin, who with *Agwa* (or *Guan*) had formed a state within a larger confederation in the *Timbuktu* region of the Niger. This region was referred to as *Dja* or *Dia* by the *Kasawule-wura* at *Damango*. The *Ayoko* kings of *Bona* (falcon totem) were *Diara*, who had formed a state, apparently in the same confederation with *Koro* or *N'Koran*. It is known that the stool name or dynastic name of the old kings of *Bona*³² was *Diara-Koron*³³ or *Diara-Korono* (or *Korana*)³⁴; the latter is best translated as *Dia* people (*ra* the same as *la*, a *Diula* suffix) and 'descendants (*no* or *na*) of *Koro* (*Koran*). The *Asante* dynasty, whose ancestress was a princess of the *Bona* royal lineage, has still two lines, the 'Red *Ayoko*' descended from the *Diara* dynasty of *Bona* and the 'Black *Ayoko*' of *Bona-Koro* or *Koran* origin. The founders of *Juaben*, a state in the *Asante Confederacy*, who belonged to the *Dako* clan (leopard totem), a sister clan of the *Ayoko*, claim to have been *Diana*, written in *Twi* *Gyana*; their home was also in the Niger bend somewhere between *Djenne* and *Timbuktu*.³⁵ *Diana* or *Adiana* ranks in some *Akan* states as a sub-clan of the *Aduana*. The name *Aduana* may be a variant of *Adiana*—in *ua* the *u* is similar to French *u* and the *Fante* pronounce the name *Aduiana*.³⁶ The *Adiaka* is another *Akan* clan (*ka*, the *Soninke* or *Wankore* people's suffix) and the *Djabi*, who claim to have come from *Walata*, the town founded by refugees from the last capital of *Ghana*, in 1224.³⁷

The name Dia or Dja occurs also in Gban-dja, Gbon-dja, i.e. Gonja, founded by Agwa (Gban, Gbon or Guan) from Dia or Dja; and in Diamba (now Gamba-ga),³⁸ capital of the first Mamprussi state founded by Agwa (or So); in Diaman (now Gyaman),³⁹ a state situated south of the Bona kingdom, which was founded by peoples from the Banda kingdom after the destruction of their capital Beeo-Nsoko (circa 1630). The original pagan Banda, as mentioned above, were regarded as Bono (i.e. Gbon descendants) by the Bono, as Wangara by the Asante and Gonja; Tauxier classes them as Proto-Diula,⁴⁰ which shows how closely related originally these matrilineally organized people were. The name Diula is the same as Diala, according to the Bono-Takyimanhene, and Proto-Diula designates them as Diula and not Mande Diula.⁴¹ The latter are Diula who, like so many of the Wangara, had colonized Mande- or Mandingo-speaking aborigines when they left the Timbuktu region and wandered down the Upper Niger. There is reason to believe that the ancestors of the Sudanese Dia peoples belonged to a stock distinct from both, the Saharan Libyan Berber and the Saharan Gara or Kora; I shall refer again to these people in the next section.

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE CHIEF PEOPLES OF GHANA

The chief peoples of the Ghana kingdom, according to Arab historians, were the Wakore, Wankore, Wa'Kori or Wankorei who, according to Delafosse,⁴² had emigrated some time in the eighth century if not earlier, from the Diaga region on the Upper Niger. The Wankore, as suggested above, were the descendants of Kora'an (or Garawan) and presumably had moved from the Sahara into the Upper Niger region following the Arab invasions of North Africa in A.D. 639-681.

The mediæval Wankore were regarded as being of the same stock as the Soninke; the Songhay called the Soninke 'Wankorei'.⁴³ As pointed out above, the Wankore were peoples of Wan (Gwan or Guan) and Kora extraction; the Soninke possibly were by origin So,⁴⁴ as their name suggests, a distinct people among the Saharan Gara and Kora.

Also subjects of the Ghana kings were the Wangara, whose name in Mandingo is Gban-garan, Gwan-garan or Gan-garan.⁴⁵ Hausa and Arabs among others call them Wan-gara, Gan-gara⁴⁶ or Guan-gara,⁴⁷ which suggests that they were originally Saharan Gwan, or Guan, and Gara.

It is not possible, either from Arab sources or from later information, to determine precisely the ethnic group to which the kings of Ghana, after the so-called 'white dynasty,' belonged. French scholars are now of the opinion that they were Sarakole, a people related to the mediæval Wankore or Soninke.⁴⁸ Sarakole or Sarakhule is the name which the Wolof and Toucouleur give to the Soninke,⁴⁹ but in other regions in the western Sudan the name would be Diara-Kore, since Dia or Dja and Za (or Sa) are variant forms of the same name,⁵⁰ and *r* and *l*, *o* and *u*, interchange in many languages and dialects of the Sahara and Sudan (as for instance in Koran, Kuran-go, Kulan-ga). The assumption that the Sarakole were people of Dia (or Diara) and Kora extraction is supported by the fact that the people

who founded Ghana came from the Diaga kingdom or confederation, the old Djenne region, inhabited largely by Wankore (Soninke). Moreover, the name of the chief who led the emigrants was Diabe Sisse, a name containing the word Dia.⁵¹

In the *Tarikh-es-Sudan* the kings and princes of Ghana were designated 'in their genealogies by the term *Asko'o Souba*, which is equivalent to Ham as a surname in Sudanese usage.'⁵² Following this clue it seems likely that the Sarakole from the Diaga were of the same ethnic stock as the Zaga, Zagha, Zagai or Zaghawa, whom El Hamdani includes among the descendants of Canaan, son of Ham.⁵³ Moreover Sölken is of the opinion that the name Diaga can be associated with the Zaga, and that Diaga and Zaga are one and the same.⁵⁴

Also the Dia Za kings of Songhay are now regarded by scholars such as Macmichael⁵⁵ and Westermann⁵⁶ as having been Zaga (or Zagawa with Hausa suffix *wa*) who had formed a confederation with the Lemta Tuaregs, probably in the Fezzan, before they moved south and conquered the indigenous negro peoples of the Middle Niger, finally founding the Songhay kingdom. The Zaga, sons of Ham, are regarded by Macmichael⁵⁷ and Sölken⁵⁸ as offspring of an 'Ethiopian race'—peoples of possibly South Arabian origin who had settled in Ethiopia at an unknown date. Ibn Khaldun⁵⁹ classed the Zagawa as Muleththemin (Tuaregs) possibly owing to their association in northern Africa with the Lemta and Sanhaga Tuaregs.

The Zaga are known to have ruled a number of kingdoms before A.D. 1000 in North Africa, the Sahara, and the Sudan. The following are of interest here:

Abu-l'ala al Mari (A.D. 937) speaks of a Zaga country situated in the Maghreb south of Ifrikiya (Tunis, Algeria) and of a black or Sudanese people of the same name who lived south of the Maghreb.⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that Aboulfeda (A.D. 1273-1331) placed Ghana at the extreme south of the Maghreb⁶¹; Arab writers in general regarded the peoples of Ghana including the Wankore and Wangara as negroes, which no doubt they were after a few centuries of intermarriage with indigenous negro peoples.

Another early Zaga kingdom is reported by Al Muhallebi (A.D. 903-963) who located it in the Fist Climate, 21° latitude, and bordering in the east on the kingdom of the Nobata.⁶² This can be identified with the Zaga kingdom mentioned by Idrisi (1154) and Ibn Said (1214-1287),⁶³ which had its centre in the Tibesti region bordering in the north on the Fezzan, and in the east on Nubia; in the west it included the caravan route that led to Bornu (Murzuk—Bilma, south of Djado—Lake Chad).

The latter Zaga kingdom then would appear to have been the Njadum, Djadu or Diadom of Akan traditions. Zaga, or Diaga, means '[country of the] Za or Dia people'; Diadom or N'Djadum (Dia Confederation)—*dom* or *dum* is the old designation for a kingdom which consisted of a confederation of states. The name has survived in the area in Djadu or Jado, the most important oasis, which may have been the seat of the kings in the seventh or eighth century at the time the ancestors of the founders of the Akan states left the region. The Arabs and now the Europeans, call the oasis Djado; the Tuaregs of Air call it Agwas,⁶⁴ which recalls Agwa, one of the old names for the Akan; the Tuaregs of the Fezzan call it Gua, or French Géoua,⁶⁵ which is reminiscent of Gua or Guan; the Tibu, the Gara inhabitants who

gave the Tibesti its name,⁶⁶ call it Braun,⁶⁷ which recalls Brong or A'Bron, the Asante name for the Bono.

The Zaga, or Diaga, kingdom in the Tibesti region may also have been the ancestral home of the founders of Ghana (Sarakole), who first settled in the Diaga country of the Upper Niger (which the Songhay incidentally call Zaga), before they moved further west and conquered Aoukar, which became the country of the Ghana.⁶⁸ Finally one may quote the Arabic writer Masu'di (943) who says that 'the Zaghawa (Zaga) in the east (Ah'abish—Abyssinians or Ethiopians) divided themselves into two main branches, one moving westwards towards El Zaghawa and El Kanem, and Marka, and Kaukau, and Ghana, and the (sc. countries of) the other kind of Blacks, and Demadem.' Macmichael interprets these statements as follows: 'What he obviously means is that certain Ethiopian races at a very early period pushed westwards to those countries bordering on the Niger west of Lake Chad which were subsequently known as Zaghai (Tekrur), Ghana, etc.'⁶⁹

CONCLUSIONS

The considerations put forward above strongly suggest that the founders of Ghana (circa 790), and the founders of the Akan states, include the following basic ethnic elements: a) Dia (or Za, Diaga, Zaga, Zara, etc.), the descendants of people who in Africa appeared first in Ethiopia (Abyssinia) at the beginning of our era; b) Guan (Gwan or Wan, whose Saharan name was Ilaguantan, Agwatin, etc.)—Saharan Libyan Berbers; c) Gara (Kora or So, etc.) Saharan peoples of Kushite stock. In the course of over a thousand years the Ghana people and the Akan, by intermarrying with negro aborigines in the western Sudan, underwent considerable racial modifications and admixtures.

Notes

¹ See the author's *Akan Traditions of Origin*, 1952, p. 96 et passim. The most important sub-clans of the Aduana are said to be the Aberade (the former royal clan of Kumbu), Atwea, Nyankonpasakyie, Amoakare (or Amoakade), Abira, Adaa and Onyanyo. They are believed to have been the former seven dominant clans or great clans of the Kumbu kingdom.

² The descendants of the Fa now live in Bono-Takyiman. The royal lineage of the Asine-Aboade clan and the royal lineage of the Aberade clan (see note 1) (leopard totem), have a common origin. They regard themselves as *nuanom*, children of the same mother.

³ The people's names are not in the languages and dialects of Gonja but in the Twi equivalents given to me by my interpreter.

⁴ I.e. the founders of the former Bono kingdom, the earliest great Akan state south of the Black Volta river.

⁵ I.e. the peoples from the former Kumbu kingdom who settled in the forest zone of the Gold Coast.

⁶ I.e. the founders of the Gonja kingdom in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

⁷ I.e. the Guan tribes in Gonja and in other regions of the Gold Coast.

⁸ A state of which the capital is believed to have been situated in the Timbuktu region on the Niger.

⁹ Their descendants are called Anwa.

¹⁰ Another name for Gbon, the founders of Gonja, the Bono kingdom and of a small kingdom north of western Gonja. This was destroyed in the middle of the fourteenth century. The descendants of the founders belong to the Adiaka clan. Mo is the Twi name for Grusi-speaking peoples.

¹¹ See note 12.

¹² They are known as Assawad in the western Sudan, their true name being Azawagh, and they came from the northern region bordering on the Niger bend. They were islamized Berbers absorbed by the Tuaregs of the Hawara group. Cf. F. R. Rodd, *People of the Veil*, London (1926), p. 65.

¹³ D. Westermann, *Die Sprache der Guang in Togo und auf der Goldküste und fünf andere Togo sprachen*, 1922, p. 144.

¹⁴ J. G. Christaller, *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language* (1933), Introduction, paragraph 1. Guan is now mostly superseded by Twi.

¹⁵ Ngbanye and Ngbanya are the modern versions of the name of the country and its people. They came into use, no doubt, with the present rulers, largely of Mande Bambara origin, who conquered the country in the first half of the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 144, is of the opinion that the 'termination dja djaue' is derived from the Hausa. This has been accepted by almost every scholar who tries to give an explanation of the name 'Gonja' and its variants. I do not think it likely that people call themselves by a name that has a foreign termination. *Dja* is evidently here the same as *Dia*, pronounced with accent on the *a*, and would indicate that the Gbon, Gwan or Gban, etc., came from *Dja* on the Niger and not from Mosi and other countries in which many settled prior to Gonja. See also below in the text. *Bandjaue* is not a term used in Gonja, and *ue* seems to be a corruption of *wa*, the Hausa suffix.

¹⁷ Gonja is called Guan-nia by the Mande, cf. Capt. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, 1892, p. 113. *Nia* is the same as *Dia*, cf. M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, 1912, Vol. I, p. 253.

¹⁸ *Akan Traditions*, p. 33 et passim.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104f.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²¹ M. Delafosse (*Essai de Manuel de la Langue Agni*, 1901, p. 191), gives the alternative form for Anona as Agwana, but treats the Akwona and Aguna as separate clans. They are all Agwana (old name) but after they left the main body, their history was different and, owing to the clan exogamy, they were different people by the time they came together again in various states in the Gold Coast.

²² *Akan Traditions*, p. 64.

²³ The Ilagwas (Ilagwatin) or Ilaguantan have survived as a major tribe in the Air region of the central Sudan. They are identified by H. R. Palmer, 'The Tuaregs of the Sahara' (*J. Afr. Soc.*, Vol. XXL, April-July 1932, pp. 293, 294, and 297) with the Luata. F. R. Rodd, *People of the Veil*, 1926, p. 357.

²⁴ Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, 1914, p. 37.

²⁵ E. W. Bovill, *Caravans of the Old Sahara*, O.U.P., 1933, p. 23.

²⁶ H. A. Macmichael (*The History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, C.U.P., 1922, Vol. I, p. 31) believes that the name Kora'an is connected with Garama and Garamantes. The Garawan (see map in Palmer's *Bornu Sahara and Sudan*) were the successors of the Garamantes of antiquity in the Fezzan. Also H. Sölken ('Innerafrikanische Wege nach Benin', *Anthropos*, Vol. XLIX, 1954, Parts 5-6, p. 817) connects the Korra, Koran or Karan in various parts of the Sahara with the Garamantes or Gara.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁸ Joseph Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, London, 1824, Chapter VIII, p. xlii. The text is quoted in full in *Akan Traditions*, p. 128.

²⁹ Bovill, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁰ Sölken, *op. cit.*, p. 898 (8), speaks of the origin of the So from the successor state of the Garamantia-Phazania (Fezzan). Garama, the capital, was destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century; the Beni Khattab Arabs conquered the eastern Fezzan with its capital Zuila in the tenth century. In each case, one may presume, large numbers of refugees moved south to settle in other regions.

³¹ Asona was, after the Agwana, the most important clan among the founders of the Bono kingdom. The last big Asona group from Timbuktu under chief Okesedu sought refuge in Bono in the reign of Akumfi Ameyaw I (1328-1363). Their descendants founded, circa 1600, the small Gomoa-Assin state in the coastal region of the Gold Coast. Most of the Asona, however, came to the Gold Coast from the Kumbu kingdom and adjacent states (now French Ivory Coast).

³² Circa 1600 a Moslem Diula of the Quattara clan became king. He married a princess of the old royal lineage.

³³ L. Tauxier, *Le Noir de Bondoukou*, 1921, p. 550.

³⁴ *Akan Traditions*, p. 105. The name Ayoko was unknown in Bona (see note 3) according to information given by the Sekwahene. In view of the fact that the name of the Dia-Mo people in Bono became Djo-Mo, Oyoko (modern Ayoko), may have been derived from O-Djo-ko or A'Dia-ka. Adia-ka is still the name of the royal clan of the Dia-Mo or Djomo. Also Djomo in other Akan dialects is Dwomo and Ayoko-Owoko. The name Ayoko was coined possibly when thousands of refugees from the Diaka, Diaga or Diagha, the old name of the Djenne region, came to seek refuge in Bono (circa 1600).

³⁵ The old name of Djenne is believed to have been Djana (Charles Monteil, *Djenne*, 1903, p. 263). The Akan call it Gyane (Twi).

³⁶ Christaller, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xvii.

³⁷ *Akan Traditions*, pp. 73f.

³⁸ Thus Binger, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Dia-amba, i.e. 'Sons of Dia.'

³⁹ Diaman by Binger (p. 161); Jaman by R. A. Freeman, *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman*, 1898.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 393.

⁴¹ Also the Kara-Diula of Banda, Ligby, and Veila, who regard themselves as Diula, came mostly via Mande to Banda but were earlier immigrants than the Mande-Diula. See *Akan Traditions*, pp. 45f.

⁴² Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Vol. I, p. 319. He gives the date for the emigration of the Soninke (or Wankore) from the Diaga to Wagadu as circa 750, from there to Ghana as circa 790-800.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 124, not only the Soninke but also the Diula show further evidence of the close relation between these two peoples. Also both peoples have among their clans: Sisse, Diabi, Kamara, Fofana, and Berete.

⁴⁴ The original name of the Soninke was possibly So'nke; nke is the Soninke suffix for people. The explanation of the name that it is derived from Soni-nke, meaning the 'people of Sonni'—Sonni Ali being a Songhay king of the fifteenth century—is not likely to be true, as we are dealing here with old ethnic names throughout. Delafosse, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 127, already points out that the explanation of the name 'Sonni-nke' is unacceptable.

⁴⁵ H. Labouret, *La Langue Mandingue*, 1929, p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Y. Urvoy (*Histoires des Populations du Soudan Central*, 1936, p. 33 (3)) says that in the Middle Ages the Hausa used either the term Wangara or Guangara. Leo Africanus (*History and Description of Africa*, translated by John Pory, 1600, Hakluyt Soc. Vol. III, p. 832) speaks of Guangara (Wangara) merchants.

⁴⁸ R. A. Mauny, 'The Question of Ghana,' *Africa*, Vol. XXIV, July 1954, p. 205.

⁴⁹ M. Delafosse, *La Langue Mande*, 1901, p. 271.

⁵⁰ According to Binger (*op. cit.*, p. 353), palatalized *d* (*d mouillée*) becomes *z* in many west Sudanese languages and dialects. The Arab writers in general used *Za* for *Dia*, see Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Vol. I, p. 242. *Z* often becomes *s* in European spelling: Zaberma or Saberma.

⁵¹ Delafosse, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 256.

⁵² Es Sa'di, *Tarikh es Soudan*, translated by O. Houdas, 1900, p. 78.

⁵³ Macmichael, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 31, and in *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, pp. 105-8.

⁵⁴ Sölken, *op. cit.*, p. 904.

⁵⁵ Macmichael, *Tribes*, p. 106. He identifies Songhay with Zaghai.

⁵⁶ D. Westermann, *Geschichte Afrikas*, 1952, p. 92.

⁵⁷ Macmichael (*op. cit.*, p. 106), quoting Masu'di, who vaguely designates them as Habscha, see also below in the text.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 816f.

⁵⁹ Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoires des Berbères*, 1925, Vol. II, p. 65. See also Bovill, *op. cit.*, pp. 26f.

⁶⁰ Quoted by Sir Richmond Palmer in *Bornu Sahara and Sudan*, 1936, p. 156.

⁶¹ Quoted by Mauny, *op. cit.*, p. 205 and note 5.

⁶² Quoted by Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁶³ Gustav Nachtigall, *Sahara und Sudan*, 1879, p. 378.

⁶⁴ Rodd, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁶⁵ M. Labadie, *La Colonie du Niger*, 1927, p. 50. There is still a tribe called Ogua in the Tibesti mountains. Cf. Nachtigall, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

⁶⁶ Bu in Ti-bu, Te-bu or Tu-bu is the Kanuri plural ending (Nachtigall, p. 422); Tibu went south and conquered Kanem (Rodd, p. 311); later they returned and reconquered their old home. Also among the Akan there seem to be Ti, Te or Tu descendants; the old name of the Etsi who claim to have come from Djadu was A'Ti (A the Twi prefix), written Atty on old European maps. There is further the A'Te-na, 'descendants of Te' clan, now a sub-clan of the Beretu great clan. The Tu-iva is a sub-clan of the Anana (Agwana) great clan. The Zaghawa, who now live in the Wadai, east of Lake Chad and the cognate Kura'an, still speak a Tibu dialect. See Macmichael, *History*, Vol. I, p. 31.

⁶⁷ Rodd, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁶⁸ El Bekri (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, translated by Slane, 1913, p. 327) says that 'Ghana is the title of the kings of that people; the name of the country is Aoukar.' Aoukar, one may presume, was the name of the kingdom which had preceded Ghana and said to have been ruled by a 'white' dynasty. Among the Akan, as Dr. J. B. Danquah told me, when Paramount chiefs meet today, they are addressed not by their personal names, such as Nana Mbra V, Omanhene of Oguaa, or Nana Amanfi III, Omanhene of Asebu, but simply as Nana Oguaa or Nana Asebu, that is to say, by the name of the state they represent. Ghana therefore was very likely also the name of the country.

⁶⁹ Macmichael, *History*, Vol. I, p. 55; *Tribes*, p. 235, note 4.

SHORTER NOTE

A Tangu Game. By Dr. Kenelm O. L. Burridge, College of Arts and Science, Al-Wazariyah, Baghdad

100 One of the ideas dominating Tangu relationships and activities is equivalence: a notion of moral equality between persons which receives primary expression in the attempt to exchange equivalent amounts of foodstuffs—a task entailing almost insuperable practical difficulties and rarely explicitly attained except by mutual consent and agreement.¹ The same idea of equivalence is expressed in a game, popular with Tangu, which is played mostly by children but which is also a pastime of adults and youths.

The game, known as *taketak*, takes its name from the word for the hard spines of coconut palm fronds. Before play the spines are stripped and stuck in the ground about six inches apart so that they form two lots of massed spines standing rather less than three

feet in height. Each lot would contain about 30 spines and is separated from the other by approximately five yards. Care is taken to plant the *taketak* so that there are no empty corridors, and so that the *taketak* do not form parallel or diagonal lines. Tops—hollow hemispheres about two inches in diameter, made from a dried rind, the half of a wild jungle fruit, with a spindle forced through the apex of the hemisphere—are also required.

The two teams that form up are usually roughly equivalent as regards numbers of persons, but what is important is that the number of tops used by each team should be the same. A player spins a top in the palms of his hands, and, in one movement, throws it into one lot of spines with the object of striking as many as possible—either during the flight of the top or whilst it is spinning on the ground. Those *taketak* which have been touched by the top are pulled out and laid aside. When the first team have

completed their play into one lot of *taketak*, the second take up their tops and play into the other. Supposing the first team to have struck three *taketak*, and the second two, two *taketak* are replaced in the lot into which the first team is spinning. If, with their second turn, the first team hit one *taketak*, it is removed—leaving both teams with two *taketak* out of each lot. Both teams are now equivalent as to the number of *taketak* removed, but the second team owe their series of spins: their object is to throw their tops into the *taketak* without hitting one. Should they succeed in not hitting any *taketak*—and the top has to be thrown fairly into the middle of the lot—the game is over and both teams are equivalent. If, on the other hand, the second team should strike one *taketak*, two are replaced. The game goes on in this wise until either the players tire of the game—when equivalence is reached by mutual consent—or until all the *taketak* are replaced in both lots.

Another and significantly different version of the game came into vogue in a particular settlement which, incidentally, had had most to do with Tangu Cargo cult activities.² In this version the two teams spin their tops into the lots of *taketak* without any replacements. The game continues until one team has struck and extracted all the *taketak* belonging to the other. The first round is then over and the winning team are described as *gtangi*—strong, obdurate, not susceptible to persuasion. Another round follows. Should the losers of the first round win the second, the teams are regarded as equivalent and only rarely is a third and decisive round embarked upon. If the winners of the first round also win the second they are described as emphatically *gtangi*, and no third round is initiated.

In the second version the Pidgin term 'gol,' derived from our own 'goal' in its context in Association Football, is used to acclaim the striking of a *taketak*. Much simpler to play than the original game, the later version—both in its form and in the

spirit in which it is played—is biased towards selecting a 'stronger' or winning team. Yet no team that loses is content to leave it at that. A return match is arranged in which every effort is made by both sides to come out equivalent in the series. To remain *gtangi* at the expense of others in the community may, today, give a pinch of self-satisfaction to the winners—but they also feel anxious about the ill-feeling it generates. The older version of the game, which may be taken to be relatively unaffected by European contacts, has much the same competitive spirit during play as the other and it is also more subtle. It does not require perfecting a single skill in order to strike down more *taketak* more rapidly: it requires the ability to hit *taketak* when necessary, and to miss them if it is expedient. Finishing the game by consent and agreement is not only in itself a mutual recognition of parity, but it is also an acknowledgment that the game can end in no other way.

Food exchanges and the rivalries that go with them can also be ended by mutual consent. Theoretically at least, though not often in practice, the game can be completed.³ But there is no third factor to pronounce on equivalence in food exchanges: failing the mutual consent they go on until death or retirement.

Notes

¹ A situation known as *mngwotngwotiki*, precise equivalence. Pairs who are *mngwotngwotiki* do not exchange, nor are they allowed to co-operate—since the latter means management of one by the other. An oppositional or co-operative relationship may be revived later either by agreement or by some personal irritant which may throw doubt on the reality of the equivalence agreed to.

² Cf. my 'Cargo Cult Activity in Tangu,' *Oceania*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, June 1954.

³ But I have never seen a game ended other than by mutual consent. 'Missing' requires an almost impossible combination of skill and fortune.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The State of the Social Sciences: A Reappraisal of the Problems, Methods and Goals of the Social Sciences at Mid-Century. Edited by Leonard D. White. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. 504. Price £2 5s.

This interesting and many-sided volume is the outcome of the round table conferences and professional addresses given at the University of Chicago in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Social Science Building. The papers included cover fields such as cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, economics, law and history. Consequently it is entirely impossible for one person to give a just and evenly balanced evaluation of this volume which, however, can safely be said to give a suggestive picture of the mid-century American social sciences with their boldness and inclusiveness in attacking the various problems. The authors, moreover, range from the most stern and serious Scientists (with a big capital S!) to philosophically minded humanists and scholarly humorists taking neither science nor themselves more seriously than the matter, in their opinion, deserves. Even a talented political journalist such as Walter Lippman has been included.

Frank H. Knight's charming and important speech on 'Science, Society and the Modes of Law' is certainly terribly unceremoniously and jocularly formulated, but it reveals an old, wise professor who has long ago seen through the delusions and superstitions of so many social scientists, and who is therefore younger than most of us. It is indeed a paper so full of meaning that the author is readily forgiven his undefined and ambiguous use of such loaded concepts as 'freedom,' 'democracy,' etc.

In some respects a strong contrast to Knight's speech is James G.

Miller's 'Toward a General Theory of the Behavioral Sciences' tremendously compressed and loaded down with abstractions as it is. Now, the mere attempt at approaching such a general theory will most certainly be strongly disputed by many, although (unless one sticks to an impossible idea of socio-cultures being mere clusters of closed independent systems) it is a necessary logical extension of the idea of a socio-culture being a functional interactive system. As far as I can see, the legitimacy of making such an attempt, therefore, cannot really be questioned. Moreover, the group, here represented by Miller, which has worked on this theory, belongs to disciplines such as history, anthropology, economics, sociology, social psychology, political science and others, and is thus professionally acquainted with most of the relevant aspects. In any event the paper shows the possibility of integrating the concepts of these different disciplines, and is thus from that point of view an important contribution to a common theoretical framework.

The highly fashionable, magical term 'model' is being put in its proper place as a synonym for 'theory' by Herbert A. Simon and Allan Newell, and they deal with considerable insight with theories of three categories, viz. verbal theories, mathematical theories and analogies, in conclusion finding all theories to be analogies and all analogies to be theories. This is obviously correct, and it is in fact of some significance insofar as analogies often are looked upon with considerable distrust. Yet this distrust is caused, not by the use, but by the misuse of analogies. In any event the use of analogies provides the only possibility of making transformations from one kind of problem to another one.

Both in the U.S.A. and in Europe the importance of a serious

study of 'Values,' replacing the dilettante treatment of it often encountered in social sciences, is being more and more recognized. Yet we certainly have a long way to go before we are able to handle the concept in a proper way, not least due to the current illogical definitions. Value is the quality of the relation between two or more ideas and is thus not subject to direct observation and categorization. The current 'operational' use of the concept obviously has caused considerable confusion. Nevertheless, the study of value, even if it has to be basically a philosophical study, is of fundamental importance if it be true that science means explanation. Therefore one certainly misses a definition of the concept in Clyde Kluckhohn's otherwise highly relevant paper, 'Toward a Comparison of Value-Emphasis in Different Cultures.'

On the whole I find the papers contained in this volume extremely stimulating, even where I do not find myself in agreement with the opinions presented. The only somewhat disappointing paper, as I see it, is Murdock's on 'Political Moieties,' this term meaning a dual partition of the society where the two divisions are politically opposed to one another, and thus making for political 'power balance.' If I understand Murdock correctly, he claims the greater political stability in Great Britain and the U.S.A. as compared with France, Germany, Italy and certain Latin-American states to be a result of the two-party system of the two former states. But in doing so Murdock is completely overlooking the fact that the political instability in the above-mentioned European and Latin-American states is obviously caused by the clash of two almost incompatible sets of social, economic and religious systems, viz. semi-feudal, agrarian and hierarchic Catholic systems making for vertical and horizontal stability, and 'democratic,' industrialistic and egalitarian Protestant systems, vertically and horizontally dynamic and expansive. Quite obviously the plural party systems in countries like these are the results, rather than the causes of political instability.

It has been possible only briefly to touch upon some very few of the 30 papers contained in this volume, the main trend of which is the integration of the various social science disciplines and of these and the humanities, problems so acute in the U.S.A. of today.

GUTORM GJESSING

Dictionary of Anthropology. By Charles Winick. New York (Philosophical Library), 1956. Pp. vii, 579. Price \$10.

IO2 A courageous and moderately successful attempt to help readers of anthropological works, who may not be well versed in the particular topic of the work in question. At the same time the specialist may often be stimulated to attempt better definitions in his own field of study. Several noted anthropologists (non-living ones) get short paragraphs but there are curious omissions such as Boule. The article on 'Cave Art' seriously needs recasting, and other unsatisfactory items include 'acclimatization,' 'adaptation,' 'cistiddfod' and 'loess.' The article on 'Roads' would be improved by devoting a few lines to the Persians. The *Homo sapiens* forms belonging to the Later Palaeolithic are grouped together as 'Cro Magnons,' a view that must now be considered out of date. The articles on the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages could gain by being collated so as to bring closer harmony of ideas concerning them. These criticisms could be multiplied but it is incumbent upon a reviewer to acknowledge the effort obviously made with serious integrity to cope with the task of preparing this work. The difficulty of any author or editor in keeping up to date is illustrated by the statement under 'Bronze Age' that this period saw the beginnings of urban development. Dr. Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho has pushed back the date of the first city there nearly to 6000 B.C., the dating being confirmed by radio-carbon research as attested by Professor Zeuner. This is long before metal, and even before pottery. The book has many entries relating to linguistic studies, and also, as is natural for a book published in New York, there are many references to the American Indians and the Eskimo. It is probably inevitable that the attitude subsumed is that of a man of 'Western' tradition viewing 'other peoples.' Culture-diffusion and the *Kulturkreis* idea are treated without much bias for or against various schools of thought. The topics of 'Marriage' and of 'Dance' have numerous entries, about 50 altogether in the latter case besides

numerous separate ones under special names. Radioactivity and Radio-carbon dating are treated in the light of recent work.

H. J. FLEURE

Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied.

Washington, D.C. (Anthrop. Soc.), 1956. Pp. vi, 120. Price \$1.50

IO3 This volume consists of a series of papers read at meetings of the Anthropological Society of Washington during the 1954-55 season. The papers presented were intended to examine 'the relationship of anthropology to other fields . . . and its contribution to administrative problems and programs.'

In a final article Dr. Margaret Mead reviews the entire programme but 'owing to an unfortunate error' her comments cover a range of applied anthropology somewhat wider than that covered by the papers printed. In a Preface the editors welcome Dr Mead's observations as stimulating and cogent. The value of association between anthropology and Public Health; Medicine; the Administration of the Trust Territory, and the Administration of American Indian Affairs, as here presented by the various contributors, will be read with interest by those concerned with applied anthropology.

ROBERT R. HYDE

Childhood in Contemporary Cultures. Edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. 473. Price £2 16s. 6d.

IO4 This book is a collection of papers by 14 different writers under the editorship of Dr. Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein. The aim of the book is to do two things: to present work on direct observation of children, literature about and for children, and the results of studies of certain aspects of parental relationships on the one hand; to set all these in a framework of general theory, with an epilogue reviewing the value and the consequences of insight on the other.

It opens with three papers by Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict (written in 1938) and Geoffrey Gorer respectively, setting out the theoretical background to the book. This is followed by 21 papers grouped into 6 parts—two of these (Parts II and V) and one paper in Part VII report on direct observation of children in Bali, in France, in the U.S.A. and in orthodox Jewish families. Three papers (21 and 22 in Part VI and 24 in Part VII) are contrasted studies of families in a common setting and discussion of the different modes of child rearing in different cultures. Two entire sections (Parts III and IV) deal with literature about children, or about phantasies which in different cultures are produced for or about children in story or film. A short bibliography follows each paper.

At the end (Part VIII) each of the two editors sums up the position at the time of writing (1954), and the implications of the insight gained in the study.

In her introduction Dr. Mead writes that the design of the book is methodological rather than documentary 'to give the student and interested reader some idea of the kinds of research which may fruitfully be explored from the standpoint of method and of results,' and insofar as it does this the book marks a step forward. The studies included are described by Dr. Mead as 'all studies of pattern, of the stylistic interrelationship of different aspects of childhood and of the way in which in a given culture' the possible aspects of child study, which she enumerates, 'are all systematically related to one another.'

In the selection of papers for inclusion the authors have used material reporting on primitive societies—as in the excellent papers on Balinese children's relation to ritual drawing and music (which include 6 pages of fine photographs and a good bibliography) and material with permanent application to European life as in Mark Boronski's study of the place of book learning in traditional Jewish culture.

In contrast with these, the material on French children is slight, and the paper on moral judgments of German children is marred by absence of information on the background of the children—whether, for example, they come from North or South, from Catholic or Protestant families.

Inevitably a large part of the book is concerned with American experience. The most interesting paper in this group, a long study by

Martha Wolfenstein of comparative types of moral training of children, arose out of material gathered in the Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures, and presents the different attitudes of parents and children as gathered from interviews in America with Czech, pre-Soviet Russian, Jewish and Chinese informants. Margaret Mead and Elena Calas contribute a paper on 'Child Training Ideals in Pre-Soviet Russia' which forms an involuntary comment on the previous study; this uses material drawn almost exclusively from Russian sources and contains a useful bibliography.

Looking at it from the point of view of source material, the value of the book will be considerably affected by the attitude of the reader to psychoanalysis, since most of the papers—which are not strictly documentary, as for example those on Bali or Ruth Benedict's illuminating introduction in Part I—are written from a psychoanalytic standpoint. The results of this bias is sometimes peculiar as in the treatment given to the Chinese classic *Monkey*.

The epilogue contains a wholesomely astringent estimate of the present situation and the lack of success which has so far attended attempts to make use of the insight which studies of the kind reported in the book have brought us.

The book is well produced, the print is clear, and there is an adequate index.

MARGARET LOWENFELD

Socio-Culture: Interdisciplinary Essays on Society and Culture. By Gutorm Gjessing. *Studies honouring the Centennial of the University Ethnographical Museum, Oslo. Vol. I. Oslo (Forenede Trykkerier), 1956. Pp. 314.*

This is a book of essays on anthropological theory. Professor Gjessing emphasizes that they are attempts—attempts to formulate a new approach. The inference is also that each essay is complete in itself although contributing to the main theme. The implication is amply borne out; no matter what aspect is chosen as the ostensible point of departure the reader is rapidly drawn into the same circular track of argument. A review, then, must attempt to assess the nature and usefulness of the major issues rather than to confine itself to the separate essays.

A basic premise of the work is that there exists in all aspects of the material of social life a dualism of polar opposites. One cannot object to this viewpoint; many writers have used polar concepts as valuable analytical tools, although I doubt if in any anthropological work there have been as many pairs as one can find in this book. The error is that the different pairs of opposites are identified with one another and assimilated into one broad dichotomy. There is no justification for this procedure in logic although it may be a satisfying metaphysical notion. The different polar opposites reflect different aspects of the same material; they represent different levels of abstraction and are neither on the same analytical level as each other nor of the same order of reality as the observable data from which they are derived. It is legitimate to distinguish culture and society, dynamic and static trends, competitive and integrative

factors. It is hardly legitimate to conclude from this that society is static and integrative and culture dynamic and disruptive. Professor Gjessing says in his Preface: 'Abstractions and generalizations lead to more complex problems.' He has adequately demonstrated this.

On the concept of a basic dualism Professor Gjessing builds his theory which, he claims, can form a foundation both for fieldwork and for theoretical study. This theory he calls the social field theory, but it has suffered a sea-change since being derived from the discipline in which it originated. Here one has no clue as to what is to be taken as the focus upon which the field of force acts. As Professor Gjessing quotes Kurt Lewin one would expect that he would take individual behaviour as determined by the play of opposing forces of social and structural ties. However, his diagram makes one doubt this. Further on (p. 292) he suggests that a kinship system be taken as the focus with the 'unexplained cases' forming the field of gravitation. Here he confounds two distinct phenomena of different orders of reality: the kinship system depending on a certain preferred marriage and actual numbers of marriages that occur, whether or not of preferred type. Obviously the dualistic approach cannot differentiate levels of abstraction.

Professor Gjessing is troubled, and rightly, about equilibrium analysis and the 'closed system' approach. He will not find many critics of his statement that 'closed systems are illusions and we must find some mode of arranging our data in terms of continua' (p. 292). It is possibly as well to have a clear conception of the continua and of what such data actually are. It is failure to distinguish between data and their interpretation that leads him to believe, mistakenly, that his approach can be 'practically serviceable' in the field. Statements such as: 'After having intuitively established a total view of the socio-cultural field, the analyses instantly controlled by empirical data will step by step enable us to delimit the sub-fields in order to undertake the analyses with reference to the total socio-cultural field' become nonsense to any anthropologist with field experience. Should any fieldworker succeed in following this method, I shall be happy to meet him.

The presentation of the book does not fall below the standard set by its contents. It would be unkind to blame the author for the printer's errors to be found on almost every page, or to judge the quality of the thought as expressed in a language too patently not his own, but one does wish that his friends who kindly read the whole manuscript had endeavoured to help Professor Gjessing to write intelligible English. A most disarming device is the heading of each section with delightful, largely pointless tags, culled from the author's catholic reading. I can do no better than quote the one used to head the section on Religion:

'Beyond food and beverages it is presumptuous to brood on such difficult matters. Happy persons should not trouble themselves with thinking.' (Expression to Knud Rasmussen from an Eskimo.)

O, admirable Eskimo!

J. S. LA FONTAINE

AFRICA

Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg. By A. R. Willcox. London (Parrish), 1956. Pp. 96, 76 plates. Price £4

The mountainous region of the Drakensberg and the Maluti, covering Basutoland and the bordering areas of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, Griqualand East and Natal, is probably the richest storehouse of primitive art in the world. Hundreds of pictorial rock shelters are known and each year dozens more are being brought to light. For the past hundred years artists and archaeologists have been copying these paintings but copies of this nature, no matter with what sincerity they may be made, are invariably subject to inaccuracies; inaccuracies arising from the artist's own interpretation and inaccuracies due to the nature of the rock surface.

More recently Mr. Willcox has photographed in colour the rock paintings found along the eastern scarp of the Drakensberg and the 76 plates of this book are the results of his work in 27 shelters. The

standard of photography and the quality of reproduction are excellent and these plates open up a new field of archaeological research in South Africa. As a result of normal weathering, vandalism by herdboys and casual visitors, and the rubbing of sheep and cattle, the paintings are fast disappearing and the possibility of making a complete record diminishes with each passing year. Many paintings are quite invisible until sprayed with water and under these conditions copying is difficult. The photographic technique developed by Mr. Willcox offers a solution to these problems and it should be possible in the near future to make a complete photographic record in colour of such important palimpsests as 'Mtoko, Diana's Vow, Qomoqomong and Ha Khotso; vast friezes each of which would take months to copy faithfully by hand.

The main problems confronting the archaeologist concern the age and origin of the paintings. Schofield and I have demonstrated that, although some may be older, the majority of the rock paintings

of South Africa belong to the last 400 years and that nothing is depicted on them which cannot be ascribed to Bush, Bantu, Hottentot, or, in a few very recent instances, European cultures. A second school of thought, expounded mainly by the Abbé Breuil, claims that many of the paintings are thousands of years old and that some figures represent 'foreigners' from the Mediterranean. This latter theory has resulted from an inadequate knowledge of Bush and Bantu cultures and a consequent misinterpretation of the available evidence.

Willcox, while offering little new evidence, gives a useful summary of previously published work and his conclusions support those reached earlier by Schofield and me over a wider field. He concludes that 'most of the paintings were certainly Bushman paintings and if others were the work of another race this people was probably "Bushmanoid" or "Proto-Bushman."' With regard to the supposed 'foreigners' he states that 'the case for foreign explorers in the Drakensberg in ancient times requires very much stronger evidence before it can be taken seriously.' His third main point is that paintings can only be grouped broadly and that detailed sequences of style and colour, such as those postulated by Frobenius and Breuil, cannot be scientifically established except possibly very locally. All this fully supports my own studies of rock paintings in Basutoland, in the Orange Free State and in other parts of Southern Africa.

Although the photographs here published represent a marked advance in the colour reproduction of South African rock paintings, it is evident that photographs alone are insufficient. Photographic reproduction is excellent for making a rapid and accurate survey but important details, essential for a correct interpretation of the paintings, still need to be copied by hand and the book would have been all the better if such details had been included. Some indication of size would also have been helpful. Many photographers working in other parts of South Africa do stick on the rock a small scale, graduated in inches and centimetres, which is photographed

with the painting. The same applies to the drawings of Smithfield 'N' tools. If it was regarded as necessary to include a description of the implements then a fuller assemblage, with localities and horizons, should have been given.

But these are very minor criticisms of what is a most valuable series of photographs of the rock paintings of the eastern Drakensberg scarp. It is hoped that Mr. Willcox will now turn his attention to other fields, particularly the eastern uplands of Southern Rhodesia, and eventually give us a full pictorial record of some of the more important shelters which have so far only been copied and reproduced in part or not at all.

JAMES WALTON

The King's Day: A Day in the Life of an African King. By Margaret Plass. Chicago (Natural History Museum), 1956. Pp. 22, 10 plates. Price 35 cents

107 This is a somewhat unusual popular guidebook written to illustrate an exhibition of a Cameroons King's House in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Mrs. Webster Plass was responsible for the setting up of the exhibition and a consultant in planning it, as well as author of this guide. Instead of presenting us with a formal catalogue of the exhibits, she evokes the background of the exhibition by an account of a King's day—the sort of place he lived in, the things he used, what he did and must have thought about—indeed all the little things that make the stuff of life and are impossible to convey through museum exhibits alone. This must not be taken as dispraise of the exhibits; indeed, one of the merits of the exhibition and this booklet is that attention is now drawn to the fine, well documented and previously little publicized Cameroons collections at Chicago. The plates alone are a sufficient recommendation for this booklet and more than justify its modest price; while the simple manner of the textual account does not conceal Mrs. Webster Plass's thorough knowledge of her subject.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

AMERICA

Highway of the Sun. By Victor von Hagen. London (Gollancz), 1956. Pp. 257, plates, maps. Price 18s.

108 The Spanish conquerors of Peru considered the Inca road system to be one of the great wonders of both the New and Old Worlds, and since the sixteenth century many explorers and travellers have added their praises. These roads can still be traced, even travelled upon, although in many places they have become overgrown, decayed and buried during the course of centuries of neglect.

In 1952 Victor von Hagen, his wife and a photographer and topographer set out on a two-year expedition to travel along and record these old Inca highways. They were assisted at times by other experts who joined them. The expedition travelled about 22,000 miles, following the roads up mountains, across deserts and enduring many hardships due to climatic changes and the difficulty of the terrain. The aim was the 'geographical rediscovery of the Inca Royal Road'—to find out where the ancient roads ran and the reasons for their existence. This rediscovery was to be combined with archaeological research at the ruins of the post houses and the stores which line the route.

Highway of the Sun is von Hagen's personal account of this ambitious project. In it he describes the whole course of the expedition from the time of obtaining the support of the American Geographical Society, enlisting his companions and packing the latest equipment, until the final camp at Cajamarca after two years of travel.

His account includes descriptions of the countryside, the villages and the people. The hardships of the journey, the adventures, triumphs and disappointments are also described. Since the expedition used the early writings of the Conquistadores for basic information on the whereabouts of the roads there are many direct quotations from these sources and also digressions into the more dramatic aspects of Peruvian history.

This book, then, is mainly designed as a popular account of the course of travel along the Inca roads. As such, those who like their information presented in the form of a novel of discovery and adventure will find this to be an interesting and well written account illustrated by some fine photographs.

For the specialist, on the other hand, *Highway of the Sun* does not provide much in the way of new information. The general route of the Inca roads has been fairly well known in the past and the chief characteristics have been described, frequently with comparisons to the Roman road system. In recent years archaeologists have published detailed accounts of excavations on short sections of the roads: the Wenner Gren Expedition's work around Machu Picchu is a case in point. For this reason I cannot take too seriously von Hagen's hope that, 'because of our study and traverse of the roads we had brought the story of the Inca civilizations into the focus of world history, and that these ubiquitous, these overwhelming, highways . . . could now take their place among the major achievements in the history of the world along with other great roads of Europe and Asia. I thought, too, of the shock our findings had given to complacency.' (p. 241).

However, disregarding certain extravagant claims, *Highway of the Sun* does describe some new discoveries, such as the identification of the exact site of Bonbón and the discovery of the ruins of Pomacocha. Most important is that the expedition 'linked by direct exploration almost the entire road system of ancient Peru' (p. 239) and that they found a road system, a 'vast network of communications which had bound all the discordant elements of geography and peoples into an empire' (p. 240). *Highway of the Sun*, having given us a wealth of adventure, now leads us to expect a wealth of detailed maps, sketches, measurements and concise accounts of Inca engineering and road-making techniques in some future publication.

AUDREY J. BUTT

Beyond the High Savannas. By James Wickenden. London (Longmans, Green), 1956. Pp. vii, 291, illus. Price 18s.

109 In this book, the author recounts the adventures of a young South American who went diamond-prospecting in the borderland regions of British Guiana, Venezuela and Brazil. Diamond-prospecting does rather dominate the book, though its main interest for us lies in the account of the hero's life for five years among the Patamona Indians, using one village as his base. It is clear that he acquired a very good knowledge of the daily life of the Patamona, and they accepted him to a very large extent as one

of themselves. It is thus a pity, from our point of view, that it has been written up in traveller's-tale form, albeit larded with native words, instead of in a more anthropological guise. Careful questioning of the hero might well have elicited further ethnographical information which could have been embodied in the narrative, and the book might have been illustrated with photographs of the Patamona (from other sources if need be) instead of the pleasant but uninformative line drawings. Of its kind, the book is quite a good one; but the anthropologist must sigh for what it might have been.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

ASIA

Der Schlimme Tod bei den Völkern Indonesiens. By Hans Joachim Sell. The Hague (Mouton), 1955. Pp. ix, 337

110 In Indonesia, as in other parts of the world, it is common to find that certain modes of dying are regarded as much more horrible than others. For example, for a woman to die in childbirth is not merely a misfortune calling for sympathy and commiseration, it is a supernatural disaster indicating the presence of mortal sin. Dr. Sell has performed a useful service by gathering together into one volume a wide range of ethnographical information regarding 'evil' deaths of this general type. The book demonstrates clearly just what kind of circumstance makes a death an 'evil' death. It shows also how this category of ideas is linked with performance—in that the corpses of those who die 'evil' deaths are treated differently from other corpses—and with belief—in that the 'souls' of those who die 'evil' deaths are thought to suffer a different fate from other souls. In particular, the author notes that 'fear of the dead' is more particularly fear of those who have died 'evil' deaths, since it is the 'evil' dead who become the 'evil spirits' which torment the living.

The form of the book consists of a 60-page introductory section wherein the general facts of the case are laid out, followed by a much longer section in which all the available evidence is displayed for each of 38 sub-areas within the Indonesian region. The impressive bibliography is by no means exclusively confined to the Indonesian region.

As always in a comparative work of this type the quality of the evidence varies very greatly and one can merely say that Dr. Sell's sources, defective though they are, seem to bear out his general

thesis very well. Of this general thesis the most interesting and original part is that which concerns the concept of 'fright' (*Schreck* (pp. 55-59)).

Dr. Sell's argument here seems to run something like this: Fright tends to be thought of as a condition of dissociation—e.g. 'he is frightened out of his wits,' which is mortally dangerous—e.g. 'he is frightened to death.' Fright is the 'enemy of the soul'; it can be used to scare away the evil spirits of the dead just as it is liable to scare away the souls of the living. It is part of Dr. Sell's argument that dissociation of soul from body or even of the individual from society is sinister in itself, and dissociated personalities such as shamans, witches and beggars are all liable to be treated as 'evil dead' regardless of their precise manner of dying. Two categories of death are generally regarded as abnormal: (a) the sudden and unexpected—that which is abnormal in time and (b) the sinister (*unheimlich*)—that which is abnormal in manner. It is the combination of the sudden and the sinister which above all evokes fright and which is therefore particularly dangerous to the living, and it is this which provides a kind of logical basis for the complex ideologies and ritual practices surrounding notions of evil (*schlimme*) death.

In this country two recent Frazer Lectures have been concerned with the topic of the Fate of the Soul. Dr. Sell's interesting book, though primarily a guide to ethnographical sources, makes it clear that the topography of the Land of the Dead is still by no means fully explored. The first 60 pages of the book have been published previously in *Internationale Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. XLVI (1952).

E. R. LEACH

OCEANIA

An Ethnological Sketch of Rennell Island: A Polynesian Outlier in Melanesia. By Kaj Birket-Smith. Dan. Hist. Filol. Medd., Vol. XXXV, No. 3. Copenhagen (Munksgaard), 1956. Pp. 222, 75 text figs. Price 40 kr.

III The main interest of the author, who is director of the Ethnographical Department of the Danish National Museum has been the Eskimo and the American Indians of the Arctic and the Sub-Arctic, on which he has published extensively. Shortly after the war his *Kulturens Veje* was published; the German translation was called *Geschichte der Kultur: Eine allgemeine Ethnologie* (Zürich, 1946). Its scope is worldwide, and the part dealing with material culture is of real importance. Less valuable are the chapters on social organization and religion. The book as a whole is clearly the work of a very expert museum ethnologist with an extensive knowledge of ethnological literature and museum collections. Birket-Smith is a follower of the *Kulturkreislehre*, though a critical one who does not wholly agree with the idea that the same *Kulturkreise* occur everywhere and in the same sequence.

Birket-Smith's sketch of Rennellese culture is also to a large extent conditioned by his being a skilled museum ethnologist with a markedly *kulturhistorische* schooling and interest. This is especially apparent in the exact and elaborate descriptions of material culture as well as from the fact that in describing the social and religious aspects he tends to concentrate mainly on the concrete objects which play an important part.

The book consists of five chapters, of which the first is a general introduction dealing with, among other things, the geography and history of the island. It includes a short discussion of 'the Universe and the Gods' (pp. 22f.) and the traditions concerning the immigra-

tion of the Rennellese; moreover it also deals with physical characteristics, health, dress and ornament, social stratification, 'villages, habitations, and temples,' and 'furniture.' It is not quite clear why some of these matters are included in this chapter: why, for example, the treatment of 'chieftainship and social classes' was not incorporated in chapter IV on 'Social Life.' This also applies to 'villages, habitations, and temples,' and to the section on 'furniture,' which could presumably have found a more suitable place in chapter III on 'Manufactures.'

Chapters II and III ('Economic Activities' and 'Manufactures') cover 49 pages. 'Social Life,' chapter IV, requires 33 pages. This does not seem too small a space in comparison with the considerable number of pages given to the preceding chapters dealing with material aspects of culture. It should be borne in mind, however, that in this chapter problems of purely social significance receive less attention than would be expected. Thus an elaborate description is given of the weapons in use on the island (pp. 117-124); they are fully illustrated and reference is made to many specimens in several museums. Only two pages (111-113), however, are given to the marriage system and the kinship terms of address.

This cannot easily be explained by the author's preference for material culture. Another reason for the lack of detail concerning social organization and religion is the fact that he did not know the Rennellese language and had difficulty in mastering the local pidgin 'of which the natives as a rule had only rather limited knowledge' (p. 6). Moreover, he had to remain nearly all the time in one place because of uncertainty as to the day the boat would arrive to collect him. His stay on the island lasted for one month only, from 12 October till 14 November, 1952, and it seems strange that in enumerating

the 'various circumstances [which] prevented [him] from making [his] investigations as complete as might be desired' (p. 6) he does not expressly mention shortage of time.

This factor and the author's concentration on material culture must also be the main reason for the inadequacy of his remarks in the field of vital statistics, which contribute little to our understanding of the population problems of Rennell. It is of little use to a demographer or a social anthropologist interested in this difficult and fascinating Oceanic problem to know that the population is 'slightly on the increase,' and that we shall have to face the problem of overpopulation for the future without knowing the factors influencing this increase (p. 30). Neither does it seem to make much sense to try to explain the high sex ratio in this community as a whole (p. 30). The fact is that in a small community containing only 1,009 persons the number of males to every 100 females may easily differ considerably from the figure—about 106—which is considered normal, i.e. the average of the large and statistically well-known countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A.

The last chapter, 'The Cultural Position of Rennell Island,' is an elaborate discussion of all the elements of Rennellese culture, which are dealt with successively and compared with the same or analogous elements of Polynesian culture as a whole. For this purpose an enormous task mainly consisting of a painstaking survey of all books and articles available had to be undertaken, and we must certainly admire the author's conscientiousness in carrying out this labour. One typical instance may suffice: in his discussion of clothing and personal adornment (pp. 171-178) he remarks that 'men's breech cloths were nearly universal in Polynesia, whether they were made of tapa, which was by far the most common, of fine matting or, as on some of the "outliers," of woven material.' In a note (note 8, pp. 171f.) he gives his sources for 22 different islands and groups.

In a summary on pp. 202-207 the author draws a distinction between those culture elements which are so widespread in Polynesia 'that they must in all probability belong to the original culture of the Polynesians' (p. 202) and those elements 'which are characterized by their more or less pronounced western distribution' (p. 203). Within the latter category he distinguishes between (i) elements which originally had a far wider distribution in Polynesia but which have been abandoned in the eastern region; (ii) elements seeming to originate from Micronesia or from various places in Melanesia. He stresses, however, that he has been unsuccessful in trying to solve the history of a number of western Polynesian culture elements (pp. 203f.).

Summarizing the results of his investigation, he states that (i) in comparison with Polynesian culture as a whole and western Polynesian culture in particular Rennellese culture is relatively poor; and (ii) the majority of the elements of Rennellese culture 'are so widespread that they must be considered proto-Polynesian, and some of them are even remarkably primitive' (p. 206). From these premises he concludes that 'the population of Rennell separated from the rest of the stock at an early period and since then has had but little intercourse with the other islands. The development of local types points in the same direction' (p. 206). Another conclusion, important from the point of view of *kulturhistorische* ethnology but having only negative value, is 'that it is scarcely possible to demonstrate cultural affinities to any other particular island group' (p. 207). In another respect too, Birket-Smith's inquiry has no positive results—it does not contribute to the solution of the problem of the peopling of Polynesia, as the author admits on the last page. In his opinion—and he seems to be right—we shall approach such a result only when we can study the results of painstaking archaeological investigations throughout Oceania; and these have scarcely begun.

Birket-Smith's book has the merit of giving a thorough analysis of Rennellese culture, with full emphasis on the material side of it. One could, of course, raise objections to his working methods, determined as they are to a great extent by the culture concepts of the Viennese school, which is but little interested in culture in its synthetic-functionalistic aspect. To them—and to the author of this book as well—culture is mainly significant as a collection of culture elements, which may be grouped together and compared with similar groupings in other societies. Criticizing the methods of the

kulturhistorische school of ethnology and evaluating its merits, however, seems to be beyond the scope of this review.

S. KOOIJMAN

Hoofdtrekken der Sociale Structuur in het Westelijke Binnenland van Sarani. By A. C. van der Leeden. Leiden

(*Ijdo N.V.*), 1956. Pp. xii, 188, 3 genealogical appendices, map

Dr. van der Leeden spent nearly three years (1952-55) as a government anthropologist in the Sarani region of north-west Netherlands New Guinea. In this book, his published doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Leiden, he gives an account of kinship and marriage among two very small societies of that area, the Samarokena (68 individuals) and the Mukrara (71). His field research among them both totalled 67 days, plus a number of random contacts and continuous employment of carriers from among them. The language used for research was the local form of Malay (the governmental *lingua franca*). The author admits that the circumstances were not appropriate to completely satisfactory ethnography.

The Samarokena and the Mukrara are divided into six groups without centralized authority, and lead a semi-nomadic life in search of sago and game. They also build villages and men's houses which are the centres of a religious cult featuring sacred flutes. Their kinship system is cognatic, with a generational terminology. There are separate terms, however, for mother's sister's child and for mother's mother's brother, but the author could discover no distinct 'behaviour patterns' associated with them and regards them as evidence of former matriliney.

The bulk of the book consists of painstaking descriptions of the kinship usages, supported by full genealogical evidence, together with comparative accounts of the usages of neighbouring peoples of the interior. Such detailed analyses of aspects of kinship in tiny communities such as these are hardly to be paralleled in the literature and are of considerable interest. There remain a number of puzzles, however, but instead of concentrating on these Dr. van der Leeden prefers (as is the general practice at Leiden) to try to deduce an original form of the society from which the present may have developed. Given a cognatic system, with neither marriage sections nor the terminological features characteristic of them, he tries to relate it to a system of double descent with eight sections and mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter marriage—i.e. of Aranda type.

But without compelling evidences (as distinct from isolated puzzles of nomenclature) Dr. van der Leeden would have done better to remember Lévi-Strauss's golden rule: 'un système de classes [matrimoniales] ne peut jamais être postulé...; s'il a existé, il ne peut être inféré qu'à partir de vestiges rigoureusement inexplicables dans les termes de la situation actuelle.' It is highly instructive concerning the Leiden approach, and evidence of the invalidity of the author's argument, that in his *stellingen* (the subsidiary theses which a Dutch student must be prepared to defend at his oral examination) Dr. van der Leeden maintains that the Mundugumor 'rope' is also to be considered as evidence for the former existence of an Aranda-type system. Which excellently makes Lévi-Strauss's further point that 'un esprit ingénieux pourrait, sans doute, traduire tous les systèmes de parenté et du mariage en termes de classes matrimoniales.'

Yet within its limits this is a thorough and valuable account of a type of society of which we know very little, and far more worthy of scholarly regard than a recent highly publicized work from another region of New Guinea. Dr. van der Leeden must have a wide knowledge of the Sarani area in general, and his ethnographical carefulness makes one look forward to more of his work—provided he reads Lévi-Strauss and abandons pseudo-historical theoretical excesses.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

Somatic Variability and Human Ecology on Bougainville, Solomon Islands. By D. L. Oliver. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Univ., Peabody Museum). 168 leaves (mimeo.)

While engaged in the study of the culture of the Siuai of south-west Bougainville in 1938-9, Oliver was impressed by their differences in physical appearance from other groups on the island. He accordingly examined samples of the populations in 13 of Bougainville's 16 language areas in an attempt to determine whether environmental factors had any effect on physical differentiation. The

bulk of this report presents the results of his investigation of anthropometric and descriptive characters. As he himself points out, insufficient data were collected of the kinds now thought to be pertinent in this type of study, e.g. relating to blood groups or diet; while genealogical evidence confirmed that intermarriage occurred between different populations, the incidence of such matings was not obtained numerically; many of his subjects were plantation workers and some of his samples are small. These criticisms of the actual data collected are, after all, coloured by the progress of the 18 years which have since elapsed; Oliver is to be complimented on having completed a detailed investigation of some 1,400 subjects (about 1/5 of the then total male population), no mean achievement for what was a secondary interest in his researches. This is the most comprehensive investigation of morphological characteristics yet available for this area; wartime events on Bougainville considerably enhance its value.

While there is little to criticize in the document as a contribution to descriptive anthropometry, the interpretations given to the data are not quite so satisfactory, largely on account of the way the results are handled. Bougainville is inhabited by peoples of two major linguistic groupings, Papuan and Melanesian, respectively

living mainly in the interior and on the coast; many Melanesian speakers have moved inland however, and some Papuan groups are coast dwellers. In Oliver's samples, peoples of both linguistic groupings are represented, each covering mountain and coastal habitats. With this diversity of habitat, and presumably of genetic constitution reflected in the linguistic differences, it is not surprising that in many characters marked intertribal differences occur—about 50 per cent. of all possible intertribal differences are statistically significant. From inspection of the sample means, Oliver concludes that 'the main differences in body size and shape found to exist among the various tribal phenotypes are due to genetic factors rather than to any known environmental or cultural factors.' That this conclusion is not entirely justified is shown by further calculations from the data. For instance among Melanesians, those living on the coast have significantly greater chest depths than those living inland ($P < .001$), a difference possibly associated with the amount of time that children spend in the sea. It is to be hoped that Oliver will be able to complete further analysis of his material, broken down on a local as well as a tribal basis, in order to derive the fullest information from this admirable experimental design and valuable collection of data.

D. F. ROBERTS

CORRESPONDENCE

Proposed Memorial to Professor Sir John Myres, D.Sc., F.B.A.

II4 SIR,—Sir John Myres's death on 6 March, 1954, at the age of 84, brought to a close a long and distinguished career. His work is universally known. To his wide influence as a teacher and scholar he added the gifts of a leader. His energies were devotedly given to the service of many branches of learning, and in recognition of this he received many honours.

It is felt that his name and work should be permanently commemorated by a memorial within the University of Oxford, where for not less than 29 years he held the Wykeham Professorship of Ancient History, at New College. Such a memorial would help to serve and to increase that fruitful co-operation between the humanistic studies for which he strove in so many ways.

Believing that his colleagues, pupils and friends throughout the world, and the many institutions and bodies with which he was associated, would wish to commemorate his fame and achievements, we favour the proposal to create an annual Myres Memorial Lecture within the University if sufficient funds can be raised to endow it.

There is undoubtedly a place for such a new foundation among other commemorative lectures. Provision for new contributions to knowledge, from the humanities in alliance, would, it is certain, have made a deep appeal to Sir John Myres. The lectures will be contributions of great and lasting value not to the University alone but also, through publication, to people in all countries. The purpose is to invite each year, in rotation, an eminent scholar in Ancient History, European and Near Eastern Archaeology, Ancient Geography, and Ethnology, with special reference to Mediterranean lands.

It is hoped that all who knew Sir John Myres and his work, either personally or indirectly, will support generously the Appeal to be issued. It is estimated that a capital sum of £3,000, yielding an annual income of, say, £120, will suffice to provide for the lecturer's honorarium and for printing 750 copies of each lecture by the Oxford University Press. But it is hoped that the target of £3,000 will be exceeded.

The Fund will be administered, and all arrangements made, by a permanent and representative committee with the Warden of New College as *ex officio* Chairman.

Donations should be sent as soon as possible and should be addressed as follows:

THE MYRES MEMORIAL FUND,
c/o THE UNIVERSITY CHEST,
OXFORD

We are, Sir,
Yours faithfully,

- A. H. SMITH, *Warden of New College*
A. ANDREWS, *Wykeham Professor of Ancient History*
T. S. R. BOASE, *President of Magdalen College*
WILLIAM M. CALDER, *President of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara*
G. N. CLARK, *President of the British Academy*
E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, *Professor of Social Anthropology*
E. W. GILBERT, *Professor of Geography*
A. W. GOMME, *President of the Society for Hellenic Studies*
R. W. HAMILTON, *Keeper, Dept. of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum*
C. F. C. HAWKES, *Professor of European Archaeology*
R. J. H. JENKINS, *Chairman, British School of Archaeology at Athens*
JOHN LOWE, *Dean of Christ Church*
JAMES MARSHALL-CORNWALL, *President of the Royal Geographical Society*
T. K. PENNIMAN, *Curator, Pitt Rivers Museum*
RAYMOND PRIESTLEY, *President (1956) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*
RAGLAN, *President of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
R. SYME, *Camden Professor of Ancient History*
MORTIMER WHEELER, *President of the Society of Antiquaries and Chairman of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem*

Note

This letter will surely have a special appeal even for those readers of MAN who never knew Sir John Myres. He it was who in the nineties of last century understood the need, at that crucial period for the growth of anthropology, for a monthly periodical which should supplement the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* by publishing shorter articles, book reviews, notes and correspondence drawn from the whole field of anthropology in its widest sense, and should thus provide a powerful means for maintaining the essential unity of anthropology, while fostering the inevitable specialization of its parts. For this, and for his great work for the Institute and for the International Congresses, all anthropologists owe him a debt which they can never estimate, and the Hon. Editor of MAN hopes that they will be as generous as they can in making token recompense.

New subscribers are invited to refer to Sir John's article on 'The Origin of MAN' in the Golden Jubilee issue for January, 1951; to the special issue in honour of his eightieth birthday (July, 1949); and to the tributes to his memory in the March issue of 1954.—ED.

The Cruck Truss. Cf. MAN, 1956, 107, 167; 1957, 16, 17, 57, 77.

With two text figures

115 SIR.—As a dispassionate observer of crucks I should like to mention evidence of an early Welsh example. In an excavation last year we revealed the housing for an immense cruck truss erected about 1300 in the palace of the bishops of Bangor at Gogarth near Llandudno. The enclosed plan shows

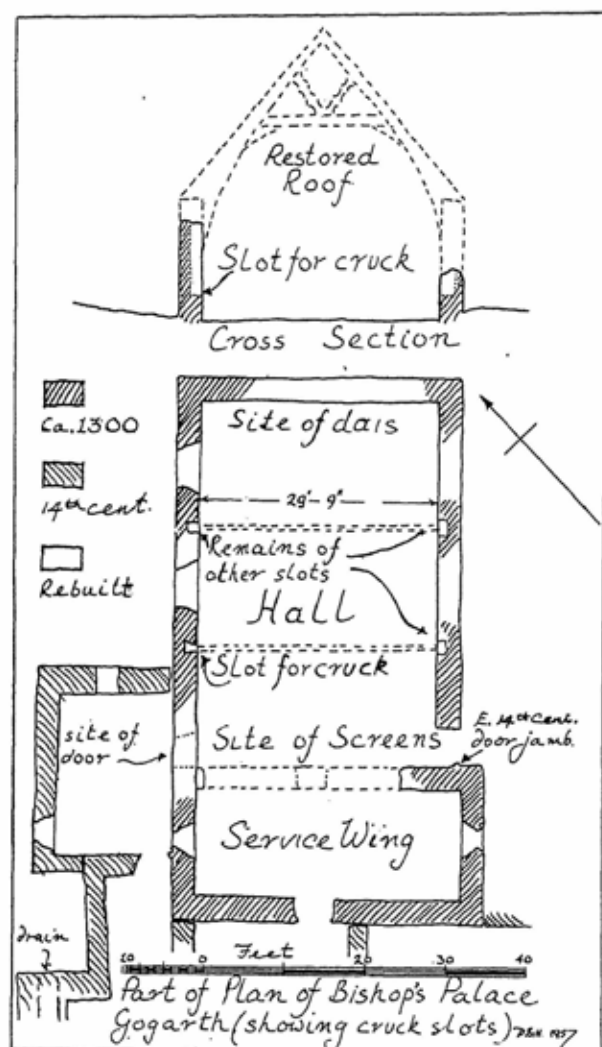


FIG. 1. PART OF PLAN OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT GOGARTH

that there were two trusses with a span of 29 feet 9 inches; the imaginative, but plausible, restoration of the roof represents an attempt to enliven the excavation report (fig. 1).

It is of interest to note that with the exception of the great hall in Caernarvon Castle, which may never have been completed, this roof had a wider span than any pre-nineteenth-century building in Caernarvonshire. I have reasons for thinking that the hall covered by this roof was the work of local builders, whilst an earlier building (not shown on the plan) was erected for the anglophile Bishop Anian I, either by or under the influence of the Edwardian builders of the castles. In contrast with the earlier massive walls, this hall was built without any foundations, but the design of the vertical slot, and the absence of any external buttresses, shows that the builders understood that a monolithic cruck principal would transmit the entire roof load, together with any outward thrust not taken by the tie-beam, direct to the ground. The housing for the cruck base commenced 2 feet from the ground and was 2 feet deep, 1 foot

2 inches wide on the inside and 7 inches wide at the open inner face. Nothing was left of the timber, but it was clear that the masonry has been laid around the truss after it had been put into position (fig. 2).

The nearly contemporary roofs of Conway Castle were of the type supported on wall posts which rested on stone corbels; this form of construction can be seen in one or two local fifteenth-century hammer-beam-type trusses. We also know that at Conway all these roofs were replaced by pointed stone arches in the mid-fourteenth century. It would appear that the use of the cruck truss in North Wales certainly antedates the Edwardian conquest.

The earliest surviving cruck structure known to me in North Wales dates from the late fourteenth century, but sixteenth- and



FIG. 2. SLOT FOR CRUCK IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT GOGARTH

seventeenth-century examples are quite common. I have encountered some spidery constructions of sawn timber which might be early nineteenth century. I regard it as hazardous to date a cruck on form alone, out of context, unless it is an early one having gothic detail related to local dateable structures; or it is a primitive one that can be dated by the rule 'the rougher the carpentry the later the date.'
Aberystwyth D. B. HAGUE

'Family: Socialization and Interaction Process': A Correction. Cf. MAN, 1957, 46

116 SIR.—I regret that, through an oversight in my review of Parsons's and Bales's *Family: Socialization and Interaction Process*, the words 'quality-neutrality' ended the pattern-variable list at the end of the second paragraph, instead of beginning the list. With this correction, the four series-of-four terms in the review really are congruent.

Balliol College, Oxford

R. J. APHORPE



A MASK FROM THE MAKONDE TRIBE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Photographs by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

A MASK FROM THE MAKONDE TRIBE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM*

by

MISS M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

II7 This mask (Plate I), attributed to the Makonde tribe of Mozambique, was presented to the Department of Ethnography in the British Museum early this year by Mrs. Webster Plass.¹ It is a helmet mask of rare form for this tribe, in that only the face and crown of the head are covered. The face is in the natural colour of the wood, now a medium brown, and is decorated with applied strips of black beeswax, used to indicate facial scarification (though those on the eyelids and upper lip may perhaps represent eyelashes and a moustache). The hair is stained black, and the surface is covered by the remains of a thin layer of beeswax which at one place (as perhaps originally all over) serves to attach a tuft of human hair. From the middle of the forehead, and sloping back to the left, is a 'cut' $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which is left the same colour as the face²: at the sides of the forehead end of it, and at the other end, are four tiny wooden pegs by which something may have been attached to the edges of the cut. At the back of the mask is a horizontal notch, which, with the groove below the chin, and three holes, one behind each ear and one in the notch at the back, presumably served to attach the costume. The greatest length of the mask is 13 inches.



FIG. 1. RIGHT PROFILE OF MAKONDE MASK

Although this mask, believed to have been in this country for many years, is undocumented, there is good reason to attribute it to the southern Makonde (often called the Mawia or Wamawia³) of Mozambique, who

are separated from the northern Makonde of Tanganyika by the Rovuma river. The two groups, though closely related, are culturally distinct. Although this mask does not, like many others, have a lip plug, the beeswax *appliqué* corresponds closely to tribal scarification marks illustrated by Karl Weule as worn by Makonde and Matambwe women.⁴ He also illustrates three face masks representing 'Mawia men,' all of which have similar beeswax scarification marks.⁵

Makonde masks are of two main types, face and helmet. The face masks normally cover the face only, the features are carved in a vertical plane, and the mask is attached to the head or headdress by holes all round its edge. Eyes and mouth are normally perforate, and lip plugs may or may not be present.⁶ The normal Makonde helmet mask covers the head completely and the costume is tied on above a ridge or flare round the base of the neck, with up to four attachment holes, though these may be absent. The eyes are imperforate, and the dancer, normally a small initiated boy, peers through a narrow opening in the mouth. The features on these helmet masks are commonly carved on an upward and backward sloping plane.

The present mask is half-way between these two forms. It is a helmet mask in that the crown of the head is covered, and in the method of attaching the costume. Inside, the crown of the mask is carved as a flat shelf designed to rest on top of the dancer's head, with the facial portion depending therefrom. In other respects this mask approaches the normal face-mask type: the dancer looks out through the half-closed eyes, which are perforate, and the face of the mask is not tilted upwards as much as with the normal helmet masks.

One may adduce two formal analogies for this mask, both from Southern Nigeria. Some of the *mmwo* masks of the Ibo tribe near Awka similarly consist of a cap worn on the head with the face hanging more or less straight down. For an analogy to the sculptural treatment of the face, one must go to the masks of the Gelede Society of western Yorubaland. These masks, worn more or less flat on top of the head, have the features carved on a backward-sloping plane, but the real similarity of treatment lies in the way the features are 'stepped back,' giving the face greater length when seen in profile, although this distortion is corrected when it is seen full-face. The features of this Makonde mask are stepped back in a somewhat similar way, and it is this stylistic treatment which distinguishes it from the modern masks, which may still be collected in Mozambique, in which, although there is a strong element of caricature, the æsthetic basis has become naturalistic.

Notes

¹ B.M. collection number: 1957.Af.3.

² A Makonde helmet mask from Mozambique in the British

* With Plate I and a text figure

Museum ethnographical collections (1924.6-21.1, given by E. C. Baker, Esq.) has a similar 'cut' about two inches long on the right-hand side of the hair line. Human hair was inserted into numerous small cuts all over the scalp except in the area of this cut. This, incidentally, is the normal method of portraying hair on Makonde helmet masks.

³ They are called Mawia by other tribes including the northern Makonde, but they call themselves Makonde. Mawia is in fact a disparaging name of the same sort as Kaffir or Siwash.

⁴ Karl Weule, *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse meiner ethnographischen Forschungsreise in den Südosten Deutsch Ost-Afrikas*, Berlin, 1908

(translated by Alice Werner with the title *Native Life in East Africa*, London, 1909). A Makonde woman is figured on Plate LIII, 1a, b; a Matambwe woman on Plate LIX, 2a. Unfortunately, Weule never crossed over into Mozambique, and he illustrates no 'Mawia.'

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Plate XLIV, 4, 5, 6.

⁶ Among the southern Makonde at least, men as well as women used to wear lip lugs. I have seen a photograph taken by Mr. R. Dick Read of an old man with a lip plug, and in the British Museum there is a bearded Makonde mask from Mozambique with a lip plug (1924.6-21.3, given by E. C. Baker, Esq., and illustrated in *Traditional Sculpture from the Colonies*, London, H.M.S.O., 1951, Plate XXXI).

A PRE-POTTERY LITHIC COMPLEX FROM SONORA, MEXICO*

by

PROFESSOR GEORGE E. FAY

Southern State College, Magnolia, Arkansas

II8 During the summer of 1953, I initiated a long-range archaeological survey programme for the state of Sonora, in co-operation with the Biblioteca y Museo de Sonora in Hermosillo (Director, Fernando Pesqueira). This preliminary fieldwork was supplemented by a second survey in 1955, and a third survey is contemplated for the summer of 1957.

To date, some 200 archaeological sites have been recorded by this survey in Sonora, of which 150 were sampled. Approximately 8,000 specimens were collected. These artifacts will be deposited with the Biblioteca y Museo de Sonora when laboratory studies are completed.

In the vicinity of Hermosillo, seven camp sites (Nos. 53:F-4 to 53:F-9, and 53:F-19) were examined which seemed to represent a pre-pottery lithic complex, very similar in type to the San Pedro stage of the Cochise culture of south-eastern Arizona. This stage in Arizona has been dated to approximately 3000 to 500 B.C. If this similarity in relationship can actually be established then the southern range of Cochise influence will be greatly increased.

Topographically, the site area is predominantly a stretch of flat desert, with little vegetation, north of the Rio de Sonora.

As described previously in *Science* (Vol. CXXI, 27 May, 1955, pp. 777f.), a majority of the stone artifacts were fashioned by a crude percussion-flaking technique. Local rock types, available for use in the manufacture of tools, included slate and shale (from the river banks), and basalt, jasper, quartz and rhyolite porphyry (presumably from the mountainous region about 10 miles north of the area).

The principal chipped artifact forms included: (i) side and end scrapers, with the plano-convex type being most common; (ii) crudely flaked knife blades, although one site yielded a collection of 5 blades more expertly manufactured; (iii) cobble choppers, the shape of which suggests a similarity to those of the south-eastern California region; (iv) an abundance of wedge flakes, being large primary flakes which might have served as wedges for the opening

of mussel shells; and (v) occasional projectile points, of both percussion and pressure flaking techniques. The latter forms (fig. 1) are comparable to those of the San Pedro

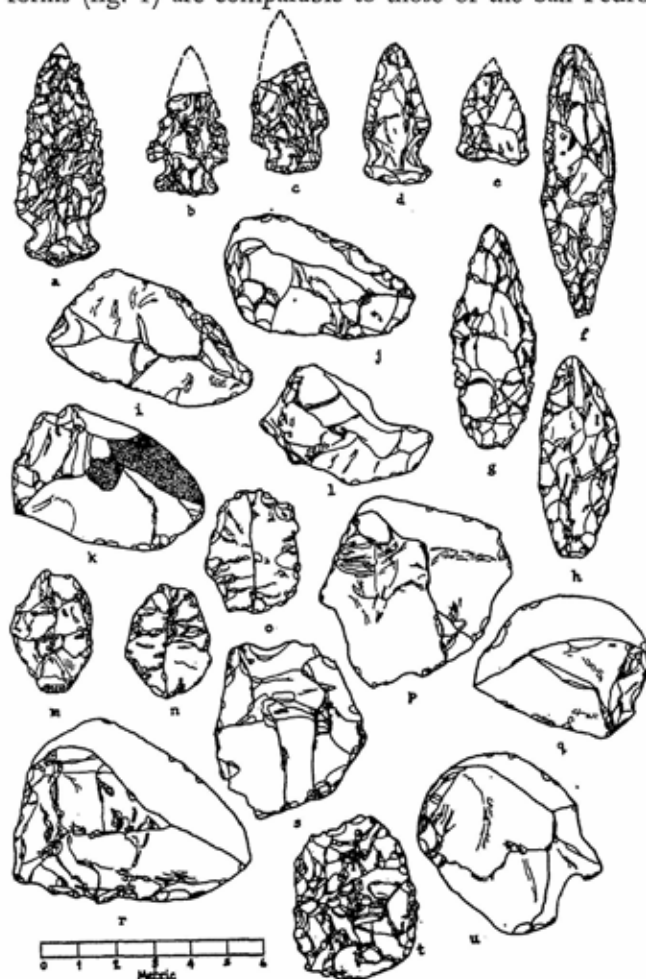


FIG. 1. THE SONORAN LITHIC COMPLEX
(a-e) projectile points; (f-h) knife blades; (i-l) flake knives;
(m-o, r-t) scrapers; (p, q, u) wedge flakes

* With two text figures and a table

stage of the Cochise, with the exception of one (fig. 1c) which bears a resemblance to the Pinto-Gypsum point of California. In addition, numerous one-handed asymmetrical bifaced *manos* were found scattered over several of the surface areas. During the 1953 survey no milling stones were found, but fragments of three were found during the 1955

survey. These fragments are of two forms: (i) a shallow basin, made of granite, and (ii) a smaller thin flat slab, made of shale.

Three additional sites were located in 1955 in the same vicinity (Nos. 55:F-37 to 55:F-39). Scheduled plans for the 1957 survey programme call for test excavations in several of the more important sites, and a complete survey of the entire surrounding region to ascertain the extent of the material distribution. As a result of the two surface surveys, a total of 309 artifacts have now been collected from these 10 camp sites. Below is a brief preliminary tabulation of the variety of artifact types presently discernible.

TABLE I. ARTIFACTS FROM TEN LITHIC SITES IN SONORA

	Sites										Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
Milling stones .			1	1				1			3
Manos (including fragments) .		2	4	21	5	2	5			4	45
Projectile Points .			6	2	1	1	1				11
Knife Blades .			24	23	6	1					54
Scrapers .	3		26	28	10	8	2	4	3	2	86
Cobble Choppers .			5	12	9		2	2	4		34
Crude Primary Flakes .			8	11	16		6	7	2	1	51
Cores .				1			1				2
Miscellaneous .			2	14	2	1	1	2		1	23
	3	2	76	113	49	13	18	16	13	6	309

The material recorded from this group of camp sites would, after preliminary comparisons, seem to correspond very favourably with the San Pedro stage of the Cochise culture. This Sonoran complex probably represents a southern local variation of a pre-ceramic cultural horizon of the south-western desert area.

Acknowledgment

This research programme was conducted under the auspices of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (through the courtesy of Eduardo Noguera, Director of the Dirección de Monumentos Prehispanicos) of Mexico City. I am further indebted to the American Philosophical Society (the Penrose Fund) and to the Kansas Academy of Science for grants-in-aid in the pursuance of these investigations. During the 1953 survey, Bill R. Young, of Springfield, Massachusetts, served as field assistant.

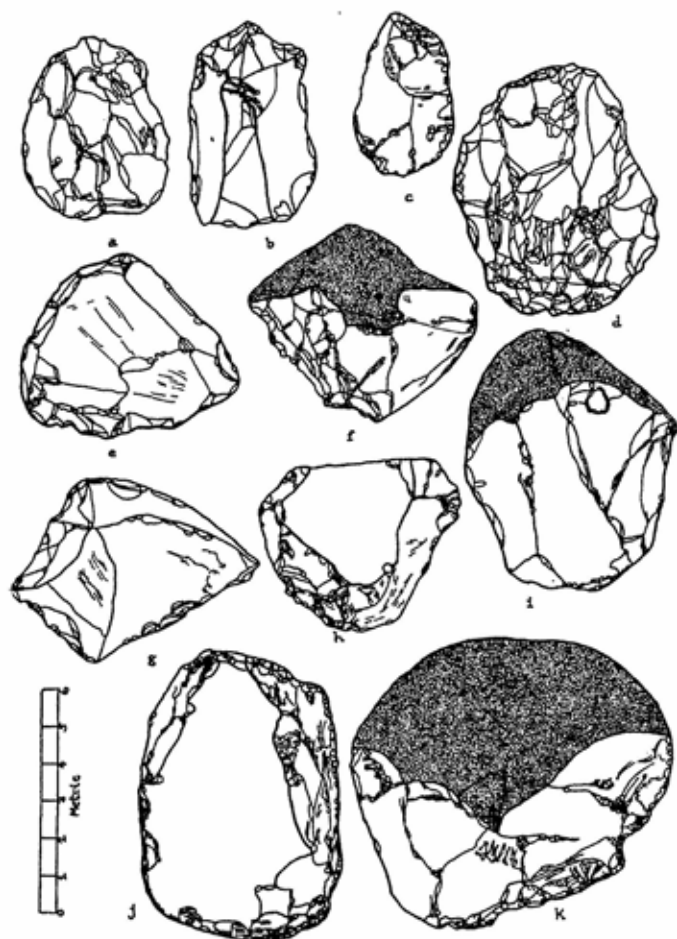


FIG. 2. THE SONORAN LITHIC COMPLEX

(a-d) scrapers; (e, g) flake knives; (f, i, k) choppers; (h, j) scrapers

A CARVED PUMICE HEAD FROM NEW ZEALAND*

A PRELIMINARY NOTE

by

MISS J. R. HARDING

King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam

II9 Before leaving New Zealand in June of last year, I was fortunate enough to discover¹ an undisturbed² and apparently unknown 'Moa-hunter'³ site on the coast of Otago between Dunedin and Brighton. Unfortunately the discovery was made too late for me to be able to carry out a complete investigation of the site,

* With three text figures

and I necessarily had to confine myself to the systematic excavation of only a small area of it. When the carving shown in fig. 1 turned up the necessity for more intensive work than I could properly manage on my own account in the short time available to me was very apparent. Mr. J. K. Anderson of the University of Otago, however, kindly lent me his assistance and together we were able to work

enough ground to prove at least some of the carving's associations.

Description of the Carving. Apparently quite unlike other carvings in pumice hitherto found in New Zealand, this head has the following measurements: height, 10 centimetres; width across the face (about half-way), 6 centimetres; depth from the 'brow' to the back of the head, 4.2 centimetres, and from the upper lip to the back of the head, 6 centimetres. Its remarkable likeness to the giant stone carvings of Easter Island—of which, indeed, it might almost be a miniature copy—is self-evident.

A close examination of the specimen shows two sharp cuts, one on the left-hand side of the face beneath the

moa bones (many of them burnt) lying on sloping blown sand surrounding what at first sight appeared to be an old land surface, but which in reality may be all that remains of a former small lake or lagoon that was connected with the nearby river by a channel.⁵

Excavation and Associated Finds. A trial trench sunk in the area over which the moa bones occurred exposed a well marked burnt layer lying beneath varying depths of blown sand (see sections, fig. 2). The carved head was found lying directly on top of this layer in the position marked *c* in section *b*. The side which lay in contact with this layer is slightly blackened: the other is perfectly clean.

Further excavation, with the help of Mr. Anderson (and

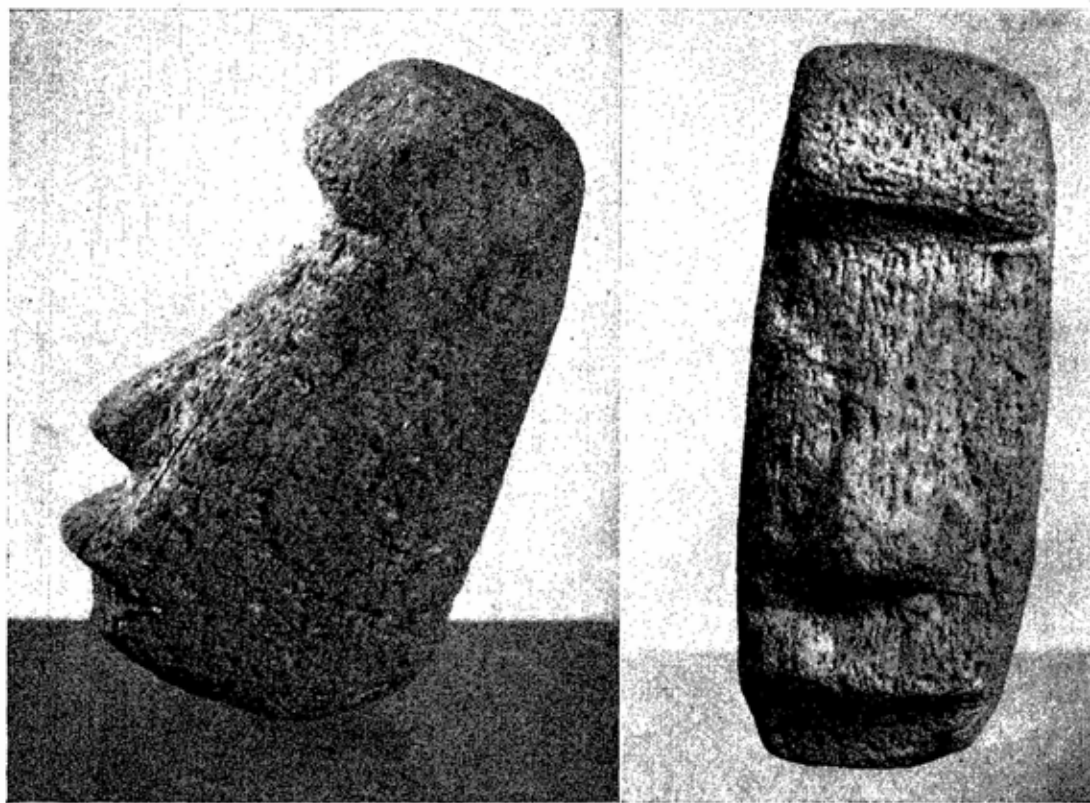


FIG. 1. TWO VIEWS OF A CARVED PUMICE HEAD FROM NEW ZEALAND

Height: 10 centimetres. Photograph: Franz Bata

'brow' ridge and over a cavity which may or may not be intended to represent an eye,⁴ and the other beneath the nose and extending away from it to the left-hand side. Both cuts in my opinion could have been made by a razor-edged stone flake. Flakes of obsidian, for example, are found on other coastal sites in the Dunedin area, as well as elsewhere in New Zealand. Flakes of chalcedony and quartzite (both of which I found in association with the carving—see below) if thin enough, would also be capable of making similar sharply defined cuts.

The Site. The site from which the subject of this note was recovered lies among sandhills near the mouth of the Kaikorai River in the district near Dunedin known as Green Island. Its presence was indicated by fragments of

later with that of Mrs. D. M. K. Morrison and Miss Beryl Brewerton, to both of whom I also owe thanks), was undertaken in the form of a series of rectangular 'boxes,' with the idea of discovering the extent of the black layer and other associated remains.

We soon found that this 'black layer,' though nowhere very thick (see fig. 2), was spread over a wide area, a circumstance which suggested that it was due to several fires, rather than to one. Broken moa bones (several of which showed burning), pipi shells and small cockle shells, the worked quartzite flake shown as No. 1 in fig. 3 (its findspot marked *f*, fig. 2, section *b*), and a few other unworked flakes (including Nos. 2 and 3 of fig. 3) in both quartzite and chalcedony (the latter most probably derived

from the underlying volcanic rock which comes to the surface in weathered lumps), were all recovered either from its surface or from within it. No. 4 in the same figure shows a quartzite flake the two long edges of which have been greatly blunted by use—the kind of wear which might be

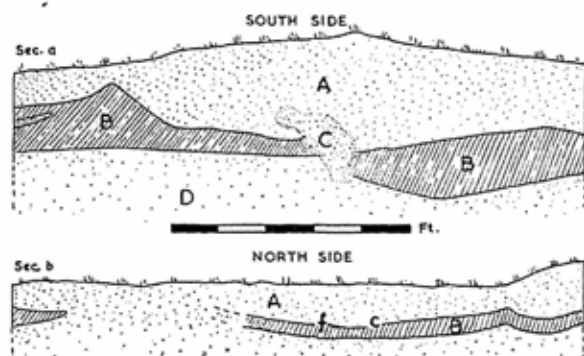


FIG. 2. SECTIONS OF THE MOA-HUNTER SITE NEAR DUNEDIN

expected, in fact, from cutting or sawing movements. No. 5 shows a small quartzite pebble from which flakes have been struck.

The Moa Bones. Dr. W. B. R. Oliver of the Dominion Museum at Wellington was kind enough to identify the bones (including toe bones and several tracheal rings) which I left for his examination before leaving New Zealand. By letter he has informed me that these belong to *Euryapteryx gravis*, and he is of the opinion that the remains submitted to him represent only one bird.

Carbon 14 Dating. My thanks are due to Mr. C. W. Phillips of the Dominion Museum, Wellington, who besides discussing photographs of the carving with me undertook to get samples of the bone and shell material (especially collected and packed on the site for this purpose) analysed for their carbon 14 content at the Dominion Laboratory. The results, which I hope will be forthcoming in the not too distant future, will obviously be of very great interest.

Summary and Conclusions. The excavations (as far as these went) showed:

(1) that the pumice carving occurred only in association with the remains of *E. gravis*, pipi and cockle shells, and struck flakes (one showing secondary working) in quartzite and chalcedony;

(2) that no polished implements of the kind usually associated with other moa-hunter sites in New Zealand were present, and

(3) that no Maori oven or ovens (also usually associated with moa-hunter sites) were present.

These are provisional assumptions which await confirmation from Mr. J. K. Anderson, who indicated his willingness to undertake further excavation after my departure. In the meantime, therefore, I suggest that this site represents a very temporary camping ground, used,

perhaps, by a party exploring this part of the New Zealand coastline. The apparent (but not yet proved) absence of weapons, and the fact that these visitors camped in sandhills, presumably without fear, points to a people who were not troubled by others already in occupation of the

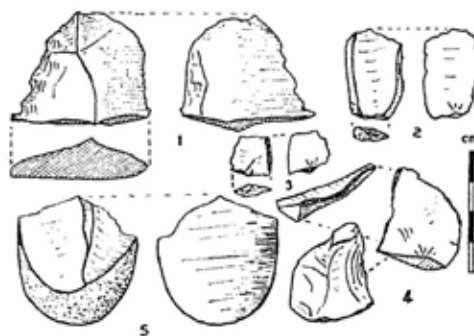


FIG. 3. STONE IMPLEMENTS AND FLAKES FROM THE MOA-HUNTER SITE

country. A pre-Maori date on the present available evidence would seem, therefore, a reasonable conclusion in respect of the site as well (on the grounds of its proved associations) as of the carved pumice head.

Acknowledgment

I take this opportunity of making a special acknowledgment to Mr. Franz Bata of Dunedin, who not only showed a great interest in my find, but also produced the photographs which have made fig. 1 possible.

Notes

¹ By searching and not by accident.

² There appear to be few coastal sites in New Zealand that have escaped untrained spade-work.

³ Duff in his booklet *Moas and Moa-Hunters* describes a Moa-hunters' camp as one that 'can be easily recognized by anyone who has learnt how to distinguish a moa bone from a bullock bone,' and states that 'It is a place where broken and burnt moa bones are found in Maori ovens.' I have placed the term Moa-hunter in inverted commas in the text because the site described in this paper does not altogether conform with his description. The Moa-hunters, according to New Zealand archaeologists, were already in occupation of the country when the Maori Fleet of 1350 arrived. They are sometimes referred to as pre-Fleet Maoris 'to remind us,' in Duff's words, 'that they were the Maori ancestors who exterminated the moa.'

⁴ Some readers will probably prefer to regard this 'eye' as one of the many natural cavities in the pumice. The possibility that a natural cavity was purposely used—or even enlarged—for this purpose cannot, however, be altogether ruled out. On the other hand, it would not be safe to infer that only one eye was actually intended—if the carving were made on the spot, for example, it may have been lost or discarded before the other eye was added. In this connection it is worth pointing out that only rare and very small pieces of pumice are found on the Otago beaches at the present time. Unless, therefore, larger pieces floated along this coast in former times there is an indication that this carving was possibly brought from a distance—perhaps from the North Island, or perhaps from even further afield.

⁵ This channel, though now very much filled in by blown sand, can still be traced through the dunes.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Joking Relationships in a Scottish Town. By F. K. Girling, B.A., D.Phil. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 7 March 1957

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This paper set out to describe and as far as possible to explain the teasing and joking behaviour of groups who formed the population of a small town in Scotland. This behaviour, it was suggested, corresponded broadly with what some social anthropologists had been calling until recently 'joking relationships'.

The town referred to was Bo'ness, an old established port on the Firth of Forth with a population of about 12,000, now principally devoted to mining. In its general form this behaviour is certainly widespread in Britain, but a large part of its content is local and specific. It could be understood best by studying the town's economy, topography, social structure and history and the ideology of the people. Certain attributes of this behaviour might well be peculiar to Scotland or even to a particular region, but the absence of any systematic sociological study of British society made it impossible to determine whether or not this was so.

Bo'ness contains three social zones, each based on the physical configuration of the land and its historical development. The old town was built on flat land between the hills and the sea; here are still the docks, mines, foundries, timber yards, railway sidings, gas works and other industrial establishments. This is the main shopping and commercial centre. Before the war this zone also housed the majority of the town's working-class population, the 'toon yins', as they are usually known. These were and still are accustomed to expressing their hostility to the inhabitants of the second zone, the 'brae-heid yins', the employers, managers, doctors and lawyers, who had built their own houses on the side of the hill overlooking the town. The third zone, higher up the hill still, is made up of five municipal housing estates, the 'toon's hooses', where most of the 'toon yins' and their descendants now live. There appears to be a kind of 'avoidance relationship' between the 'brae-heid yins' and the 'toon yins'; they rarely meet, but each group expresses its hostility to the other by ridiculing those of its own members who behave in a way allegedly characteristic of the other group. In recent years 'toon yins' have taken over positions of influence and authority formerly held by 'brae-heid yins'.

Between groups of the 'toon yins' there exist several well established forms of teasing. 'Grangers', the inhabitants of an area of the town where workers in the old salt pans used to reside, are reputed by the rest of the town to be shy and retiring to a ridiculous degree, and to speak in an unintelligible dialect. Miners, too, are regarded as being particularly risible characters: among them are some traditional 'worthies' to whom humorous sayings are attributed. These are Sancho Panza-like simpletons who outwit the cunning and deflate the pompous—usually the local coal-owner and the parish minister. Both salt workers and miners were serfs from 1606 to 1799 and this might have given them a special status locally, so laying the basis for this form of joking.

Some of the lineage 'by-names' (nicknames) are also used as a form of teasing. These often refer to the supposedly undesirable social characteristics of the lineage concerned and are used in the presence of the members to joke with them. There are personal

'by-names', too, which are used in the same way. There are many less rigidly defined forms of joking between husbands and wives, neighbours, kinsfolk, work mates of opposite sexes, apprentices and tradesmen, married and single persons and others. All of these are examples of 'friendly teasing.' There are forms of 'hostile teasing' also, usually known as 'taking the mick' or 'taking the piss.' Occasionally someone may be uncertain as to which of these forms of teasing he is being subjected to. 'Are you trying to take the piss out of me?' he may ask anxiously.

'Flying,' mock quarrelling between friends, is common in the town. In this connexion reference was made to the 'jocund and merrie Flying of Dunbar and Kennedy.' This might have been a literary development of a popular art form.

Joking takes place also between the inhabitants of the towns of Bo'ness and Linlithgow. The latter is an ancient Royal Burgh situated three miles inland from Bo'ness. Its inhabitants call out jeeringly 'dirrty Bo'ness!'; and the people of Bo'ness reciprocate by alleging that their neighbours are snobbish and quarrelsome. A similar relationship has grown up, too, between Bo'ness and Grangemouth—four miles away in another direction. There is evidence of rivalry between the merchants of Bo'ness and Linlithgow since the sixteenth century; the recent industrial expansion of Grangemouth contrasting with the decline of Bo'ness has provided a theme for the other relationship.

The lecture ended with a short discussion of the 'theory' of 'joking relations' and its relevance to the facts which had been described. Radcliffe-Brown had considered only 'formalized or standardized joking relations' in societies where 'the basic social structure is provided by kinship.' Such is the terminological confusion in social anthropology, however, that it is almost impossible to distinguish between different types of society. Moreover this is not a 'theory' which can be tested empirically. It states that 'joking relations' is 'a mode of organizing a definite and stable system of social behaviour in which conjunctive and disjunctive components are combined.' Is this any more than a restatement of the original definition to which a sociological truism has been added?

Griaule's description of relations between the Dogon and the Bozo as 'cathartic' is interesting. Some of the behaviour described in Bo'ness is certainly cathartic as all art is cathartic, and is practised for enjoyment. It is more than that, however. Most of this behaviour is concerned with changes in the membership of groups, with adjustments in the interrelations of group members or with changed relations to other groups. They are the means of disciplining those who offend against a recognized code of behaviour or of initiating younger persons or newcomers into a group, or, perhaps of driving an unwanted individual out of it. Thus the solidarity and strength of some groups are enhanced and that of others weakened.

A satisfactory explanation of 'joking relations' in Bo'ness would not be possible until the general nature of the main social processes taking place in the town had been analysed. Intensive fieldwork carried out in this and similar areas over a considerable period of time could help directly. The method of 'abstractive generalization' which collects allegedly related phenomena from a wide variety of societies is often illuminating, but it cannot be the means of establishing valid sociological theory at this stage.

SHORTER NOTES

West African Night Commodes.* By Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With a text figure

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In *Henry IV*, First Part, Act II, Scene 1, the second carrier remarks to the first about the lack of toilets at inns: 'Why, you will allow us ne'er a jorden, and then we leak in your chimney; and your chamber-lic breeds fleas like a loach.' From what follows it will be apparent that the enterprising Negro is more abreast of the times than were country inns in Shakespeare's day.

In the more lonely regions of West Africa where wild animals such as leopards, elephants and lions make it dangerous after dark for humanity to be outside a dwelling, the problem of micturating during the night has not been adequately examined. The Hausa word *zotiyo* means a hollow urinal tube made of a cornstalk, but nothing is said of when it is used and obviously the female is at a disadvantage over such a piece of domestic 'white crockery.' It is clear however from what follows that the receptive end of the tube is in the hut and the discharge end outside. Most probably a hole is made in the wall and the *zotiyo* thrust through it.

In *Notes Africaines*, No. 72 (October, 1956), is an article by J. Daget called *Vases de nuit soudanais*. He gives two illustrations of vessels closely resembling the musical pot of the Ibo¹ which, however, I never heard was ever used as a night commode; though the Ibo do degrade ordinary, wide-mouthed pottery vessels from a role of honour to one of dishonour, this is not done as a means of meeting nature's requirements at night but to obtain salt for animal traps.²

In the low-lying areas of the north of Bamenda Province, British Cameroons, I noticed that among the Mbembe for instance

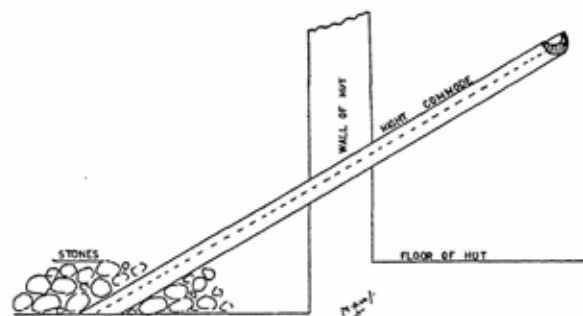


FIG. 1. A MBEMBE NIGHT COMMODORE

* This piece of research was assisted by a grant (for which the author is deeply grateful) from the National Council of Social Research, Pretoria.

special provision is made for micturating at night inside the hut without creating a stench. A length of the midrib of a palm leaf is placed at an angle of about 30° through a hole in the wall of the hut. The top of the palm midrib rises to about three feet above the floor of the hut. The other or external end of the midrib juts out into the yard where a collection of stones about the size of cricket balls helps to evaporate the urine (fig. 1). The width of this midrib is some three to four inches while the under or inner surface is somewhat concave thus providing a natural channel for the urine. Consequently a person of either sex by straddling this palm midrib may freely micturate without fear of contaminating the floor of the hut.

Notes

¹ M. D. W. Jeffreys, 'A Musical Pot from Southern Nigeria,' *Man*, 1940, 215.

² M. D. W. Jeffreys, 'Some Sources of Salt in Nigeria,' *Nigerian Field*, Vol. IX. No. 1 (March, 1940).

The MN Blood Groups of the Population of Azarbaijan, Iran. By Abdoollah Bidar, M.D. Tabriz Faculty of

Medicine, University Avenue, Tabriz, Iran

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During the period from April to September, 1956, MN grouping tests were carried out on blood samples from 1,043 persons from various parts of the Azarbaijan province of Iran. No results of MN tests on the population of Iran have previously been published.

The testing sera used were dried preparations from Behring Werke, Germany, and were prepared in rabbits. Seven ampoules each of anti-M and anti-N were used, each being reconstituted by the addition of 1.5 millilitres of distilled water. In a series of tests, such as these, carried out over a prolonged period, it was a great advantage to be able to use dried sera. The open-slide method was used for testing, and approximately 148 specimens were tested with the contents of each pair of ampoules. The sera behaved uniformly throughout the period of the tests; none of them had to be discarded because of failure to agglutinate. No examples were found of rare or abnormal types of blood such as N₂. The results of the tests were as follows:

MM	MN	NN
312	489	242
29.91 per cent.	46.88 per cent.	23.20 per cent.

The gene frequencies are therefore:

M	N
53.36 per cent.	46.64 per cent.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

L'Homme et la Charrue à Travers le Monde. By André G. Haudricourt and Mariel Jean-Brunhes Delamarre (preface by Pierre Deffontaines and André Leroi-Gourhan). Paris (Gallimard), 1955. Pp. 506, 178 text figures, 57 photographs on 16 plates, 6 maps. Price 1950 francs

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Ploughing implements are a study of essential importance for investigating the cultural and economic history of a large part of the Old World. Hence, up to date, there have been a number of

special papers dealing with this matter, and also an outstanding synthesis, setting very high standards of scientific research (P. Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, 1931). The subject has maintained its interest ever since, and widely extended investigations have created a need for systematic coordinative research and for new syntheses. The former need has been made clear by an international conference of experts (Copenhagen, 1954), a permanent international working committee, and a special section at the

V International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Philadelphia, 1956). One attempt at an exhaustive new synthesis is the present important and long awaited book.

Written by an agronomist, who is known also as the author of several remarkable contributions to the history and linguistics of cultivated plants and rural implements, and by a geographer, who was the secretary-general of the then excellently edited *Revue de Géographie humaine et d'Ethnologie*, it is a really attractive and well written piece of work. It is, indeed, the most readable book that has ever been published on the subject.

As it is quite impossible in a short review to give a full account of the rich contents (clearly sub-divided into four parts, 21 chapters, and many small paragraphs) of this many-sided, very stimulating, and often provocative composition one finds it exceedingly difficult to pass a fair judgement upon it, to show its many merits and to exemplify its drawbacks, which are also not few, unfortunately. The book does call for and deserves a detailed appreciation and reasoned discussion which are impossible in this limited space. Only a few points, at random, can be mentioned here.

It is to be welcomed that the essential distinction between two functionally and historically basic kinds of ploughing implements, the *ard* and the *plough* (*araire* and *charrue*), has been observed throughout the synthesis, since this is often not the case in specialist literature. Much more attention has, legitimately, been paid to the linguistic side of the investigation than is usual, and the authors are certainly right when they say (p. 50) that one cannot over-emphasize the importance of linking the study of objects with that of their names. Plenty of sound, varied and useful observations and conclusions are to be found throughout the whole book, together with much fresh detail, a lot of good illustrations, and some distribution maps.

It is evident, on the other hand, that in the handling of such a large mass of comparative material from the whole world some erroneous interpretations and conclusions, some misunderstandings, omissions, and gaps in knowledge, as well as a fair number of minor inaccuracies, inconsistencies, misspellings of foreign words, and misprints, are inevitable. In a work of such significance, however, we would have expected a much smaller amount of all this than is actually found. Some instances of this sort are quite disappointing: e.g. the total absence of some important items in the bibliography (among them the fundamental book on Nordic archaeological finds connected with ploughing by P. V. Glob, 1951; various papers, since 1946, containing new theories by H. Kothe; some new and some older publications by Behlen, Dittmer, Moszyński; and a number of papers giving essential contributions to the knowledge of ploughing implements in various parts of ancient and modern Europe and Asia), or a sometimes bewildering superficiality in bibliographical and other references; it seems incredible that a French paper by H. Chevalier, published in a French journal, could have been quoted in the bibliography, after the German book of Leser, as if published in 'Ebenenda, 1912, I,' which, of course, is not a title of a publication, but the German equivalent for 'ibidem'! But the main weakness seems to be methodological. It was stressed in the beginning (p. 22) that the authors aimed for the 'point de vue fonctionnaliste' throughout the book, but that their study should be 'at the same time historical and functional' (p. 25), and, in fact, most of the book and its conclusions appear to deal with historical problems. Here a fundamental and fatal methodological misunderstanding seems to have occurred, resulting in the rejection of all former 'formalistic' classification and ways of investigation (especially that by Leser), and in the substitution of a kind of renewed 'evolutionistic' thinking. To put it as briefly as possible, the 'functional' criteria, which may be altogether apt and useful to explain (to 'understand,' *comprendre*) historical facts, have also been used in many parts of this book to establish and reconstruct these historical facts and events themselves. In other words, two different stages of scientific methodological procedure have been sometimes (but not always) confounded, or the logically subsequent one, the causal explanation of historically established facts, has been impermissibly anticipated. It is not surprising, therefore, that even some of the main conceptions and results in the book (e.g. the assumed development of a more complicated implement into a simpler one, of two

original handles into a single one) appear unconvincing and highly subjective (e.g. the view that the mouldboard of the plough presupposed the use of the smoothing plane, or that for making mortises metal tools were needed, both of which can be confuted by modern ethnographical evidence).

In spite of all its shortcomings, the book widens our knowledge and it will remain a useful, and in many respects a valuable manual both for the non-specialist seeking information, and for the future specialist. It is a pity that the former is probably bound to acquire some incorrect ideas from it. And the specialist would be wise to go for accurate evidence to the original sources, and still to consult Leser's old book for a consistent method of historical reconstruction.

BRANIMIR BRATANIĆ

Indo-European Languages and Archaeology. By Hugh Hencken.

American Anthropological Ass., Memoir No. 84. Menasha, Wis. (Amer. Anthropol. Ass.), 1955. Pp. vi, 68

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The author states that his paper is an experiment in treating simultaneously the evidence of language and the evidence of archaeology to see if and how these may be brought to bear on common problems. The attempt is a bold one and, even if it leaves the reader with a feeling of the unevenness of the evidence and the shortcomings of both archaeologists and historical linguists, it is well worth the making. Not only does it suggest the necessity of further studies of this kind, but also it will stimulate more thorough-going examination of the ground than a paper of its size can give. The past decades have added much to our knowledge of this field. Not only has archaeology added to the score of known Indo-European languages but it has also yielded a mass of evidence from all parts of Europe and the Middle East for the culture sequence of the last two millennia B.C. The time is certainly ripe for the linguist to review his discipline in the light of this new material, and Dr. Hencken provides an admirable starting point.

The paper falls into four parts. An introduction sets out the necessary limitations of any attempt to relate language to the cultures of prehistoric peoples. The second part is a short statement of the earliest surviving records of Indo-European. These are those of the language called 'hieroglyphic Hittite,' datable to about 1500 B.C., whilst those of the Greek 'Linear B' are a near second. The third part, which includes the main body of the paper, is a survey of the problems of archaeology and language of the various regions. The most detailed discussion is given to Celtic and two alternative hypotheses emerge: the Celts can be traced back either to the Saxo-Thuringian culture, or to the Late Bronze Age Urnfield Culture. Various arguments favour the latter view. Next, the possible archaeological contexts of other Indo-European languages are reviewed, including Teutonic, Italic and Greek. In the latter the reading of the 'Linear B' has strikingly confirmed the association of the Minyan ware of Middle Helladic times (1900-1800 B.C.) with the first arrival of the Greeks. The author has also some interesting observations to make on the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and suggests that the appearance of the cuneiform Hittites may have been the force that drove the Greeks out of Asia Minor into Greece. The ancestors of both the Greeks and Hittites, he suggests, may have made their way from Europe into Asia Minor.

The evidence for Slavonic and Indo-Iranian is less satisfactory. Dr. Hencken admits that he will be unable to do justice to the former until the archaeology of the relevant areas has been reduced to accessible summaries. Certainly the absence of more detailed evidence from this area weakens the whole thesis. The case of Iran and India is even less happy. Here, he notes, the archaeology does not help us very much. 'The Vedic Aryans of India have no archaeology at all. On the whole they seem to have been peoples who moved into spheres of much more advanced civilization, so that their own material culture was quickly lost.' Thus it seems that Hencken, who follows Wheeler and Piggott in postulating an Aryan invasion of India about the fifteenth century B.C., is unable to take us beyond Herzfeld's masterly hypothesis of 20 years ago (*Archaeological History of Iran*, 1935, pp. 7-9). But perhaps here, as elsewhere, this reflects upon the shortcomings of archaeological research rather than of the author.

The conclusion summarizes the outcome of the survey and

suggests lines for future work. In this connexion the stressing of Trubetzkoy's theory of the origins of Indo-European and Palmer's theory of an earlier Indo-European settled agricultural society is valuable. The conclusion is that 'an argument can be produced for the Indo-European languages having originated among the agricultural people of southeastern Europe north of Greece and on the southern Russian plain. Perhaps both have something to do with it.'

The paper is marred by a number of printing errors and by the occasional use of cumbrous jargon. The 'Saxo-Thuringian Corded-Ware-Battle Ax people' is at best a mouthful. But such trifles cannot detract from the much deeper interest of the contents of this valuable paper.

F. R. ALLCHIN

Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde: Festschrift anlässlich des 25-jährigen Bestandes des Institutes für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien (1929-1954). Edited by J. Haeckel, A. Hohenwart-Gerlachstein and A. Slawik. Vienna (Berger), 1956. Pp. viii, 568, 11 plates, 2 maps. Price £3 2s.

In the autumn of 1945 the Institut für Völkerkunde (Ethnological Institute) of the University of Vienna celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The delay in publishing this *Festschrift* presented the editors with an opportunity to dedicate this special issue to a couple of celebrants having just completed their three-score and ten, in the course of which they *inter alia* built up the Vienna institution to an internationally renowned centre of learning and research, to wit, Professor Wilhelm Koppers and Professor Robert Heine-Geldern. Nor do the editors omit paying their commemorative respects to the late Father Wilhelm Schmidt, the great teacher to whom Vienna ethnology owes so much for its amazingly rapid upswing.

All contributors to the present *Festschrift* are ex-students of the Vienna institute. The comprehensive volume includes articles covering the most divergent fields of ethnology and allied disciplines. Under the heading Generalities and Method, Josef Haeckel provides a creditable survey (pp. 17-90) on the present-day research position of historical ethnology, generously equipped with notes. Next follow, with briefer contributions, Douglas Oliver, 'Some Notes on "Social Structure" and Allied Concepts'; Anna Hohenwart-Gerlachstein on high culture and ethnology; Walter Graf on ethnomusicology and source criticism; Hans Mannsdorff on applied ethnology in the service of the peoples of underdeveloped areas; P. Gregorius on the concept, terminology and function of barter among the primitives; Richard Mohr on valuations and criteria in the fields of sexuality; Robert Routil on genetic knowledge among primitive peoples; Erich Drobac on contributions to the method of ethno-medicine.

Regional ethnology is represented by a large number of longer or shorter contributions. Thus from Africa Vaast van Bulck deals with the founder of the Kwango-Lualaba state; Walter Hirschberg with the time-reckoning of Bushmen and Hottentots. Peter Schumacher writes on the Bashakamba, while Renato Boccassino supplies a paper on the blood-feud custom in Uganda.

From Asia Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf shows up with 'The Economy of the Sherpas of Khumbu (Eastern Nepal)'. Stephen Fuchs treats of high-god belief among the primitive tribes of north-east Nearer India; Umar Rolph Ehrenfels of 'A Malayalar Mock Fight'; Eberhard H. Kauffmann writes on the cists and graves of the Naga, and Norbert Mylius on Catholic missions in Tibet. New viewpoints relative to the history of the migrations of the Iranians are supplied by Karl Jettmar, while Josef Henninger writes on the hair offerings among the Semites. Rudolf Rahman contributes 'A Thunderstorm Blood-Offering of the Mamanua Negritos of Northeastern Mindanao,' and Alexander Slawik tells of Ainu earth fortresses. Matthias Eder of the space concept in Japanese ethnology, Eiichiro Ishida of 'The Mother-Son Complex in East Asiatic Religion and Folklore.' The weighty Asian section is concluded by Luigi Vannicelli's 'Il culto religioso presso i Miao' and Benedetto Fedele's 'Di alcune sopravvivenze arcaiche nei riti funebri cinesi.'

In the field of Oceanic ethnology we note Bernhard Stillfried's interesting article on the Gilbert Islands as key to Oceanic population history, in which he accounts in particular for funerary customs and concepts relative to the life hereafter. Stefan Wurm contributes 'Notes on Structural Affinities of non-Melanesian (Papuan) Languages,' while Alfons Riesenfeld writes 'On the Relationship between the "Mt. Hagen" and "Massim" Axes of New Guinea.'

America has been accorded only three contributions. Karl Anton Nowotny comments on the chronicle *Histoire du Méhique*, Günter Zimmermann on the letter diary of a Quiché parish clerk from the year 1794, and Käthe Hye-Kerdal tells of the sport contests and the moiety system of Brazil's Timbira Indians.

In conclusion, true to good old Viennese tradition, a thought or two has also been given to Europe. Adolf Mais tells of the maize spitters of Austria, Rossina Zdansky of the fire walkers of Thrace, Zdenko Vinski of the basket ear pendants of Croatia.

However, considering the huge mass of contributions from all parts of the world here enumerated, the question might be raised whether historical ethnology really hasn't anything to adduce from North Eurasia and North America?

An introductory review of the institute's history with accompanying list of dissertations in ethnology approved at the University (pp. 1-16) would at any rate justify such a query.

IVAR PAULSON

AFRICA

History and Archaeology in Africa. Edited by R. A. Hamilton. London (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), 1955. Pp. 99, 3 maps. Price 6s.

This is the report of a conference held in July, 1953, at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, with Professor C. H. Philips as chairman. The report is divided into two parts: Part I is a summary of proceedings under the two headings of Oral Tradition and Archaeology, although neither section is completely exclusive of the other. Part II summarizes the majority of the short communications made at the conference, and ties up with Appendix A, which lists all the papers together with bibliographies.

The conference grew out of the African History Seminar, held at the same place since 1950, with the ultimate aim of extending the history of Negro Africa backwards from the days of exploration and colonization through the collation of extant literature, records and interpreted oral tradition with field studies in ethnography, archaeology and linguistics.

Here are some of the preliminary and hypothetical results. These are interesting—the report repays several re-readings. I found the brief account of Father Mathew's work in East Africa particularly interesting: the Islamic settlements on the coast are potential key

sites, combining as they do datable Islamic or Oriental pottery with trade beads and native pottery which in turn may well enable us to date archaeological sites and other native pottery styles further inland. The value of correlation between archaeology and oral tradition is well described on pp. 32f., where the 1952 surveys and excavations of the Ntusi sites in Western Uganda, traditionally associated with the late mediæval Bachwezi Empire, are summarized. Fieldwork showed that the great earthworks, irrigation works and mines of this area belonged to a strong and centralized iron age culture. Ntusi seems to have been quite a considerable town, Bigo a royal village of the Zimbabwe type; and one of the tumuli traditionally considered to be the graves of Bachwezi royalty proved indeed to be a grave. The stamped pottery resembles that of Zimbabwe Class A. The summaries by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of recent archaeological work on the proto-history of East and South-East Africa shows how much needs to be done in the Rift Valley region, considering the greater knowledge of the archaeology of the Zimbabwe-Monomotapa cultures and the greater correlation of history and archaeology in South-East Africa, and now, Uganda.

All the contributors to this report deserve praise for the way their material is presented, and for the way in which the summaries in Part I surveyed the material on a wider basis.

In addition to stressing the need for collecting oral and traditional material before it is too late, and combining it with research in archaeology, anthropology and history, it has, I think, been implicitly emphasized that the study of Africa's past cannot and should not be on too narrowly regional a basis. No part of Negro Africa is isolated from the rest, nor is Negro Africa an island cut off from Northern Africa or the rest of the world.

This conference dealt primarily with those parts of Africa then under British rule or protection, although Professor Monod and M. Mauny extended the field to include French territories in West and Central Africa. There is no material from the Congo, an area fertile in oral traditions, or from Portuguese territories. The British and French material is of sufficient importance to make one wish that the area covered were somewhat wider.

As a whole, the report is well edited, but there are a few misprints, one being on p. 18, note 3, where the dates 1593-1646 should read 1593-1646. The maps are useful, but the lettering is rather small. In the bibliography in Appendix A, there seems to be no uniformity of style: references are variously given in English, French or German, e.g. 'Vol.', 'vol.', 'T.', 'Band'; and volume numbers are given in Arabic or Roman numerals. Abbreviations of periodical titles also vary; and it would have been useful to list the authors of the various summaries opposite their contributions in the Table of Contents.

The second conference on this subject is to be held shortly: this report makes one look forward to it and the ensuing report for more fresh ideas and information relating to African proto-history and tradition.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Razze e Popoli della Terra, Vol. III, Africa. By Renato Biasutti. Turin (Unione Tipografico, Editrice Torinese), 1955. Pp. 720

127 The third volume of the new edition of Biasutti's great work is devoted to the peoples of Africa. 'Bigger and better' is the impression it conveys. The text has been expanded and extensively rewritten, there are more maps, more photographs, more references, more pages. The point of view of the authors, however, remains as it was—and this is at once the strength and the weakness of the book.

The first edition, in bringing together a considerable amount of the accumulated descriptive data about ethnic groups, met an obvious need; for works giving a general, yet not too condensed, account of peoples and cultures on a regional basis, supported by sufficient references to assist further reading, are few. Especially is this true for Africa, so that Biasutti's new volume, rather better balanced than the African section of the first edition, will continue to serve a very useful function. It does not of course compete with the monographs of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, on account of its different orientation and different level of scholarship. The Italian volume has the advantage of copious illustrations which provide a wealth of detail about material culture and habitat, and its presentation is much more popular.

Yet the reader for whom the book is obviously intended, one with little previous knowledge of African peoples, would receive from it a curious impression of the achievements of modern anthropology. This volume runs to 720 pages amongst which the words 'racial characters' frequently occur; on not one page is there a mention of the mass of blood-group or other genetic evidence which has been collected, nor of the available studies of physiology, diet and health, despite the indication in the first volume that the authors were aware of their relevance. It is left to facial photographs of uncomfortable individuals (labelled 'types'), of busts of beauties buxom and otherwise, discussions of 'elements' and tables of polysyllabic anthropometric indices to convey something of the nature of African racial groups. Although references to some of the more important socio-anthropological writings do appear here, the socio-logical aspects of African study are very unevenly dealt with. In the chapter on the northern Nilotes, for instance, political organization is dismissed in ten lines, and the only reference to the very important lineage systems consists of a single sentence 'Il clan e generale in tutte le popolazioni nilotiche,' whereas religion and 'sexual ethics' each occupy several pages. At least a passing reference to the existence of European societies in Africa and their effects on

indigenous cultures might have been expected; while eyebrows will be raised at some points of detail, e.g. where an obvious Shilluk is dubbed 'Dinka warrior.'

D. F. ROBERTS

Die Tierverkleidungen der afrikanischen Naturvölker. By H. Straube. Studien zur Kulturkunde, Vol. XIII. Wiesbaden (Steiner), 1955. Price D.M. 19.80

128 H. Straube is a researcher oriented in cultural history who belongs to A. Jensen's school of 'cultural morphology.' I will not here state my attitude to this school. Jensen's theories (*Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Vols. IX, X) are both elegant and seductive, but require a careful assessment of the material, not least when living tradition is compared with myth or archaeological material. Straube sets to work with purposefulness and consistency, but sometimes judges the phenomena described with more profundity than realism. From the viewpoint of 'cultural morphology' both the initiation ceremonies of youth and the ceremonies connected with initiation into secret societies must illustrate cultically how the 'Demabeings' once killed, in primeval times, their god. It is these 'Demabeings' that, according to Straube 'appear consistently in the guise of animals,' mostly, for the rest, as felines, in the African cult pantomimes.

In three basic chapters an account is given of animal disguises in the initiation ceremonies, secret societies and the institution of monarchy. Among the secret societies attention is chiefly devoted to the leopard societies, as these, *inter alia*, are regarded as ancient on account of the 'close individual-totemistic relations obtaining between the individual society members and the society animal' (p. 18). In support of this assumption the author adduces a couple of sources which in this connexion are not entirely reliable, and B. Lindskog's thesis (*Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, Vol. VII) shows that such an interpretation is not possible. The available material has neither been gone through completely nor analysed sufficiently. Thus Straube does not distinguish between metempsychosis, metamorphosis and 'directed animals,' so that the possibility of a deepened view of the character of the leopard societies is restricted. He overlooks the fact that there is an essential difference between the West African leopard societies and the *anyoto* society, inasmuch as the former perform typical medicine cults. A difficult but rewarding task, which would, moreover, have helped to throw light upon questions arising in this connexion, would be an all-round investigation of African ritual technique.

Straube postulates a development from initiation *via* secret societies to the institution of monarchy. This implies that the king is both head of the State and head of the cult and, as far as I can see, both 'Demagod' and 'Demabeing,' and 'appears' as a rule in the shape of a feline. Against this background is explained the sacred kingship. If the material upon which the investigation is based had also included North Africa—comparisons between Africa and the Orient had thereby perhaps been made clearer—it might have been possible to elucidate the difference between oriental kingship ideology as one finds this in, amongst other places, the Sudan, and the African institution of chieftainship, as well as the connexion between them. For the sacred oriental kingship ideology is based upon the notion that the ruler is the maintainer of the world order, whereas this fundamental idea is not found, on the other hand, in the African institution of chieftainship.

Straube's demonstration of the way in which the feline character is made clear through the 'animal disguise' is interesting. But I do not think that the 'leopard nature' of the circumciser is indicated because his tool is kept in a bag of lion skin, or that the knife used for circumcision is regarded as a leopard's paw because it lies in a bag that has been made from the skin of a leopard's paw (pp. 7f.). Nor does the sign of dignity which the Tongo Players use in the exercise of their 'official functions'—'a knobbed staff set with sharp cutting instruments' (*tongoro*, cf. illustration in Lindskog)—become a leopard's paw because it is wrapped in a piece of leopard skin (p. 21). People of higher social class not infrequently wear their nails long on one or several fingers, and sharp-pointed metal caps are sometimes worn over the nails. Their function has been overlooked by Straube, who instead regards the nails and the protective caps as feline claws, and sees herein the explanation of the fear of long nails that is felt (pp. 30f.). Rather is this fear due to the idea of the poison nail, whose

African area of distribution closely coincides with that for the long nails. If a person is killed with the help of a poison nail, however, this is for Straube a demonstration of the 'feline character' of the assassin (p. 51). And whether the leopard character of the chief is shown by his sitting on or (invisible) behind a leopard skin is also open to discussion (pp. 28, 39). In the last-mentioned case, moreover, the hanging consists only in exceptional cases of a leopard skin. Straube is thus reading far too much out of an isolated phenomenon, but several examples of this tendency might be adduced.

Important sections are the chapters on general and royal ceremonial hunts, but space does not permit of a more detailed discussion of the content of these chapters or the further content of the book as a whole. A couple of marginal comments may nevertheless be made. It seems to me quite natural that the chief should use a riding ox in or near regions where this is in general use (cf. Lindblom, Statens Ethnografiska Museum, *Smarre Meddelanden*, No. 10); scarcely, on the other hand, that this should indicate the 'animal nature' of the rider (p. 108). The parallel with Monomatapa's riding elephants (p. 109) adduced in this connexion is misleading, inasmuch as the source is without foundation in reality. That hunting coats and hunting caps are not disguises with a practical function, but have some 'symbolical' significance (p. 184), is not correct. It is also with a rational motive that the hunter smears himself with animal excrement in order to disguise his own natural effluvia (p. 186). According to Straube, there is a religious motive in the practice of the hunt, for when the hunter kills the game he is repeating the slaying of the 'Demagod' (p. 189). That this should be the case seems to me out of the question.

Even if one cannot always share the viewpoints brought forward—thus the argument in support of the assumption that the Dema mythology originated in early hunting strata is not convincing—, Straube's work is very important and undoubtedly of fundamental value for an elucidation of the viewpoints of 'cultural morphology.' Many problems of central importance for the Africanist have been resolutely tackled from fresh points of departure, and one may with great interest look forward to the discussion which may be confidently expected to ensue.

STURE LAGERCRANTZ

Kikuyu Social and Political Institutions. By H. E. Lambert. O.U.P. (for *Internat. Afr. Inst.*), 1956. Pp. v, 149, map. 15s.

129 This book of nine chapters forms part of a much longer unpublished study of the social and political institutions of the four main tribal groups, Kikuyu, Meru, Embu and Chuka, which inhabit the Kikuyu Land Unit.

The dominant theme of the study is the complex age-set organization. First, this constitutes the framework within which the life of every individual, male or female, is regulated from infancy to old age; and secondly, it provides the framework of the political structure, of the territorial organization and of the judicial system.

The first two chapters provide a very brief introduction to the main theme. Their contents are a section on the tribes and their sub-divisions, a note on certain general principles of social structure that these peoples have in common, and a list of the native terms used to denote the social status of an individual, as determined by age, sex, parenthood, etc., with a short explanation of their significance.

The complex system of age sets and regiments is described in the third chapter. The salient features of this system are as follows: age sets, each with its specific name, consist of boys initiated at one time; the sets are grouped into larger units, which are here termed regiments, and each has a specific name; the period for the formation of a regiment is approximately 13 years; closed periods occur at regular intervals in some of the tribal groups. The similarities and differences which are found in the main groups are pointed out, and in this connexion the lists setting out the names of the sets and regiments and their date of formation are a useful guide to the complexities of the system.

The pre-initiation age sets, which are described in Chapter IV, are an interesting feature of the age organization. The subject of the generations is treated briefly in the fifth chapter, since the author hopes to present further material on it elsewhere. At any given time political authority is vested in the elders of one generation, and the

accession of a new generation to power takes place at regular intervals and is marked by the handing-over ceremony. This applies to all the tribes. The systems followed in naming the generations, and the grouping in Embu, Mbere, and Chuka of the whole population into two divisions whose generation periods overlap are discussed.

There are brief accounts of the rituals and social functions of the age organization in Chapters VI and VII respectively. The latter is concerned solely with the bearing of the age organization on the regulation of marriage and extra-marital relations.

Formerly, the age-set system provided the tribes with a war organization. Before he could exercise political rights, every initiated young man was expected to concern himself with military duties. The nature of such duties and the organization for the defence of the tribal territory and for aggressive raids on neighbouring tribes are described in Chapter VIII.

The final chapter on the political functions of the age organization is the most interesting in the book. Here are discussed the political, social, and judicial functions of the 'lodges,' which are more commonly termed councils, and which have secret rites of initiation and various grades. There are also interesting sections on leadership, the judicial system, and women's institutions in Meru. There is an index and a sketch map of the Kikuyu Land Unit showing the approximate distribution of the tribes. The author has produced a timely short study of an important subject.

J. M. FISHER

The Nature of African Customary Law. By T. O. Elias. Manchester (U.P.), 1956. Pp. xii, 318. Price £1 10s.

130 The *Nature of African Customary Law* is the third contribution to African legal studies from the pen of Dr. T. O. Elias, whose previous works on *Nigerian Land Law and Custom* and *Groundwork of Nigerian Law* stand as major contributions to the rapidly developing field of African jurisprudence. A Nigerian barrister, Dr. Elias combines with the English-trained scholar's knowledge of the common law an intimate first-hand knowledge of contemporary Nigerian law as administered throughout its history by the courts of the Colony and Protectorate. His two earlier treatises on Nigerian Law are, in my opinion, masterpieces of lucid scholarship in the more orthodox pattern of legal writing. In his *Groundwork of Nigerian Law* the author's aim was 'to present a systematic account of Nigerian Law in the form of a textbook,' a task for the fulfilment of which his skills were admirably suited.

In the present work Dr. Elias has undertaken an entirely different sort of task with somewhat less salubrious results. The *Nature of African Customary Law* was written to demolish a number of ill informed ideas relative to the absence of legal concepts and forms in African tribal societies that seem to have been, or to be, held by some English jurists and administrators, and to correct the errors of understanding that Dr. Elias ascribes to the more enlightened authors who recognize the existence of African legal institutions but are still ignorant of their true nature. On the one hand, the author attempts to achieve this goal through positive analysis of the broad foundations of the major concepts that provide the framework for the legal institutions of the non-Islamic societies lying in the Sudan and the areas immediately to the south. On the other, he emotionally excoriates those 'well-meant but often misguided notions that have been bandied about by people whose business it ought properly never to have been to lay down final theories about the nature of African law' (p. 126). For these and their ideas the author has an arsenal of adjectives of the nature of 'reprehensible,' 'obnoxious,' along with nouns of the tincture of 'puerilities.' So it is that although his scholarly self leads him overtly to disclaim a polemic spirit, the author's approach is in fact dominated by it. Polemics are not conducive to the constructive aspects of scholarship, and *The Nature of African Customary Law* suffers in consequence.

In its structure the book falls into three major sections. The first five chapters are introductory to the core of the work and are devoted in the main to a discussion of the nature of law and its influence on individual behaviour. The central section treats of African law, while a brief chapter at the end discusses the general effect of English law upon African.

In the author's treatment of the definitional problem of law

(Chap. IV) his technique is to present, with limited commentary, a few of the major ideas of leading jurisprudential lights of the recent past, seemingly selected more or less at random. The exposition of the theoretical systems of these thinkers is so spotty and casual that it is difficult to see just what contribution to the problem at hand may be derived from the presentation; for except by negative inference and the author's obvious preference for Roscoe Pound, he does not take advantage of the opportunity clearly to state what are the general jurisprudential propositions he intends to use for his own systematics. His alignment is with sociological jurisprudence, but his discussion ignores all the advances in the field that have been made since 1935. The same must unfortunately be said of Dr. Elias's treatment of anthropological jurisprudence, which is discussed (in the chapter devoted to the question) solely in terms of Hartland's, Malinowski's, and Radcliffe-Brown's contributions dating from 1924, 1926, and 1933 respectively. Malinowski receives the greatest attention, but with no awareness of the development of his later theoretical positions enunciated in 1942 and 1944 ('A New Instrument for the Study of Law—Especially Primitive,' *Lawyers Guild Review*, Vol. II (1942), pp. 1-12; also *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. L (1942), pp. 1237-1254; *Freedom and Civilization*, New York, 1944).

Positively, the author does take his stand on the sound proposition that 'order, regularity and a sense of social obligation are essential attributes of law, in Western no less than non-Western societies' and that for his purposes he will use the following definition: 'The law of a given community is the body of rules which are recognized as obligatory by its members' (p. 55).

As for African law the main theses put forward are the following: (i) individual responsibility for personal acts prevails; the notion that 'collective liability' characterizes African legal thinking is false; (ii) a distinction between what we call civil and criminal law also exists throughout Africa; (iii) a clear distinction is drawn between ownership and possession; (iv) legal fictions are used to adapt the law to changing circumstances; (v) as is also legislation; (vi) courts operating under a set body of procedural law are widespread, and although arbitration is relied upon at certain levels, it is by no means the sole method of resolving disputes; (vii) coercive sanctions are a general attribute of African law, but imprisonment is so rare as to be almost non-existent. Each of these themes is valid except for the absolute rejection of collective liability.

The exemplification of the principles of African law is by means of spot samples in the manner of the older comparative method of Frazer and Westermarck. Legal and social systems as such are not compared and subjected to analysis. It may also be noted that the sources relied upon by the author are singularly few. One can

sympathetically understand Dr. Elias's lament over 'the obvious lack of material with which to build' (p. 1). Yet one wonders, in the light of this, what justification there may be for the elimination from specific purview of the primitive law of the peoples of the Union of South Africa on the grounds that 'detailed studies already abound on the African customary law there' (p. 7). It is perhaps symptomatic of the deficiency of the author's efforts in this respect that his second most frequently cited source on details of African law is a general book on primitive society published in 1920 by the Americanist, Robert H. Lowie, who has never worked in Africa and who relied upon the African source materials available to him 35 years ago.

If, in this assessment of Dr. Elias's treatment of African law this review is over-pessimistic, it could well be because I approached the book with a sense of eager anticipation based upon the importance of its subject matter and the author's proven competence in the treatment of Nigerian law. Perhaps, expecting too much, the feeling of let-down may be greater than is warranted.

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

Some African Poison Plants and Medicines of Northern Rhodesia. By W. Gilges. *Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, New Series, No. 11. Livingstone (Rhodes-Livingstone Mus.), 1955. Pp. 33, 4 plates. Price 2s.*

At first glance, the title of this pamphlet would make it seem to be a *vade mecum* for some aspiring African Borgia. In fact, the chief emphasis does not seem to be on poison. After a general introduction to the subject, the author gives an account of the use (with some case histories) of the chief poison plants; of plants used as charms and medicines; and of plants providing edible fruit or leaves, bark useful for, e.g., netmaking, wood for woodworking, etc. Although confined to the area around Fort Jameson in the east, and the Balovale and Kabompo districts in the north-west, and although necessarily a brief account, it throws a great deal of light on a somewhat neglected aspect of African life. The poisons sound effective, but the medicines appear to rely a great deal on faith, if not pure superstition, for their effects. The number of plants used is rather impressive: there is a valuable appendix, 7½ pages long, listing some of the trees and plants with their botanical names, page reference in the text, place of collection, native names in Lovale, Lunda, Luchazi or the Eastern Province, and their uses. It might have been made a bit clearer that B and FJ in the place of collection column stand for Balovale and Fort Jameson, and there are four misprints in the botanical names of plants. The usefulness of the pamphlet is not seriously impaired thereby, though I would have liked to see something in the way of section headings.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

AMERICA

Tierradentro: Archäologie und Ethnographie einer kolumbianischen Landschaft. By Horst Nachtigall. *Mainzer Studien zur Kultur- und Völkerkunde, Vol. II. Zürich (Origo), 1955. Pp. 327, cxxiii, 213 figures*

As lecturer at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Horst Nachtigall was able to inspect the eastern part of Colombia's Cauca province, popularly styled 'Tierradentro,' or 'Land of the Interior.' Archaeologically this region first became known on account of its stone statues. Following publication in 1938 by Hernandez de Alba of the first scientific description of a quaintly decorated cave tomb, these antiquities have been paid increased attention. The opening of additional tombs was recently announced by Nachtigall in an advance notice (*Ethnos*, 1955).

The first part of *Tierradentro* is a summary of discoveries hitherto made of statues and cave tombs in Tierradentro. Regrettably enough, owing to removal of a large number of the monoliths here described to an open-air museum at San Andres and elsewhere, no particulars as to their provenance are vouchsafed. Photographs of the tombs taken immediately upon their opening show a quantity of earthenware covering the floors, yet no descriptions of these funerary requisites are furnished. Hence the reader is at a loss in making out whether these caves were used for a succession of burials and if by virtue thereof any nuances in such things as ceramic style are discernible. The lack of maps showing the location of

these discovery sites is to some extent made up for by data in the text. On the other hand, ample data are furnished concerning the outward appearance of statues and caves, including some already known from earlier examinations.

The caves are hollowed out of the rock and consist as a rule of a vertical shaft with a cut-out spiral stairway, with at the bottom a side chamber of varying shape. Occasionally the ceiling is supported by pillars or columns. Earlier, tombs of this type in South America were unknown. In Cauca valley, Colombia, they have their parallels in the shaft tombs of similar type but dug out of the ground. The *décor* applied on the chamber walls in red and black on a white foundation is remarkable indeed. The author stresses the unique form given to these geometric designs. However, in a way they recall the moulded patterns represented by the Indians on bark cloth in the areas of Amazonas once visited and studied by Koch-Grünberg. Following incineration the skeletal remains, having been painted red, were deposited in an urn in the grave chamber or in a depression in its floor. To this there are also parallels in the Amazonas region, the which is apparent from Curt Nimuendaju's excavations.

Evidently, apart from earthenware and statues, only some occasional gold or stone artifact has been encountered in the caves, but in this connexion only scanty data are furnished.

As to shapes the earthenware found shows parallels with other

finds in other parts of the highland, but, viewed as a unit, they form nonetheless an independent group of their own within Colombian prehistory.

The main part of this volume is devoted to the present population of Tierradentro, the Paez Indians, one of the largest tribes in Colombia today. It stands to reason that their culture nowadays, although still retaining quite a number of autochthonous elements, is strongly affected by contact with the white man. A detailed account of their material culture and social organization is complemented by folklore recordings, a vocabulary plus other data on the language.

The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge concerning Indian culture in the Colombian highland now and in former days.

STIG RYDÉN

Five Hundred over Sixty: A Community Survey of Aging.

I33 By Bernard Kutner, David Fanshel, Alice M. Togo and Thomas S. Langner. New York, 1956. (Russell Sage Foundation.) Pp. 345, 87 tables. Price \$4.

The element of physical infirmity is the warp of this study; its woof consists in an attempted appraisal of the extent to which old age in the community examined leads to a sense of inferiority and/or frustration. The methodology of the investigation is set out in four appendices. Details are given of the sampling technique; the questionnaire (94 items) is set out in full in the second appendix; the third and fourth appendices indicate how the status of the individual in the general community was rated and how his own rating of himself was estimated. There is a good index covering six pages and an extensive bibliography over 25 pages long. From this bibliography it is evident that the authors have read widely in their field, including such studies as have been made to date in the north-east corner of Ireland.

The area chosen for the survey was the Kips Bay and Yorkville District of New York City; this is part of Manhattan Island, close by Harlem. It has a very high proportion of foreign-born elements, but very few of African or Caribbean blood. Old age was considered to begin at 65.

The authors found that their old people were sorry for themselves because they had less to do and were less well thought of (in their own opinion) by their neighbours and acquaintances. Both from the physical and psychological standpoints the British and Irish elements were most free from worry and most independent in their outlook; the Italians, Hungarians and Slavs were most prone to be hypochondriac and to seek assistance from the community, an interesting observation in the field of political anthropology. On the other hand the latter threefold group preserved the family nexus more closely than did the former, the Italians particularly. The practical aims of the investigation were mostly directed towards providing means of making old men and women independent in what might be summed up as an 'almshouse' rather than a 'workhouse' way. The authors noted the general aversion of those questioned to the public services provided in their interest. It is, perhaps, noteworthy that they do not seem to have looked upon filial piety as a practicable solution of any type of case: they simply do not mention it.

By and large this earnest and statistical book is dull reading, nor is its dullness lessened by the frequent use of many syllables where one would do. But it is an attempt to be examined critically by

those who propose to do likewise and should certainly be included in the library of anyone who is inclined to work in the field of gerontology or of its nursing sister, geriatrics. M. A. MACCONAILL

The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents to Illustrate the English Voyages to North America under the

I34 Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584. Edited by David Beers Quinn. 2 Vols. (2nd Series, Nos. CIV, CV, issued for 1952). London (C.U.P. for the Hakluyt Society), 1955. Pp. xxxviii, 1004, maps, plates.

The voyages sponsored by Raleigh to the 'new found land of Virginia' represent the beginnings of all serious colonial enterprise by the English in America. The attempt to found a permanent settlement proved abortive, but the information on the resources and conditions of the region brought back by the voyagers, and assiduously published by Richard Hakluyt and others, was to serve as a spur and a guide to later, more successful effort. Professor Quinn, in a work of most exacting and exhaustive scholarship, has collected, collated and annotated both the primary records of the expeditions and a mass of contemporary material, English, Spanish, and French, bearing on the participants, the issues at stake, and the background in general.

For anthropologists the important feature of the Roanoke journals is the light they throw on the culture and environment of the southern coastal Algonkians prior to disturbance by European colonization. The narratives of Arthur Barlowe, Ralph Lane and others afford a good deal of incidental information, but it is to the fruitful partnership of Thomas Hariot as observer and John White as illustrator that we are most deeply indebted; it is tantalizing to learn that these two did in fact collect much more material than is known to have survived. Their reports have, of course, already been used by American students of the area and to that extent the present republication is not an event of outstanding anthropological importance, but it is none the less very satisfactory to have the texts made more readily available, enriched as they are by copious and critical footnotes. In these Professor Quinn makes frequent reference to the work of Flannery, Swanton, and other ethnologists, besides drawing on his own observations and enlisting the help of modern zoologists and botanists in matters of identification. Of value too is the discussion of certain problems of authorship and of the vicissitudes of John White's paintings (and de Bry's engravings therefrom) which are here listed but not reproduced, pending the long-deferred appearance of a definitive edition. In an appendix, Professor J. A. Geary of the Catholic University of America analyses the Indian words recorded in the journals and discusses the relationship of the language, Powhatan, to others of the Algonkian group. A second appendix summarizes the archaeological work which has so far been done in the vicinity of the settlements, including the excavation by J. C. Harrington of the Roanoke fort ditch of 1585, under the auspices of the National Parks Service.

These two volumes are addressed primarily to students of the first Elizabethan age and the genesis of English expansion overseas. Indian matters are treated fully but merely as they arise in the chronological sequence of the documents. Non-historians may nevertheless be tempted to read the work as a whole for the excitement of seeing a new world through the eyes of the discoverers—an experience no longer possible at first hand, at least within the confines of this planet. GEOFFREY TURNER

ASIA

Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture. By G. S. Ghurye. University of Bombay Sociology Series No. 4. O.U.P., 1955. Pp. 254. Price £1 1s.

I35 Professor Ghurye, pupil of Rivers and doyen of anthropology in India, has made a valuable addition to an already impressive list of scholarly works. *Family and Kin* provides a general survey of kin nomenclature and behaviour as revealed by Sanskrit, Greek and Latin literature and makes *excursus* into Slavic, Celtic and Teutonic languages.

With such diverse material it is not surprising if at times the argument appears disjointed; the information on one aspect of kin be-

haviour in Sanskrit, for instance, may not be equalled by information elsewhere and the author must have recourse to surmise and suggestion. However, where he is at home in Sanskrit literature and is able to refer to contemporary behaviour in Maharashtra and Gujarat and to contemporary literature in Bengal his discussion is informative and revealing.

The average fieldworker is likely to obtain only a very superficial understanding of what he sees in the rural life of India unless he is supported by an understanding of the whole complex of meaning associated in Hindu civilization with many of the objects and rites which he observes. A roughly carved stone set up on the outskirts of

a Gujerat village may, today, be associated with the complex of mother-goddings in the village and the fieldworker will not learn from his informants that such stones have a long historical association with the royal and warlike. But having learnt this from the student of Sanskrit he may, starting with the question of why the grandfathers of the present generation thought it worthwhile to erect such stones, make profitable observations upon the process of caste today.

Short of studying the original texts, such accounts as are provided by Professor Ghurye, particularly in his chapters on Indo-Aryan culture, are in many ways more useful than the accepted translations of such works by scholars whose main interest is philological. Ghurye's sociological interest gives him an eye for significance and relevance and since the number of Sanskrit scholars who have that qualification is few, one hopes that he will continue to further this integration of past with present in our understanding of Indian society.

D. F. POCOCK

The Santal: A Study in Culture Change. By Nabendu Datta-Majumder, with a foreword by Melville J. Herskovits. Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Memoir No. 2, 1955. Delhi, 1956. Pp. 129, 19 plates, bibliography, maps. Price Rs. 6 or 9s.

The author defines his aim as follows: 'The present study is an attempt to investigate the forms and processes of cultural change among the Santal, a Munda-speaking aboriginal people inhabiting the forest-covered upland regions of the provinces of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal in India, as a result of their continuous contact with alien cultures represented by the Hindus, British Government and Christian missionaries. Only a section of the Santal, who form the second largest aboriginal group in the country, has been selected for investigation.'

The fact that the manuscript was completed in 1947 explains why there is no more than a cursory reference to recent changes. Pre-British Santal culture is adopted as a 'cultural base-line.' As the writer points out, this was the result of integration between Santal and Hindu cultures. In discussing the *ojha*, the Santal medicine man, he tries to disentangle the processes of interaction between the two. He speaks as if the institution of *ojha* training described previously by Bodding is alive today. Evidence on this point, based on fieldwork, would have been welcome. He notes the fact that the Santals have 'rejected' the doctrine of *karma* but does not discuss it.

When considering the impact of the British Government, it seems strange that no reference is made to McAlpin's *Report to the Bengal Government* (1909), especially as the report deals with Birbhum, one of the author's chosen areas. And I confess to being surprised by the statement that Christians use the term *Cando* for God. As a result of early agreement between the missions the Sanskrit terms (in their Santali forms) *Isor* and *Probhu* were adopted.

The book is to be commended for its scientific approach. The writer has no axe to grind.

W. J. CULSHAW

Sinhalese Social Organization: The Kandyan Period. By Ralph Pieris. Colombo (Ceylon U.P.), 1956. Pp. xii, 311. Price Rs. 10

Dr. Pieris must be bewitched by footnotes. He appears to find it difficult even to insert a subordinate clause without directing the reader to the bottom of the page where always learned, but frequently pedantic and unnecessary notes await him. As a result the book reads dryly as if addressed to a panel of hostile demons all waiting for openings to throw the work into the flames. In fact, this is a useful account, with much material from primary sources, of the laws and customs of the Kandyan kingdom.

The claim to originality of the work lies in the use of hitherto unpublished historical materials. When the Kandyan districts capitulated to the British in 1815, a Board of Commissioners was set up to investigate local usages and make recommendations to all agents and other government organs charged with the administration of the new territories. There is much of interest in their records which describe actual disputes and state the reasons for their recommendations.

Dr. Pieris has consulted this material, but his readers will be

disappointed with the use he makes of it. It spreads thinly on the outlines—excellent so far as they go—of the constitution, laws and customs of the kingdom provided by the already well-known and available authorities, like D'Oyly, Davy, Sawers, Hayley and the *Niti Nighantava*. Their picture is confirmed, but not enlarged: we gain no insights into the workings of this interesting state. It is to be hoped that in the second volume promised, the author will have the occasion to edit much of this unpublished material and utilize it much more directly than he has done for this work.

In the chapters concerned with the constitution of the kingdom, a subject on which one would have expected the author to have much to say, the analysis leaves much to be desired. The kingdom has always been described as being centrally organized: as D'Oyly says, 'The power of the King is supreme and absolute.' Yet, as the author observes, even a province like the Four Korales appears to have been fairly autonomous; 'and if the loyalty of this neighbouring province could not be taken for granted, the sovereign's control over the remoter districts must have been weak indeed' (p. 233). And if that is so, how is it to be reconciled with the suggestion that there was a tradition of strong central government, and the claim that 'the kingdom was in fact "united under one canopy"' (p. 126) or with the other remarks on government—in particular, the powers of the King's ministers (p. 19) and provincial governors (p. 23)? What are we to make of the chapters on 'Revenue and Service'—how were these elaborate taxes collected?—or of the very limited discussion of conscription, or of the chapters on 'The Legal System'? On all these questions, we are no wiser than before.

Even though the material does have its limitations, it has been, nevertheless, unwise of Dr. Pieris to submit to the temptation to illustrate his points with quotations from almost any relevant authority without regard to his period or reliability: thus, Knox, the prisoner in Kandy, writing in 1680, and Ribeiro and Queyroz (1685, 1687), and D'Oyly (1820) and Levers (1899), Kapuruhami (c. 1910), and Hayley (1923), all have their say, pell-mell, together, as if they were referring to the eternal verities which never change. In fact, from all accounts, much must have changed during the period when the Dutch were on the island.

It is unfortunate that the author has chosen to include some chapters on kinship and marriage in which he is quite out of his depth: there is an analysis of the 'Sinhalese Kinship System' (pp. 212ff.) which certainly gives the impression of having been put together from present-day contemporary evidence, complete with 'male mothers' (p. 219), and 'father right' (p. 222), the analysis of which appears, at least to the reviewer, to be quite fanciful.

When we turn to Part Seven, we find that all the material is collected from late nineteenth-century sources, mainly Levers (1899), as well as a manuscript, *Sinhala Sirit Sangharaya*, 'submitted by candidates in a competition,' dated 1932. By this stage, it becomes difficult to accept the original portentous claim in the Prolegomena that 'The unit of investigation is the social life of a specific region during a given period of time,' or that 'This study, then, presents a "model" of the complex social relations which constituted social structure as elements of a functioning social system' (pp. 5, 6). When sociologists turn to history or anthropology, they ought to learn the rules of the game.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done, the fact remains that this volume is welcome: particularly those interested in South India and Ceylon will find that the author has brought together a great deal of material, from diverse and often unattainable sources, all of which is intrinsically exceedingly interesting. Though he may complain that the periods are confused, and that the analysis is weak, yet the reviewer does intend to have the book on his shelves. The bibliography is excellent.

NUR YALMAN

Traditional Sinhalese Culture: A Symposium. Edited by Ralph Pieris. Ceylon University Conference on Traditional Cultures. Peradeniya, 1956. Pp. 113. Price Rs. 4-50

'One of the effects of colonialism in Ceylon was the creation of a new upper class who adopted the English language as its home language, took English names, and followed English manners to as nice a degree of perfection as they were capable of, and in every possible way tried not to identify themselves with the

people of the country.' So says Dr. E. R. Sarachandra, and it is this theme which periodically rises to the surface in this small collection of papers, originally delivered at a symposium initiated by U.N.E.S.C.O., and held at the University of Ceylon. Certainly the phenomenon to which Dr. Sarachandra refers is remarkable, but less remarkable is that it is again a small section of those English-speaking classes, often educated in Britain, who turn now to embrace 'Traditional Culture' and the folk arts, with what tragically may seem to be a one-sided enthusiasm. At least, the writers do underline the fact that the basic difficulty is the promotion of public interest in the traditional art forms of the Kandyan provinces. Dr. Pieris (p. 9), Mr. Molamure (p. 29), Dr. Gunasinghe (p. 51), Mr. Fernando (p. 57), Mr. Tilakasinghe (p. 61), Dr. Jayasuriya (p. 67), all, in one form or another, complain of the apathy of the Sinhalese public towards the traditional arts and crafts. They suggest, too, remedies which may or may not be effective, but one continues to wonder, in fact, whether the problem is not artificial, whether, willy-nilly, present-day Ceylon is not quite lacking in the atmosphere which gave rise to the traditional arts.

It is not merely that, as Dr. Sarachandra says, it is 'the English educated who still hold positions of authority and influence,' and that the more the traditionalists discard European forms, the more they create in the rest of the English-speaking classes 'a psychology of self-defense [when] . . . their attitude to national culture [changes] . . . from being a negative and cynical one, to an attitude of active antagonism' (p. 103). This is only part of it all: it is the villager, too, who has no interest in cultivating arts which bring little material benefit, and frequently involve a loss of status.

Professor Green and Dr. Gunasinghe contribute the most realistic papers and there is also an account of Rural Development Societies by Dr. Sower, a Fulbright scholar, who suggests that in order to increase the effectiveness of these bodies, District Revenue Officers and Rural Development Officers should be given University education, since they do not have adequate training in social organization and in social psychology, but, if this strikes some as being impractical, ' . . . it appears a similar conclusion can be made for most professional positions in the work of the Ceylon government' (p. 89). The C.C.S. will thank him much for that.

The introduction by Dr. Pieris is succinct and highly polished. There is a good bibliography. NUR YALMAN

Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia. By Melford E. Spiro. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. xii, 266. Price £1 16s.

Dr. Spiro resided for eleven months at a collective settlement in Israel, called fictitiously Kiryat Yedidim. A statement of the social, economic and national ideals for which the *kibbutz* stands precedes a description of the natural environment and subsistence economy, for Kiryat Yedidim is not an ordinary village. Dr. Spiro describes the European background of the founders and the social development and political form of the *kibbutz*. The process of 'routinization' of the original vision is described and the author concludes that although the *kibbutz* member accepts communal ownership and the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need,' he is frequently heard to complain

about the noise in the communal dining hall or the constant exposure to the public eye.

The author prefers to treat his material instead of letting it speak for itself. Considering the volume of doctrinaire literature available on the *kibbutz*, a simple but adequate account of what is said, is believed and happens on a *kibbutz* would be refreshing. Whilst it is legitimate to find an interpretation of the 'crisis in the *kibbutz*' by relating it, for instance, to the aging process found amongst its members, one doubts the place in an anthropological monograph of good advice as to how that crisis can be surmounted.

The moral foundations of the *kibbutz* could be documented more sufficiently. Much comment on the discrepancies between the values of the *kibbutz* could be avoided, and more accuracy achieved, were (a) the 'ideology,' as declared in the *kibbutz*'s written sources and official speeches, (b) members' actual beliefs and (c) their indirect, informal views were to be presented factually at these three levels. It is perhaps significant of the tone of value-judgement in which the book is written that a controversy appeared in the Israeli press as to whether its author considered the *kibbutz* a failure or not!

The author states in his introduction that 'Kiryat Yedidim represents a minority of the *kibbutzim* with respect to certain important cultural variables' but the title and the presentation of the material belie this qualification. The *kibbutz* movement is a highly differentiated body. Some criteria of this differentiation are: length of establishment, nature of physical obstacles which faced development, members' country of origin and educational standard. Unlike Kiryat Yedidim, most *kibbutzim* are anti-Marxist and do not insist on political conformity. In most *kibbutzim* the nuclear family is in evidence and shows today a high degree of cohesion. There is also not a negligible number of religious *kibbutzim* where the precepts of Judaism form the basis of everyday life. One suspects that Kiryat Yedidim was chosen as revealing the nearest approach in Israel today to the ideal construct of a *kibbutz*; but, first, the ideal construct itself is not unitary for other *kibbutz* federations dreamed different utopian dreams; and, secondly, information about Kiryat Yedidim ought at least to be checked against and compared with the wider background of the particular federation of *kibbutzim* of which it is a member.

Dr. Spiro talks of the 'social structure' of the *kibbutz*, but it is doubtful whether a society of 35 years' standing, whose founders spent the formative years of their life in a different social environment, can be said as yet to possess a durable consistency between its parts. The same can be objected against his conclusions that the family, as characterized by G. P. Murdock, does not exist in the *kibbutz*.

One lesser detail: the several comparisons which Dr. Spiro draws between the culture of the *shetel*, or East European Jewish village society, and the *kibbutz* are interesting as curiosities but not significant and at times misleading. While it is true, for example, that the schoolteacher occupies an inferior status both in the *shetel* and the *kibbutz* the functional explanation in each case is quite different. These references also create the impression that the East European Jewish background is necessarily synonymous with the *shetel*, whereas it is known that the majority of the former Jewish population of Eastern Europe dwelt in the large cities. DAVID MILLER

CORRESPONDENCE

Joking Relationships in Central Africa

I40 SIR,—Mr. R. E. Moreau ('The Joking Relationship (utani) in Tanganyika,' *Tanganyika N. & R.*, Vol. XII (1941), pp. 1-10; 'Joking Relationships in Tanganyika,' *Africa*, Vol. XIV (1943), pp. 386-400) and Professor J. C. Mitchell in his recent paper on *The Kalela Dance* (*Rhodes-Livingstone Pap.*, No. 27 (1956), pp. 35-42) have suggested that 'joking relationships' between certain 'tribes' in Central Africa are relatively new. I share their view and wish to draw attention to the fact that for at least one people—the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika—the modern joking relationship between peoples is the conscious extension of a traditional relationship between cross-cousins.

Among the Nyakyusa, cross-cousins (*abatani*) were traditionally

permitted and expected to joke with one another and might take one another's property without offence. Cross-cousin marriage was forbidden but in certain circumstances a man had a claim over his mother's brother's daughter, whom he might give in marriage to a half-brother of his own, to whom she was not taboo. All this I learnt in 1935 and an informant confirmed it in 1955 saying: 'Abatani, that is the children of a brother and sister, swear at one another without causing a court case, without being fined, because they are relatives. One *untani* may borrow the other's cloth, and if they are on good terms they may milk one another's cows.' This relationship of *ubutani* exists between individuals but it is overshadowed by the relationship of *ubipwa* (mother's brother/sister's child) which sets the pattern of behaviour between the lineage of a

man and that of his mother's people. *Ubutani* is never extended to chiefdoms or villages linked by marriage.

Everyone was agreed about these points but when they were asked (in 1955) about joking relationships between peoples (or 'tribes') their answers differed significantly. The conservatives, notably the elderly chief Mwakatumbula, scouted the idea of *ubutani* with members of other cultural groups. 'The Hehe,' he said, 'were enemies, they fought us along with Merere's Sangu. The Ngoni were enemies' (Moreau (1943), p. 387) cites the Ngoni, Sangu, Hehe and Gogo as tribes who are *utani* partners of the Nyakyusa. But younger men who had spent years working in other parts of Tanganyika had different views: 'The Hehe and Ngoni are *abatani* of the Nyakyusa. If they are working together they cannot pilfer from one another, they say: "See, we are *abatani*." No case can be brought to court if a Hehe takes your shirt and spits on a corner of it (cf. Moreau (1943), p. 395). Even in the Boma there can be no case because we are *abatani*. . . In a fight [in town] a Hehe will come to the rescue of a Nyakyusa, saying: "*Untani gwisu, ukamu*." ["Our cross-cousin, a relative."]. When asked why the old men seemed to know nothing of *ubutani* between peoples, a middle-aged cook who had travelled with his employers replied: 'Perhaps men learn about it when they go out to work.' In point of fact individual Nyakyusa seem scarcely to have met either Ngoni or Hehe save once or twice in battle, until they started going out to work.

An elderly school teacher, a well educated man who had spent many years outside BuNyakyusa, took the argument a step further. He explained that the children of a brother and sister (*abatani*) might joke and take each other's property without offence, and that the Nyakyusa spoke of certain peoples such as the Ngoni and Hehe as if they were *abatani*, 'but they are not really *abatani*, it is a metaphor, it means they were rivals, people who fought frequently.' He was speaking English and 'rivals' was his word, not mine. A parallel is thus explicitly drawn by the Nyakyusa between the relationship of cross-cousins and the relationship of rival cultural groups. The same word (*ubutani*) is applied to both relationships but a distinction is made between them: the first is 'real', the second 'metaphorical.' It will be noted that the application of *ubutani* in KiNyakyusa appears to be narrower than that of *utani* in KiSwahili which Moreau ((1941), pp. 1-10) and Scrivenor (*Tanganyika N. & R.*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 72ff.) record as the term for a joking relationship, but which also means 'kinship, clanship, membership of a tribe or race . . . familiar friendship' (F. Johnson, *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, 1939).

A tradition of rivalry and sporadic fighting is recognized to be an element in the *ubutani* relationship between peoples. A travelled man, speaking in 1935 of the battles in which (according to him) the Nyakyusa had defeated the Ngoni, wound up his account with: 'They were really our *abatani*,' and someone else commenting on the joking relationship between Ngoni and Bemba remarked that it existed 'because they were always fighting' (cf. Moreau (1943), p. 388). But if the conflict was very bitter and the memory of it is keen, the foreign group is classed as enemies rather than *abatani*. This came out in discussions about Nyakyusa relations with Merere's Sangu, who had begun raiding the Nyakyusa for slaves a little time before the arrival of the first missionaries. Some held that the Sangu were 'now *abatani*' to the Nyakyusa, others that they were enemies because they had taken slaves. A difference of opinion in the matter between a husband and wife, both exceptionally good informants, was instructive. The husband argued that the Sangu might now be classed as *abatani*, but his wife, whose own father had been seized by them as a slave, insisted that they were enemies. Furthermore, only people who are respected by the Nyakyusa are classed as *abatani*. The Ngoni and Hehe they admire as the greatest warriors of the north Nyasa region. Their unwarlike neighbours, the Kinga, the Safwa and the Ndali, whom they somewhat despise, are neither enemies nor *abatani*.

It is therefore clear that:

(i) The joking relationship between the Nyakyusa and certain other peoples is a relatively new phenomenon.

(ii) It occurs only with members of groups whom they fought and respected as warriors. Its charter is a myth of rivalry—of a sparring partnership—between equals, as opposed to a war for

survival with a deadly enemy, or the raiding of a weak and despised one.

(iii) In quality the *ubutani* between peoples resembles the traditional relationship between cross-cousins because the quarrels are 'family quarrels' which should not lead to any action in court, and the rival with whom you spar will come to your rescue in a real fight against strangers.

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MONICA WILSON

Numbers in Northern Rhodesia

I41 SIR,—Your readers may be interested in a set of numbers which I have recently found among the Valley Tonga, and in turn may be able to provide some information as to its possible derivation from other areas.

The Valley Tonga, or Bawe, live in the Gwembe valley, along the Zambezi River. Their dialect is similar to that spoken by the Plateau Tonga, the Ila, the Sala, the Lenje, and various other small groups in the Southern and Central Provinces of Northern Rhodesia. Like these people, they have a set of numbers which is common to many Bantu-speakers. The numbers run, *-omwe*, *-obilo*, *-otatu*, *-one*, *-osanwe*. Six is five and one, and so on until one reaches ten, which is *ikumi*. These are the numbers used for all counting whether for secular or ritual purposes.

The Valley Tonga insist, however, that at one time they had other numbers which today exist only in a rhyme sung by children, but known to old and young alike. The numbers are never used in any other context, and to remember the numbers informants must sing the rhyme through. They cannot offhand say that, e.g., *-osanwe* is equivalent to such and such a number in the other set. In singing the rhyme, they touch each finger successively until they come to ten when the hands are clapped together.

The rhyme runs as follows:

<i>kalikatosi</i>	<i>dandala</i>	<i>dandakala</i>	<i>musanga</i>	<i>chikilivu</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>chilomo</i>	<i>chavanga</i>	<i>chalila</i>	<i>pichuli</i>	<i>gulumina</i>
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

Even with the assistance of the rhyme, people are uncertain of the order of two of the numbers. *Chilomo* and *chalila* are sometimes inverted.

Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia

E. COLSON

Rock Gongs and Rock Slides. Cf. MAN, 1956, 23, 73; 1957,

I42 32-34, 96
SIR,—Like Mr. Greenaway and other 'normal healthy small boys' I too have received chastisement in the proper quarter for illicit sliding, though, so far as I know, never for taking part in a vestigial pagan rite.

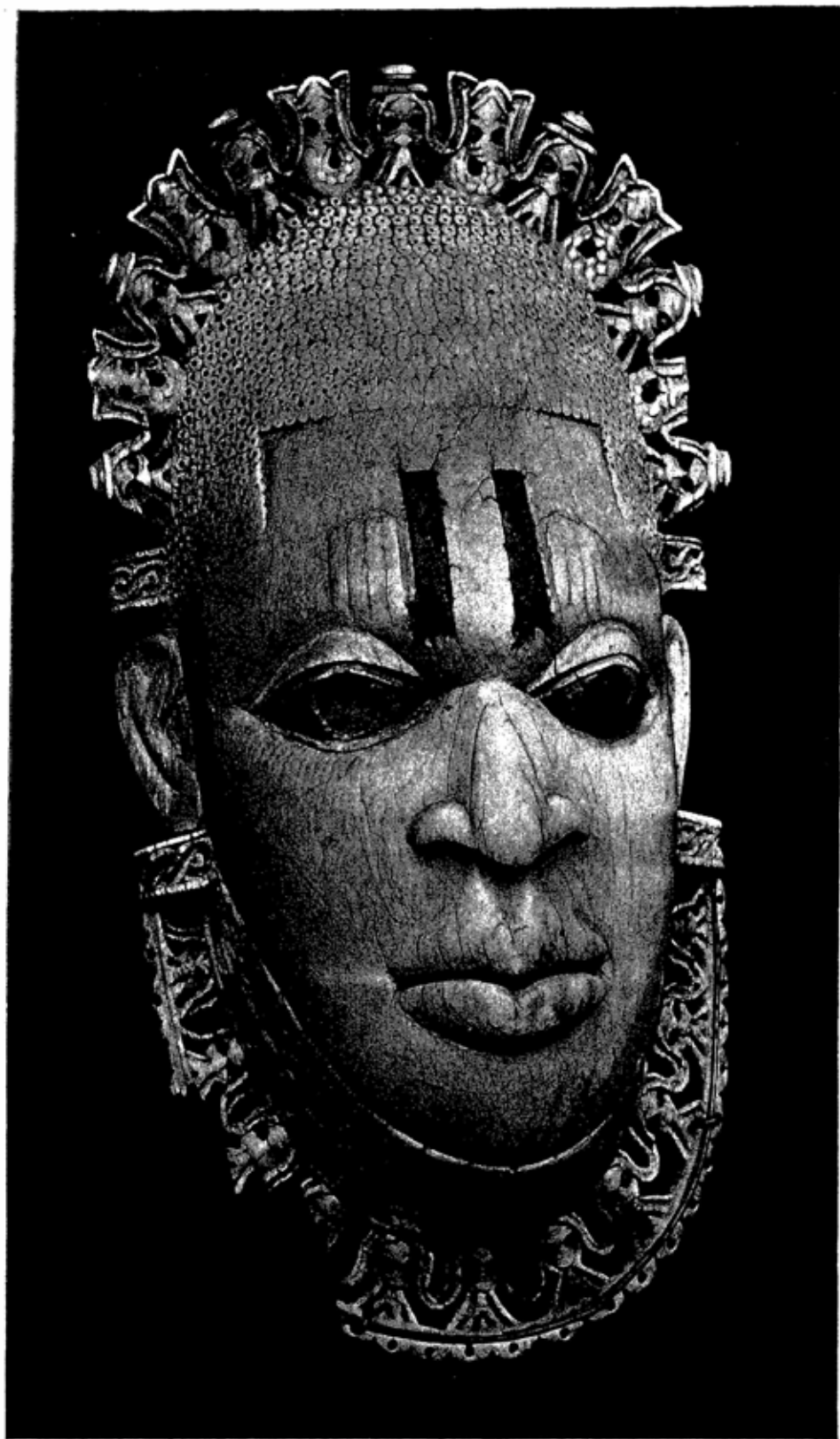
My authority for saying that the custom at Pembrey is 'thought to date back to a pre-Christian rite' is, as implied in my letter, the statement of Professor Mary Williams, whose late husband collected, though he never published, the evidence. Her statement to me that the sliding was confined to Good Friday (though this was not mentioned in my already over-lengthy letter) was corroborated by a local inhabitant from whose house the slide is clearly visible.

When more is known of the prehistoric cultures of Nigeria, particularly the succession of pottery styles, I propose to excavate some of the considerable mounds containing broken rock sledges (with old enamel basins—the 'tea trays' of Nigeria—in the upper layers) in the hope of establishing the antiquity of these customs.

Mr. Greenaway is perhaps not fully convinced that any of the slides are associated with ancient rites. I frequently receive reports of such customs in Africa, the latest being from Mr. J. W. Court of the Education Department, Zaria, Northern Nigeria. Inside Zaria City there is a rocky hill traditionally associated with marriage customs known as '*Ci Amare*' (Hausa for 'Win the brides'). There are some very fine rock gongs and adjacent to them are rock slides used by the young children. The brides customarily slide on the rock slide the day before marriage but never again. An identical custom persists at Tukur-tukur, a village near Zaria.

Jos Museum, Northern Nigeria

BERNARD FAGG



THE SELIGMAN IVORY MASK FROM BENIN

The openwork border at the top is composed of seven stylized Portuguese heads and six mudfish with coiled tails; round the chin are eleven Portuguese heads. The eye borders and the scarification marks above the eyes are inlaid with iron, the Portuguese heads with copper. Height 9½ inches. Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

THE SELIGMAN IVORY MASK FROM BENIN*

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE CHRISTMAS CARD FOR 1957

by

WILLIAM FAGG, M.A.

Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum

I43 While no special occasion is needed for the first publication in *MAN* of a photograph of Mrs. B. Z. Seligman's famous ivory mask from Benin—for it has received far less notice in the literature than its counterpart in the British Museum—the immediate reason why it graces this particular issue lies in its selection as the subject of this year's Royal Anthropological Institute Christmas card—a selection perhaps made more than usually appropriate by its possible association with the first Christian king of Benin—; information about the card will be found on the cover.

There can be very little doubt that the Seligman mask is the finest and most valuable Benin—or indeed West African—antiquity still in private hands in the world. Even in museum collections it is, perhaps, excelled in importance only by the bronze heads at Ife (and one at the British Museum), and equalled only by the closely similar ivory mask at the British Museum, itself acquired from Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., in 1909.

Certainly these two masks are greatly superior to the four other recorded ivory masks in human form, most of which, moreover, appear to be in later style. Both were collected by Sir Ralph Moor, K.C.M.G., Consul-General of the Niger Coast Protectorate, who was civil head of the 1897 expedition. His collection does not seem to have been so large as those of Admirals Rawson and Egerton and Dr. Allman, all of them large and finely chosen, but its artistic merit was even higher; besides the two masks, it contains the two finest of all the known ivory armlets—now in the British Museum—and the ivory box on which two Portuguese are seen throttling each other beside a tethered pangolin, and which is at the University Museum at Philadelphia. Professor Seligman bought the masks and the armlets from a member of Sir Ralph Moor's family in 1909 through the offices of Captain Sparks, passing on all but the one mask to the British Museum (see Sir Hercules Read's description in *MAN*, 1910, 29).

It is probable that all the ivory masks were found in the same 'oaken' chest in the Oba's bedroom in which, according to General Pitt-Rivers (*Antique Works of Art from Benin*, 1900, p. 12), the smaller, less sensitively carved and probably later specimen in his great collection at Farnham was discovered; this chest may well be one of *iroko*, known to have been carved for Oba Ovonramwe in 1891, which has recently been acquired by the British Museum.

Von Luschan (*Altertümer von Benin*, 1919, Vol. I, pp. 379f.) justly points out that the two Moor masks appear to be a translation into ivory of masks conceived in a metal-casting technique, and he draws attention to their close similarity to two bronze masks formerly in the Egerton

collection (*op. cit.*, p. 375). These, however, seem to be of later date than the ivory ones, which can reasonably be attributed to the early sixteenth century, like the ceremonial

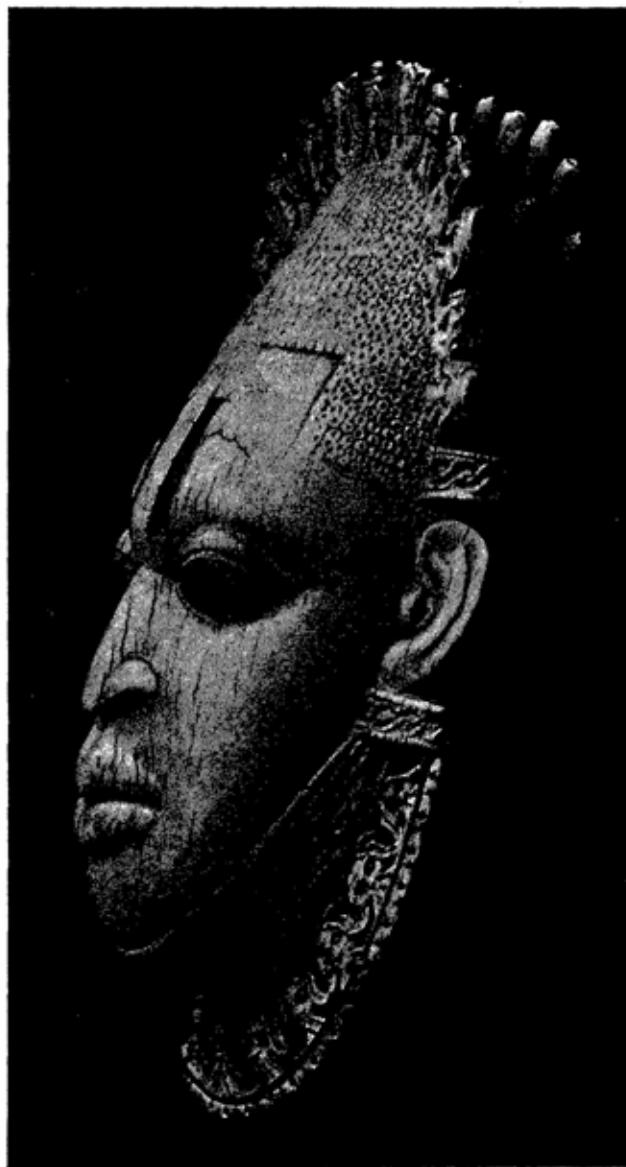


FIG. 1. SIDE VIEW OF THE SELIGMAN MASK

British Museum photograph reproduced from Traditional Sculpture from the Colonies, 1951, by permission of the Director of Publications, H.M. Stationery Office

bronze mask of the Ata of Idah, to which they are stylistically more similar. These three bronzes and all the ivory masks seem to be pectorals, and not, most like other bronze masks, for wear on the left hip.

* With Plate J and a text figure

HUMAN PIGMENTATION*

by

DR. N. A. BARNICOT

*Department of Anthropology, University College, London**Introduction*

I44 Differences in pigmentation of the hair, the eyes and particularly the skin are perhaps the most obvious and impressive of the variations which distinguish both individuals and populations. The origin of these variations, the way in which the polymorphism is maintained and the functions which it may serve are all obvious problems for the human biologist. Although this field has attracted scientific attention for a long time, progress has on the whole been slow, and for this a number of reasons may be advanced.

First, at the purely descriptive level, although we know the general pattern of the geographical distribution of pigmentation, the data are for the most part approximate owing to the use of unsatisfactory techniques for recording and measuring such characters. The scoring of colour into a number of categories by simple visual inspection leads to confusion from uncertainty over the meaning of the descriptive terms: an investigator who designates a skin colour as 'chocolate,' for example, is unlikely to specify the brand. The introduction of standards for colour-matching is an improvement in principle, but in practice they are not easy to use. Under field conditions it is unlikely that sufficient attention can be paid to lighting and other critical conditions for accurate and consistent matching, and even under optimal conditions inherent variations in the matching performance of different observers will obtrude. Since human variations in pigmentation are on the whole graded, the use of a limited set of standards tends to misrepresent the true character of the variation and may in some kinds of work introduce serious bias at the outset.

The same technical difficulties have doubtless handicapped research on the genetics of pigmentary traits, which is fundamental to any thorough-going analysis of variation. What little information we have indicates that the inheritance is in all cases more or less complex and governed by more than one and perhaps by many genes; in no case are we in a position to specify the genotype of a person in the way that renders the blood groups and *Hb* variants so much more attractive as material for the population geneticist. Apparent similarities in colour may conceal diversity of genotype. How complex the genetics of pigmentation can be is shown by the abundant work on laboratory animals (Gruneberg, 1952; Wright, 1942). Several systems of multiple alleles with graded effects, and genes with various dominance relationships and interactions are known in the rat and guinea-pig, for example. Such a detailed analysis was only possible because highly inbred stocks could be kept and the effects of single genes identified and studied in appropriate crosses against a uniform genotypic background, or in the presence of other genes introduced ex-

perimentally. However, we know much less about the genetics of wild populations of these species, which would be more comparable to human material.

Visible pigmentary differences are the result of the activity of specialized cells, the melanocytes present in epidermis and hair root which secrete the pigment material in the form of organized granules. We might therefore hope that studies of the number and distribution of these cells, their detailed cytology and biochemical activities, and the chemical structure of the pigments that they produce, would greatly assist genetical work, since the action of individual genes might be sharply identifiable by their specific effects at particular stages of the synthetic process. Unfortunately, the melanin pigments present very difficult problems for the chemist (Mason, 1953). They are non-crystalline compounds of high molecular weight which are often difficult to dissolve and to purify. The initial stages of their formation from the amino-acid tyrosine, under the influence of one or more enzymes called tyrosinases are well established by Raper's classical work (1938), and by later studies which are reviewed by Lerner and Fitzpatrick (1950). Histochemical evidence for the presence of a tyrosinase in human skin has been presented by Lerner *et al.* (1950). The units of indole-5,6-quinone so formed easily combine to form the dark polymers whose structure is still controversial and may perhaps be variable. In the tissues, where the melanin is combined with protein, the situation is even more complex than in the *in vitro* systems from which our knowledge is derived.

It may be added that an intimate knowledge of the biochemistry of pigment formation may ultimately prove valuable not only as an adjunct to formal genetical studies, but also, by revealing the basic action of the genes, as an indication of their participation in metabolic processes elsewhere which may conceivably be more important from the selective point of view than their effects on pigmentation itself.

Reflectometry

At least in the case of hair and skin colour the difficulties of recording and measuring can be overcome by the use of reflectometers. These instruments shine light of various wavelengths on the specimen and record, by means of a photo-cell, the proportion of light reflected in comparison with a white standard. The measurement therefore involves no visual judgment by the observer. Sheard *et al.* (1926) and Edwards and Duntley (1939) were the earliest to apply the method to skin, and Gardner and MacAdam (1934) used it on hair samples.

The colour of an object viewed by reflected light depends on the relative amounts of light reflected at various parts of the visible spectrum, a pure white reflecting equally at

* With four text figures

all wavelengths and a coloured object more at some wavelengths than others, due to the absorption of certain spectral regions by pigments, or in some cases, to diffraction or selective scattering of light. The reflectance curve may therefore enable one to detect particular pigments by their characteristic absorption. Strictly speaking, the reflectance data do not constitute a colour measurement, since colour results from the effect of the reflected radiation on the visual system, but it is closely related to colour, and colour specifications on the trichromatic system can be derived from such curves if required (Wright, 1944).

Hair Colour

Our own work at University College has been mainly on hair colour. The hair has the advantage that specimens can easily be collected and kept in the laboratory for photometric, microscopic or chemical examination. Its colour is

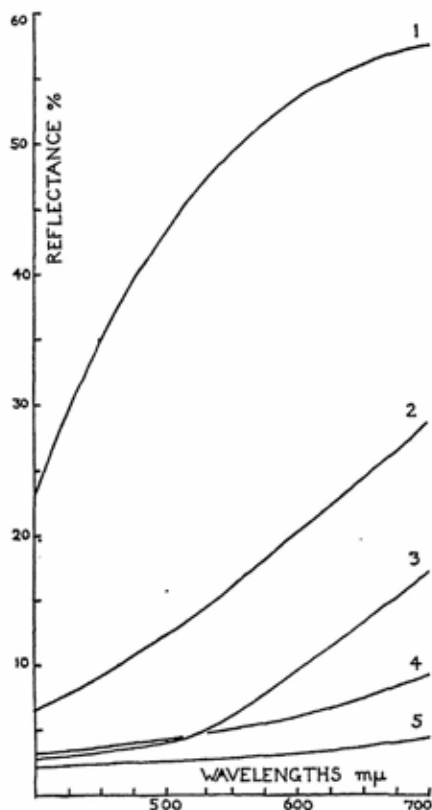


FIG. 1. REFLECTANCE CURVES OF HAIR OF VARIOUS COLOURS
(1) *Very much bleached European albino*; (2) *blond*; (3) *strong red*;
(4) *medium brown*; (5) *dark brown to black*

reasonably uniform (unlike the iris) and is due predominantly to melanins without the further complication of haemoglobins as in skin.

A few years ago Dr. E. Sunderland in my laboratory collected over 2,000 samples mainly from National Service men and recorded 1,000 of these on the elaborate automatic recording spectrophotometer at the National Physical Laboratory. The samples were grouped into countries and were then drawn at random in proportion to the population of

the country so as to obtain a properly weighted representation of the British Isles as a whole.

The reflectance curves of hair are simple in form (fig. 1). Black and brown colours yield concave curves of low or higher general reflectance, the readings increasing steadily from the blue-violet to the red end of the spectrum. Light yellow colours reflect even more strongly and the curves tend to be straighter while in the extreme case of albinism reflectance increases markedly in the green-yellow region as the curve tends towards the horizontal line representing a pure white or grey. The curves of red hues are distinctly different and are to a varying extent sharply inflected in the green region around 530 mμ. Inspection of such data suggests that the black-brown-blond series constitutes a set of simple dilutions of essentially similar colour while reds form a somewhat different group.

The next step was to find suitable statistics to summarize the information contained in the curves in a meaningful way, and in this we were fortunate to have the help of Professor L. S. Penrose. I shall only attempt to deal with this aspect of the work rather briefly, but full discussion can be found in Sunderland's paper (1956).

Since the percentage scale of the reflectance necessarily produces bunching of the readings as they approach the limits of zero and 100 per cent., we corrected for this by converting the raw reflectance readings to a logarithmic form by the expression $\log R - \log (100 - R)$. This transformation also has the effect of straightening the average curve and reducing the difference of variability at different wavelengths.

The curves may be considered to vary in two basic respects; in general reflectance level, which is related to total lightness or darkness (luminosity), and in shape or profile which depends on relative reflectance at different wavelengths and is therefore related to hue. An estimate of the first property, which we may call *Size*, is easily obtained as the sum of the transformed values at a number of chosen wavelengths throughout the curve. The shape of the different curves, simply estimated as their variance around the mean curve, when each specimen's mean is made coincident with the general mean, proves an insensitive way of distinguishing colour, though it does differentiate red hues to some extent.

The technique of discrimination devised by Fisher (1936) is designed to give optimal differentiation between two populations measured with respect to a number of characters. The measurements are combined to give a discriminant function the value of which for any individual indicates with which population he should best be classified.

A series of reflectance values may be regarded as a set of correlated measurements of this type. The method, however, presupposes the recognition of two groups to be discriminated; it seemed reasonable to select a group of red specimens and a group of non-reds and this we did by getting six observers to sort a large number of specimens into these two categories, taking those which all six agreed to be red or non-red as the samples to work on.

Fisher's method necessitates very heavy computational labour, and we therefore used a simplification introduced by

Penrose (1947) in which the set of measurements at ten wavelengths are reduced to two quantities, Size and Shape, which have the meanings already mentioned. In this instance, the Size factor again measures lightness or darkness and the Shape factor redness and non-redness. The best combination of these two quantities can then be calculated to give the discriminant function, and any particular specimen can be assigned to one group or the other according to its value for this function. But if the values of Size and Shape are plotted for a collection of specimens, a useful impression is gained of their variation with respect to both shade and hue. A plot of our Border County data illustrates this (fig. 2), and shows that the reddish colours form

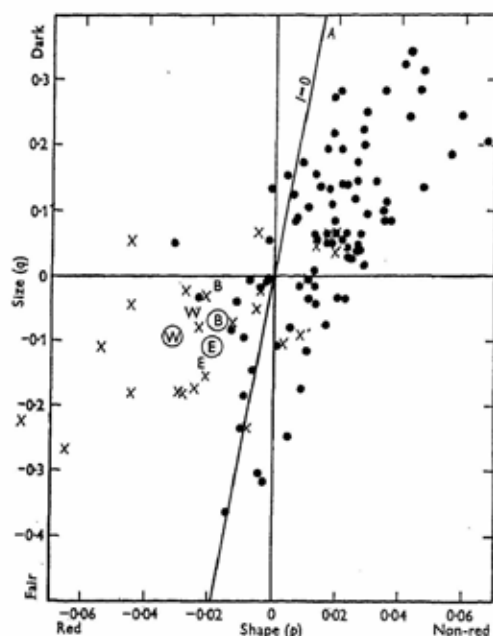


FIG. 2. DISCRIMINATION OF SIZE AND SHAPE IN BORDER COUNTIES

Discrimination of hair colour for a random sample of 112 specimens from the Border counties (Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland). Specimens which would be classified as red by Reed's index R are marked with crosses. Reproduced from Sunderland (1956), by permission of the Editor of the Annals of Human Genetics, London

a fairly compact but not discontinuous group in the lower left-hand section. It is apparent that red hair is distinguished largely by the Shape factor, but that it merges with non-red colours which is what one might anticipate from general observation. We also employed a simple index devised by Reed (1952) to discriminate red hair. This index is useful because it is very easily calculated, being simply a ratio between certain wavelengths, and it involves no preselection of a sample to represent red hair, but it does not separate the qualities of redness and shade as the discriminant does.

A regional comparison in which certain adjacent counties were pooled was made and certain heterogeneities came out clearly. The map resembles that based on Beddow's survey (1885) by visual scoring in a general way; dark hair predominates in Wales while in East Anglia we find the light-

est shades. For red hair (fig. 3), here estimated as a frequency for convenience by Reed's statistic (R), we found a high incidence in Wales, Scotland and particularly in the Border counties, and, somewhat unexpectedly, in East Anglia. It is interesting to note that the first three regions also show relatively high frequencies for blood group O according to Kopeć (1956) and Mourant and Watkin (1952). We hope to extend our survey work to other parts of Europe and Dr. Pons of Barcelona is already sending us material from Spain.

Survey work of this kind has a value apart from its application to anthropology in the traditional sense. It may be necessary, for example, in studying the genetics of

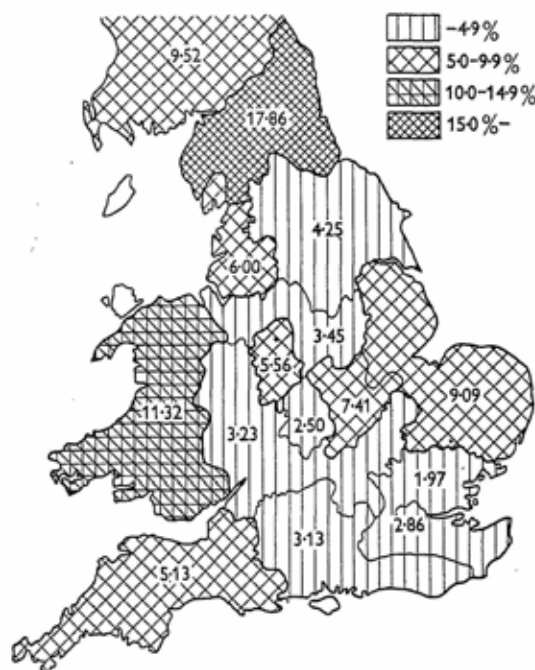


FIG. 3. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RED-HAIR FREQUENCIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Specimens with a value of Reed's index of redness (R) below 47.0 were taken to be red. $N=1000$. Reproduced from Sunderland (1956) by permission of the Editor of the Annals of Human Genetics, London

some trait influencing pigmentation to compare affected individuals and their sibs or parents with the general population. The hair of children suffering from phenylketonuria (Cowie and Penrose, 1951) and the infantile Fanconi syndrome (Cowie, 1956) have been shown by reflectance methods to be appreciably lightened. Reports of pigmentary differences in relation to disease susceptibility such as Minto's (1954) for poliomyelitis might be verified if a suitable control sample were available for comparison.

Interesting work could no doubt be done on assortative mating with respect to pigmentation, particularly that of the skin; it is not difficult to think of societies in which skin-colour differences are of paramount importance in limiting matings. Preference (and prohibitions) may operate not only where Europeans live in close contact with darkly pigmented peoples, but also within some purely African societies as Ardener (1954) has indicated for the Ibo of

south-east Nigeria. Knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in the general population would form a necessary part of such investigations also.

Inheritance of Red Hair Colour

There seems to be some likelihood that the inheritance of red hair is simpler than that of other hair colours and Dr. Reed, formerly in the Galton Laboratory, and I have devoted a good deal of work to it.

Reed (1952) realizing that the difficulty of defining red hair had caused confusion in previous studies, employed reflectometry in his attack on the problem. He found, however, as we have confirmed on a much larger sample, that red hair cannot be distinguished as a discrete category in the general population. He found, as might be expected if the character were inherited, that on average the degree of redness of sibs of red-haired propositi was greater than in the general population. He was not, however, able to show clear segregation of the character in his families. He confirmed the finding of Neel (1943) and others that the children of two red-haired parents are generally all red-haired, a fact suggestive of inheritance due to a single recessive gene. He concluded that this might indeed be the situation but that occasional manifestation in heterozygotes might confuse the results.

An interesting peculiarity of red hair, first reported in the *Journal* of this Institute by Sorby (1879), is that it yields a pink pigment when boiled in acid. This pigment was examined by Flesch and Rothman (1945) and was found to contain ferric iron, but its structure was not determined. In acid solution the substance has a well defined absorption band in the green region which disappears at alkaline pH. It seemed possible that this material, named trichosiderin, might prove a more useful attribute for genetical analysis than hair colour itself; it might for example distinguish heterozygotes from homozygotes or normals, and might also reveal the existence of more than one type of red hair.

Using Sunderland's material, I (1956a) made a systematic survey, comparing the trichosiderin yield as measured by absorption spectrophotometry with the indices of redness which have been discussed above. I found that the majority of specimens rated as red yielded the pigment and there was a general correlation between its amount and the degree of redness.

Since then I (unpublished) have examined many of the specimens from families collected by Dr. Reed and have found an even closer correlation of trichosiderin yield with redness. Unfortunately, I did not find trichosiderin in non-red-haired parents of red-haired children, so that this pigment does not help in detecting carriers if red hair is homozygous recessive. The occurrence of trichosiderin strengthens the view that red hair is a distinct pigmentary category, but there is uncertainty about the nature and origin of the pigment. I was able to show (1956b) that a yellow-red precursor was extractable from red hair with dilute alkali under mild conditions, and could be converted to trichosiderin on acidification and boiling. The trichosiderin is probably a derivative of some small fraction of the reddish pigments in the hair, which may be related to the

melanins; however, the work of Foster (1951) on mouse skin suggests the possibility that tryptophane rather than tyrosine might be considered as a precursor.

Change of hair colour with age introduces a major complication into genetical studies on families. Through the kindness of Dr. Tanner and his colleagues we are accumulating hair specimens taken from individual children at six-monthly or yearly intervals in the course of growth surveys. This will provide useful data on rates of change in hair colour and its relation to physiological events such as puberty. Hair colour, in fact, is probably a good example of genes influencing developmental rates of a character.

The comparison of children as well as adults in different populations should be interesting, since contrasts in pigmentation may be more pronounced before general darkening with age. It is obvious that whereas many Europeans who are fair as young children darken very considerably, even infants of Africans and many other non-European peoples are already very dark.

I will briefly mention another excursion into the red-hair problem. During a visit to Nigeria I was much impressed by the strong red hair colour which occasionally turns up in clinically normal Negroes with no known European ancestry (Barnicot, 1953). The condition corresponds to Pearson's (1913) description of so-called xanthism and is quite distinct from albinism. An interesting point is that the skin colour in affected persons is often lightened and may be a bright copper red. A history of sporadic cases in a pedigree can often be obtained and in some families the condition can be seen to segregate sharply. By comparing sibs in such sibships it can be seen that the iris colour is also appreciably diluted in the red-haired children. One cannot be sure, of course, that the same or genes are involved as in Europe, but the conditions show several attributes in common, and it seems that something may be learned by comparison of the manifestation of genetic traits in widely differing populations.

The Melanocyte

I have referred already to the possibilities of attacking pigment problems at the histological and cytological levels. As Billingham (1948) and Szabo (1954) have shown, the number of melanocytes varies in different regions of the skin surface, but they are not in general more numerous in darkly pigmented persons. I may mention in passing the interesting work of Billingham and Medawar (1948) suggesting that these cells which normally pass the pigment granules *via* their branching processes into the cortical cells of the hair or the malpighian cells of the epidermis, may also be able to pass on something which will enable non-pigmented melanocytes of the white areas of guinea-pig skin to start producing pigment and continue to do so.

Electron Microscopy of Hair Pigments

Useful work has been done in rodents relating the number, size and distribution of pigment granules to hair colour (Russell, 1949), but the granules in human hair are too small to permit work along these lines with the light microscope. The electron microscope with its greatly increased

range of resolution offers an obvious means of attacking this problem.

I was fortunate in getting the collaboration of Mr. Birbeck, Dr. Cuckow and Dr. Mercer of the Chester Beatty Institute in this work. We first examined (Barnicot, Birbeck and Cuckow, 1955) granules liberated from hair by chemical dissolution of the keratin component. Under the electron microscope, the granules appear as elongated or rounded dense bodies 0.5μ to 1.0μ in length and about 0.25μ in breadth. On a very restricted amount of material there was some evidence, as Hausman (1928) suggested, that the granules are on average larger in darker shades of hair colour.

Since, as we were able to show by cutting ultra-thin sections of clumps of extracted granules (Birbeck, Mercer and Barnicot 1956), these structures are damaged to a greater or less extent by the reagents used in extracting them from hair, we can get more reliable information about their normal structure from sections of the growing hair follicle, where they may be seen undamaged in the melanocytes and their formative stages looked for. The granules seem to originate as small vacuoles at the periphery of a specialized area of the melanocyte cytoplasm. They contain at first strands or partial shells of dense material and later they increase in size and their density becomes more uniform. In red-hair melanocytes we found very small granules containing dense subparticles but it is impossible to say whether these constitute the whole of the pigmentary material. In human albino hair, which we are now re-examining under the higher-resolution Siemens microscope, we found only small 'ghosts' of melanin granules with indications of internal structure but low density.

Skin Colour

I shall turn now to a brief account of the measurement and significance of skin-colour differences.

Reflectometric methods find as much application here as for hair colour.

The skin colour is due to two pigments in the main, melanin and haemoglobin. The optical properties of the skin are very complicated in detail, the pigments being distributed non-uniformly and embedded in tissues such as epidermis and the collagen of the dermis which reflect and scatter light. In addition, some light reaches the subcutaneous fat and the absorption bands of carotene may be detected in some subjects.

Suspensions of melanin granules give simple reflectance curves increasing somewhat in the red end of the spectrum. The reflectance of haemoglobin or of red-cell suspensions is more complicated, showing strong absorption in the green and violet regions, the position of these bands differing somewhat for Hb and HbO . These are evident in reflectance curves of European skin but are blunted by the masking effect of overlying melanin in darkly pigmented skins (fig. 4). Fortunately, as Jansen (1953) has clearly pointed out, the transmission of haemoglobin is so high in the red region that wide changes in the amount of oxygenated blood in the skin affect the reflectance of this region very little, though in our experience a lowering of about 10 per cent, may be ob-

tained by venous congestion. The reflectance in the red region of the spectrum (650–700 $m\mu$) is therefore the most suitable measurement of melanin. The relation between the amount of melanin, as measured by weight or by spectrophotometry of solutions, and the reflectance for human skin needs to be determined empirically since the optical properties of the system are too complex for confident application of simple absorption laws.

During a recent visit to Nigeria I was able to measure skin colours of some southern Nigerians (fig. 4), using a convenient portable reflectometer (Evans Electroselenium

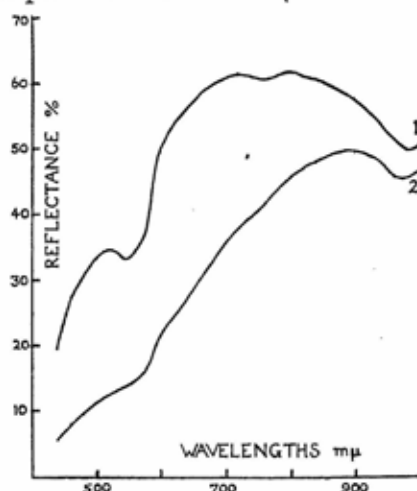


FIG. 4. REFLECTANCE OF FLEXOR-SURFACE FOREARM IN VISIBLE AND NEAR INFRA-RED

Average reflectance curves of skin for a sample of American Whites and Negroes: 50 male and 21 female Whites and 21 male and 21 female Negroes. Note the marked absorption band of haemoglobin around 550 $m\mu$ in the Whites, and the convergence of the two curves in the near infra-red (700–1000 $m\mu$). Redrawn from Kupperheim and Heer (1952)

reflectometer). The skin seems to be somewhat darker in Yoruba males than in females, but this may be due to differences in clothing affecting the amount of tanning on the flexor surface of the forearm. I was also able to show, in conformity with local belief, that Ibo from south-east Nigeria are on average somewhat lighter than the Yoruba.

Reflectometric data are clearly needed to extend and check earlier views on the genetics of skin pigmentation based on matching techniques (Davenport, 1913; Gates, 1953). Dr. Harrison has reported (1956) in a preliminary way his interesting reflectometric work on families of mixed marriages in Liverpool, and I myself was able to collect some data on hybrids between Africans and Europeans from Warri in the Niger delta region.

The Biological Significance of Skin Colour

A general coincidence between dark skin and tropical habitat and the phenomena of sunburn accompanying increased resistance to ultra-violet burns, have naturally led to the view that melanin which absorbs strongly in the ultra-violet protects against injurious effects of sunlight. This idea is not, however, undisputed; Blum (1955a), in particular, has stressed the view that a large proportion of ultra-violet light incident on the skin is scattered and absorbed by the stratum

corneum before reaching the deeper-lying melanin, and he cites evidence that tanning is not closely correlated with resistance to erythema produced by ultra-violet irradiation. The recent contribution of Thomson (1955) working in southern Nigeria goes some way to resolve this difficulty. He obtained sheets of stratum corneum from a protected area of skin in both Africans and Europeans by producing cantharides blisters. His measurements of the thickness of this layer indicate that the African corneum is only slightly if at all thicker; it is however quite clearly darker in colour. This may be due to melanin granules and perhaps to a poorly characterized pigment called melanoid by Edwards and Duntley (*loc. cit.*) which is said to be a derivative of melanin. By placing these specimens of corneum on a photographic plate and exposing it to an ultra-violet source, Thomson was able to show in a striking manner the greater opacity of the Negro corneum to this radiation. This suggests that the function of abundant pigment-production may be to increase the ultra-violet absorbing property of the corneum.

There is no doubt, however, that thickening of the corneum can have an important effect in protecting against ultra-violet in unpigmented subjects. Some years ago when investigating albinism in Nigerians (Barnicot, 1952), I was struck by the horny character of the skin at the back of the neck in some of these subjects, which is not evident in young children, but is very noticeable in older ones or in adults who spend much time out of doors.

Blum (1955b) has also summarized the experimental evidence that ultra-violet irradiation can lead to cancerous changes in the skin, and the demographic data on the incidence of epithelial tumours of the human skin in relation to climate. Both in Africa and in South America the rarity of these tumours in dark-skinned as compared with white-skinned subjects has been noted. Dorn's data from the United States show a gradient in the incidence of these tumours with latitude, their frequency increasing as the tropics are approached. The incidence of these tumours is, however, low (about 1/1,000) even in Europeans and since they occur mainly in the later decades of life the effect on Darwinian fitness must be small. There is, however, another type of tumour, also rare, but considerably more fatal, the incidence of which is said to have some relation to pigmentation (Lerner, 1955; Raven, 1953; Pack, 1948); this is the melanoma, a pigmented tumour which arises in a large proportion of cases from pigmented spots in the epidermis (nevi), a number of which are present in most people. These tumours are said to be rarer in Negroes than in Europeans and in the former they often arise from relatively unpigmented regions of the body. Melanomas may occur in young adults, but are commoner in the older age groups.

Pigmentation and Heat Exchange

Negro skin reflects on average only about 20 per cent. or less of incident visible light and therefore absorbs 80 per cent. or more, while white skin absorbs only about 60 per cent. In the shorter infra-red (700–1,000 mμ) the reflectance curves for Negro and European skins are more closely similar (Kuppenheim and Heer, 1952), the Negro absorbing about five per cent. more of this radiation (fig. 4). We

should therefore expect that Negro skin would be heated more than white skin by the absorption of sunlight, but the magnitude of this effect is not easy to predict with any accuracy for natural environments. Heer (1952) calculated the expected energy-absorption of white and Negro skin exposed to a black body radiating at 6,000°K which emits energy of similar spectral distribution to sunlight at the surface of the atmosphere. He found that relatively untanned Negro skin would absorb 34 per cent. more energy than white skin. Since the passage of sunlight through the atmosphere filters out more energy in the infra-red region than in the visible, the contrast may well be greater in the case of sunlight as it reaches the earth's surface. Adolph (1947) and his colleagues, in studying the heat balance of unclothed white men in the Florida desert, estimated that the additional heat-absorption due to exposure to sunlight amounted to 140 cal/hr. on average, a considerable heat load bearing in mind that the resting heat-production is usually taken as 90 cal/hr. On the basis of these figures the additional heat-absorption of a Negro under desert conditions might be 40 cal/hr. or more, which might constitute a significant strain on the heat-regulating mechanism, chiefly the sweat-production, under conditions of severe stress. Observations on the magnitude of incident radiation and the behaviour of habitually unclothed inhabitants of desert regions such as the Bushmen and Central Australian aborigines, with these facts in mind, would be of considerable interest.

It might be thought that a dark skin would not only absorb heat more easily but would be a more efficient radiator of heat, thus facilitating cooling. Hardy's (1934) experiments amongst others show, however, that the radiation from the skin surface at a temperature of about 35°C is in the long infra-red and that white skin behaves as an almost perfect radiator in this range, so that the colour of the skin is not a significant factor in promoting radiant heat loss.

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SHORTER NOTES

The Study of Race Relations.* By Maurice Freedman, M.A., Ph.D., London School of Economics and Political Science

I45 This paper is an introduction to those which follow. Mr. Richmond, Mr. Deighton and Mr. Morris, writing respectively as sociologist, historian, and anthropologist, offer examples of the way in which the subject of race relations can be tackled from a number of different points of view. The purpose of this small symposium is to help reinforce the contention that race relations is not a distinct discipline with its own technique but rather a general field of study which, if it is to be fruitful, must be cultivated by scholars in the social sciences and in history. Social psychology is not directly represented in these papers, but its

viewpoint is partly expressed by Mr. Richmond, while in the discussion to which the papers led, Professor T. H. Pear brought forward a number of psychological questions.

The problem of delimiting the field of race relations is suggested at once by the title of Mr. Richmond's paper which speaks of 'ethnic group.' Must something of the physical anthropologist's 'race' adhere to race relations? Or are we in a sense to treat the race of race relations as fortuitous? An outright negative answer will probably do for neither of these questions, but it is very important that students of the subject should make it clear that they are concerned with the physical properties of human beings only insofar as these qualities are used as classificatory devices in society. Moreover, to claim for the study of race relations a kind of independent status on the grounds that it investigates relations which are peculiar to the intercourse of 'races' is morally wrong as well as being scientifically absurd. Wide historical and sociological scholarship should aim at removing the misconception that

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because there is a subject called race relations there must be something special about the relations between the physical anthropologist's races.

What has been achieved so far in the study of race relations is less open to debate than is the topic of what could possibly be done in the future; but even about past work there is room for argument. In my own view there are a number of themes on which interesting work has been carried out and which could be taken much further in time to come. In what follows I touch on some of these themes.

In colonial situations political power is concentrated in the hands of small *élites* which define themselves racially and see themselves only marginally as members of the societies they dominate. There are of course degrees in this marginality of membership, as we see when we look at white agricultural settlers or think of the Netherlands East Indies where some of the Dutch formed more or less permanent local communities. We should try to analyse the structure of the total network of relations in which ruler and ruled are enmeshed. What factors can we hold to account for differing degrees of intermarriage and social isolation? What determines that in some situations the *élite* draws lines by means of physical criteria while in others it is prepared to waive the colour bar? It is not difficult to understand the reasons why people do not make good studies of colonial *élites* (in the sense in which I have defined them). Even anthropologists, who have often the chance of seeing situations of this kind at least from the point of view of the non-*élite*, are usually not very explicit about the place of the *élite* in the total complex. This sort of study is, of course, part of the more general field covered by the terms 'composite society' and 'plural society,' and it raises questions which properly belong to Mr. Morris's paper.

It is in the nature of all society to differentiate itself into units which stand opposed to other units. In mass societies the process of differentiation sometimes takes the form of marking out certain groups which are considered at large to be alien or semi-alien to the main body of society. These are the groups we usually call minorities. On a world-wide scale the category 'minorities' is a very broad one, but even within one society not all the groups we call minorities are of the same order. One kind of minority which seems to be specially interesting to study is the aboriginal population in the mass society. The best intensive study of this kind is perhaps Professor Elizabeth Colson's *The Makah Indians* (1953), but there is a good deal of material on North America, South Africa, and other areas in which countries with Western institutions have engrossed their original inhabitants. The treatment of aboriginal peoples in such countries often makes sad reading, but we should be prepared for continuing shocks when we study how aborigines are dealt with in other lands. Newly independent states may experience considerable difficulty in fitting their 'backward' minorities into politics where cultural and political nationalism dictates a radical readjustment. It would be informative to have a comparative study of the fate of aborigines in, say, India, Japan, China, and Indonesia.

Mr. Richmond's paper deals with coloured people in Britain; they are one example of a minority defined in terms of racial criteria. In the vast literature on the American Negroes we have a classical case of the situation in which people are allocated to one or other category of their society on the basis of their physique—or, to put it perhaps just as accurately, in which the allocation of individuals to one or other social category entails the ascription to them of certain physical characteristics. In thinking about such cases we should, once again, resist the temptation to confine our attention to the dealings between whites and the others. Under the heading of race relations we may study, for example, the relations between Indians and Negroes in parts of the New World. It is not my intention to exclude from this kind of study the treatment of

minorities which are only marginally thought of as races (such as the Jews in many situations); how far we move towards studying minorities defined in purely cultural terms may depend, at least in part, on our need for 'controls' for the racially defined groups.

Racial criteria may enter society not to ascribe individuals to relatively fixed categories but rather to assist, as it were, in their grading in social status. In Dr. Fernando Henriques's *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (1953) and in the U.N.E.S.C.O. publication *Race and Class in Rural Brazil*, edited by Dr. Charles Wagley (1952), we have good examples of this kind of social colour scheme. Where race and class tend to be associated, mobility may be made possible by socially perceived changes in individual racial type, so that in a real sense people alter their race as they climb the ladder.

In the field of what by courtesy we may call the theory of race relations there are two matters I should like to mention. Some sociologists have tried to give a date for the emergence on to the world scene of race as an indelible mark of inferiority; the 1492 School of Race Relations, as we may dub them, see the expansion of the West as the key. It is because of doubtful speculations of this kind that it is necessary for us to have historians at our elbow when we take race relations as an aspect of world history. As Mr. Deighton's paper shows, if we are to make any headway with the problem of racialism we shall need to be guided by a more sophisticated kind of history than sociologists or anthropologists can normally command.

The second point of 'theory' is concerned with the relevance of psychological study and mental evidence. Some students of racial tension and antisemitism have placed the accent on the measurement of prejudicial attitudes, seeing discrimination as a projection from these attitudes; others have correlated racial attitudes with personality types and difficulties. Interesting as such studies are, they leave unanswered and—which is more serious—they sometimes obscure the nature of the relation between individual mental facts and social behaviour. What people feel and think about their fellows of different racial type may prove a very unsure guide to the way in which they behave towards them. Institutionalized acts of discrimination rise above the mental prejudices of individuals. While it is true in one sense that racial discrimination, like all social phenomena, has its roots in the minds of individuals, it is methodologically unsound to treat socially recognized discrimination as though it were constantly under the review and control of individual minds. Social behaviour is not at all points explicable in terms of individual mental acts, and we should be careful to consider this point when we review the place to be assigned to psychological studies in the field of race relations.

Theoretical Orientations in Studies of Ethnic Group Relations in Britain. By Anthony H. Richmond, M.A., B.Sc. (Econ.), University of Edinburgh

I46 Manifestations of ethnic prejudice may be regarded as a function of three main variables acting in conjunction: (i) the existence within the community of two or more groups easily distinguished from each other by a characteristic such as skin colour which is highly visible; (ii) the creation of false stereotyped ideas, or 'structured diacritical formations,' which impede the establishment of good personal relations between the members of the two groups and increase the possibility of conflict; (iii) the existence of feelings of insecurity and frustration among the members of the in-group.

The above proposition, implied in various American studies of inter-group relations, has been further substantiated by enquiries conducted in Britain (a) from historical data concerning racial relations in Liverpool, 1930-1950; (b) from the evidence provided by a field study of West Indians in Liverpool, 1941-1951;

(c) and from an independent study recently conducted of the social adaptation of Colonial students in London.³

The last-named study endeavours to relate antipathy towards coloured people to the alleged association between 'uninhibited' behaviour (especially with regard to sex relations), and 'low-class' social status, on the one hand, and the stereotype of the Negro as strongly sexed on the other.⁴ This is an attempt to reconcile the author's findings with the view that colour prejudice in Britain is a manifestation of the class structure.⁵ But to postulate a 'colour-class consciousness' as an explanation of the aversion to close association with Negroes is to confuse two distinct social systems. If this explanation were correct then the visible distinguishing marks of social class (such as accent, dress, etiquette, occupation, etc.) would operate and a wealthy Negro with a Savile Row suit, polished manners and an Oxford accent would have no difficulty in being assimilated. In fact, although it is easier for such a person to gain acceptance, he still finds himself rejected in certain circumstances. It is not a question of coloured people having a low status in our system of social stratification, but of not fitting into it at all. The social status of the Negro in Britain is ambiguous and this gives rise to insecurity among whites who are not sure how they should behave. The insecurity is aggravated by the belief that coloured people have a different set of values, especially with regard to sex. The essential point about any in-group-out-group delineation is that the differences of skin colour (or whatever it is that visibly distinguishes the groups concerned) are symbols of real or assumed differences in shared values.⁶

Antipathy towards out-groups performs a positively integrative function for individual personalities and for the social systems in which they participate. It bolsters up the individual's sense of security and self-esteem on the one hand, and promotes in-group solidarity on the other. But when social change takes place such a response may become dys-functional for the new system of social relationships in which the individual finds himself participating at a later date. Predispositions which have been established early in life are later found to be inappropriate and call forth negative sanctions from others. It is then incumbent upon the individual to 'unlearn' his response and acquire new ones. But if the antipathetic attitudes are fulfilling a crucial function in maintaining psychological security, there will be reluctance to change. It is in this context that the evidence concerning the relation between rigidity as a personality factor and ethnocentrism is important.⁷ Even when there is relatively little emotional involvement such attitudes are only effectively modified when the individual has the support of his group. In other words, a change in the internalized system of value attitudes normally only takes place when there is a corresponding change in the institutionalized pattern.⁸

A mild antipathy towards ethnic minorities is an institutionalized social norm in Britain. This is confirmed by studies of attitudes towards Negroes and Jews,⁹ and by studies of national character which suggest that early socialization experiences give rise to aggression, which is repressed and projected on to strangers, thus making shyness and an unconscious fear of strangers a typically English personality trait.¹⁰ Psychological studies which concentrate upon the extremely prejudiced and extremely tolerant respondents provide evidence which helps to explain why they are deviants from the norm (in expressing more or less prejudice than is characteristic of the majority of people in their society), rather than why they are or are not ethnocentric.

The relation between prejudice, as an attitude of mind, and discrimination, involving positive acts of deprivation against the members of a minority or under-privileged group, varies in different societies. It is necessary to make a distinction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized discrimination. Dis-

crimination against minority groups, as far as their rights as citizens are concerned, is not institutionalized in Britain, but discrimination against minority group members wishing to have heterosexual relations with, or to become members of the household or family of, one of the majority group is institutionalized. Non-institutionalized discrimination in connexion with housing, employment and the enjoyment of usual recreational facilities also takes place, but represents a deviation from the cultural norm. It is particularly likely to occur when the individual concerned perceives the out-group member as a threat to his or her economic status or means of livelihood. But such behaviour evokes disapproval and arouses guilt feelings and is, therefore, nearly always accompanied by rationalization and attempts to solicit the support of other persons for the action taken.¹¹

The ethnic minorities that make the most successful adjustment, individually and collectively, are those whose members voluntarily conform closely to the roles which the majority regard as legitimate for out-group members. In other words, in our society, those making the most successful adjustment are the ones who, while claiming fundamental rights as citizens, are happy to 'keep themselves to themselves,' not impinging too intimately upon the primary groups of the majority, especially as far as household, family and sex relations are concerned. The institutionalized role expectations of certain ethnic minorities in Britain, notably those with strong religious, national or kinship ties fostering a sense of in-group solidarity (e.g. Jews, Moslems and Chinese)¹² are compatible with the complementary expectations of the majority. The resulting situation is one of stable equilibrium with an absence of overt conflict. In contrast, the institutionalized role expectations of the West Indian immigrants, the non-Moslem West Africans and many coloured students in Britain, are not entirely compatible with conditions in the receiving society. As a consequence conflict and disintegrative behaviour occur, which would be removed only if there were a change in attitudes and values, either of the majority or of the minority. If a stable equilibrium is to be achieved, either the minority group must cease to want complete assimilation, or the majority must cease to feel antipathetic towards ethnic minorities.¹³ Until one or other of these changes takes place the adjustment problems facing coloured students and workers who want to assimilate are likely to remain serious and, as recent studies have shown, may result in severe neurotic or psychotic disorders and even suicide.¹⁴

Notes

¹ A. H. Richmond, 'Economic Insecurity and Stereotypes as Factors in Colour Prejudice,' *Sociolog. Rev.*, Vol. XLII, No. 8, 1950.

² A. H. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain*, London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954.

³ A. T. Carey, *Colonial Students*, London (Secker & Warburg), 1956.

⁴ Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁵ K. L. Little, *Negroes in Britain*, London (Kegan Paul), 1948.

⁶ Cf. S. F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure*, London (Cohen & West), 1957, pp. 92f.

⁷ R. Gordon, 'An Investigation into Some of the Factors that Favour the Formation of Stereotyped Images,' *Brit. J. Psychol. (Gen. Sect.)*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, 1949.

⁸ Cf. K. Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, New York (Harper), 1950.

⁹ See unpublished sample surveys of attitudes towards Negroes conducted by the Social Survey (1951) and Dr. M. P. Banton of Edinburgh University (1956); J. H. Robb, *Working Class Anti-Semite*, London (Tavistock), 1954; and H. J. Eysenck and S. Crown, 'An Experimental Study in Opinion-Attitude Methodology,' *Internat. J. Opinion and Attitude Res.*, Vol. III, 1949.

¹⁰ Cf. material on the relation between culture and personality in England in Robb, *op. cit.*; B. M. Spinley, *The Deprived and the*

Privileged, London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1953; and G. Gorer, *Exploring English Character*, London (Cresset), 1955.

¹¹ Cf. Richmond, *op. cit.* (1954); M. P. Banton, *The Coloured Quarter*, London (Cape), 1955; and Carey, *op. cit.*

¹² See Banton, *op. cit.*; S. Collins, *Moslem and Negro Groupings on Tyneside*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1952; M. Freedman (editor), *A Minority in Britain*, London (Vallentine), 1955; and M. Broady, 'Social Adjustment of Chinese Immigrants in Liverpool,' *Sociolog. Rev.*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1955.

¹³ A. H. Richmond, 'Immigration as a Social Process,' *Social and Econ. Stud.*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1956.

¹⁴ See for example, P.E.P., *Colonial Students in Britain*, London, 1955.

History and the Study of Race Relations. By H. S. Deighton, M.A., B.Litt., Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford

I47 The study of history is not the pursuit of an exact science. I am not prepared to say, and I am certainly not prepared to guess, how really exact the physical sciences may be. I am even less prepared to express an opinion on the extent to which the social sciences can lay claim to the power of establishing permanently valid truths. But so far as the physical sciences go at any rate there is a general disposition to attribute a certainty to the propositions which emerge from their study. Such a certainty and exactitude would be quite out of place when applied to the results of historical studies.

Having made this essential point there are, it seems to me, two things that I can most usefully attempt to do. First to consider in its historical context the existing interest in the study of race relations. And second to indicate certain respects in which my own historical reading has disclosed circumstances or given rise to ideas which seem to have a bearing on the subject.

As far as the first point goes it is plain, I think, that race relations, or rather, bad race relations, are in themselves nothing new. What is perhaps new is the desire to make them the subject of serious academic study, which arises from the anxiety with which the white peoples regard their relationship with the coloured.

There are plenty of problems of bad race relations in which white men are involved not at all or only incidentally. And there are, and have long been, similar problems arising among groups of peoples unmistakably white. I need mention only the long history of the relations between the Germans or the Magyars and the Slavs.

Those for whom the Hellenic origin of our civilization is an idea of importance might care to date the beginning of our race problems from the time when Alexander the Great established a mastery over territories deep into Asia. For the Greeks the earliest barbarians—outsiders—seem merely to have been people who did not speak Greek—the word I believe is best translated 'jabberers.' Exclusiveness of the blood, as it were, does not seem to have been very long lived. Alexander both saw and faced the problem of racialism, if this is what it was, and indicated the kind of solution he wanted. He seems to have been more concerned with securing the supremacy of mental than of physical characteristics, although he did insist that some of his leading generals should take Persian wives.

It is in the nature of things that the topic of race relations has its place in the work of historians of the successor states—the states into which Alexander's empire was divided. Most of such treatment is of course incidental to general history but there is one book, in a particular context of race relations: S. Davis, *Race Relations in Ancient Egypt*.

There is a good deal that seems familiar to us about the early history of Rome. The small republic established supremacy in Italy because of the superior virtues, military and civil, of its citizens. But it rose to wider power on the backs of soldiers, many of whom were Italian rather than Roman. They built the Roman

Empire without enjoying its privileges until prolonged disorders brought them enfranchisement. But Rome seems to have known everything about the political practice of jerryandering except the word itself and most of the Italians were deprived of the vote by methods still employed in several parts of the world. Under the emperors, when voting had little point, although citizenship had much, privilege and racial origin seem to have had very little connexion. Some of the greatest of the emperors were born in remote provinces of parents far from being Roman. The empire had large and widely varied populations, many of whom were slaves and most perhaps no better than second-class citizens. Yet membership of the ruling and privileged minority seems to have borne no special relation to racial origin. The subject might repay a closer investigation. Today the ambitious and able coloured man in a white-dominated mixed community meets with resistance to his natural ambitions and gets deflected into becoming the mouth-piece of the grievances of the coloured. It is at least possible that if we had a non-racial class structure with access for talent at the highest levels we might have much less serious racial problems.

There is plenty of evidence of what looks to me like race prejudice in the Middle Ages, notably of course of anti-Semitism. For anyone who happens to have lived in the southern states of the United States it is difficult not to be reminded of the way in which the term 'nigger-lover' is bandied about at elections by the accounts of the manner in which the epithet 'judenkönig' was hurled by his enemies at Albert of Austria. Yet prejudice of this kind was by no means applied only to the Jews. It is perhaps in the affairs of Ireland that the most striking analogy is to be found. For more than a century groups of Anglo-Norman noblemen had been carving out great estates for themselves in Ireland, largely by force. In the Irish Plea Rolls for the 1290s, there is a case concerning an assault committed in Ireland by one Englishman upon another. The defence pleaded aggravation and offered as sufficient justification for the assault the fact that the defendant had been called 'Hibernicus'—an Irishman. For mediaeval Englishmen perhaps the Latin word 'hibernicus' was the equivalent of 'wog.'

The problem which principally attracts our interest is the result of that extension of European influence which has marked modern times. The typical western concept of the sovereign nation-state, with its concomitant demand for some kind of uniformity of habit and outlook, has complicated race relations and done much to create race problems in their modern form.

This process of political fragmentation has left us with something like the nationalization of historical studies and a consequent weakness in them which applies particularly to the history of Europe overseas. There are plenty of professors of imperial and colonial history, but none of them, so far as I know, deserve to be called such without qualification. They are professors of British or French, Dutch or Spanish expansion and imperial history. Many British historians write as though the humane interest in race relations first became important in the English eighteenth century. Yet almost all the practical problems and the moral issues had confronted the Spaniard in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and had been resolutely tackled and almost endlessly discussed by them. Bartholomew las Casas stated an ideal conception of the proper relationship of the conquistadores and their American-Indian subjects and his views in general were accepted by the Spanish government. Spanish writers, like Marcado and Sandoval, had already said pretty well all there is to say against Negro slavery before the middle of the seventeenth century.

A good deal remains to be done by way of the study of the attitude of the white peoples since the early days of their geographical expansion towards the rest of the human race. I use the word attitude advisedly because it is the crux of the matter. What has determined the pattern of white behaviour has not been what

the peoples of other places were like, but what they were thought to be like. And equally important, what the white peoples thought about themselves.

The history of the white man in this connexion seems to fall naturally into two parts. First, there has been the attitude of white thinkers, white public opinion and white governments in Europe itself and the expression given to it by European administrators, military officers and missionaries overseas. Secondly, there has been a steady emigration of Europeans who in the areas of their new homes have developed their own points of view. There have been two major inter-acting forces, first that body of opinion, of the kind which I might term metropolitan, which has tried to face the problems of race relations from the standpoint of the main stream of Western thought, whether religious or otherwise. In general this has been the source of the policy of European governments and the source too of the public opinion which has lain behind them. Secondly, there has been the influence of the emigrants and their point of view. Different perhaps not so much because of their experience but because the very reasons which led most of them to undertake the enterprise of going overseas were of a special kind. The urge which took them abroad and which largely persisted during their residence abroad strongly coloured their view of the native peoples with whom they came into contact and perhaps largely determined their attitude to them. Except for the relatively few scholarly enquirers, the missionaries with their special purposes, and the soldiers and administrators who have gone overseas on duty, most Europeans who have come into voluntary contact with other races have done so with the conscious pursuit of social, political and economic self-betterment. This was true of the earliest period of European expansion and it is certainly true today. The brutality which accompanied the first Spanish conquests and settlements in South America was to some extent redeemed by the concern of the Spanish government at home for the welfare of the Indians. But the government's attempts to prevent abuse were greatly handicapped by the uncooperativeness of the colonists—most of whom would not have gone to America at all if it had not been for the prospect of improving their social and economic status.

This conflict of views on race is perhaps only part of a deeper conflict to which racial issues have given rise but it is, I suggest, crucial. Perhaps the most potentially fruitful field would be that of the development of the white man's picture of himself. For this is one of the subjects in which what people think matters a great deal more than what they are, except in so far as their picture of themselves determines what they are.

The Plural Society. By H. S. Morris, B.Sc., London School of Economics and Political Science

148 In this paper aspects of the plural society as described by J. S. Furnivall are reconsidered. A plural society, he tells us, is 'a society comprising two or more social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit.' Such societies, he argues, come into existence by 'the ordinary working of the economic process of the natural selection by the survival of the cheapest'; and in many tropical countries the result of the process has been a division of labour along racial lines. Furthermore, Furnivall maintained, it is characteristic of such societies that the component sections of the population do not have a common 'social will' or commonly agreed set of values for checking and guiding social action; so that the society is held together only by external coercive power, usually that of a foreign government.³ Unity, however, need not necessarily, in Furnivall's view, be imposed by a foreign government; for many societies, and Canada is an example, display elements of plurality without foreign domination.⁴

East Africa is an example of a plural society in which the various sections of the population are marked off from one another by criteria of physical and cultural differences. The inhabitants of the country conceptualize the structure of their society in a slightly simpler version of the scheme used by Furnivall to describe the mixed or composite societies of the Far East. In Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, Europeans are thought to constitute an administrative, legal, and directive upper class, the Indians are said to form an economic and trading middle class, and Africans are believed, by themselves as much as by the other sections of the population, to be the urban and rural working classes of the society.

The physical and cultural differences which correspond with these divisions of the people and the relative lack of mingling among them allow the members of the society to overlook the differentiation into groups and categories within each section, even though these latter divisions may in fact be structurally more significant in the composition of the total society than the broader 'racial' categories. This stereotyped view of the society also allows its members to overlook the actual mingling of members of all sections which occurs, and which is comparable with that found in stratified societies which are not usually classified as plural.

In East Africa the 'Indian Community,' for example, exists as a homogeneous social entity in the eyes of Africans, Arabs and Europeans, and in the ideology of some Indians. The whole Indian population resident in East Africa never in fact does behave as a united element of the population, and is divided by religion into Hindus and Muslims and by language into Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, and speakers of other Indian languages.

Although associations exist which claim to speak for all Hindus and all Muslims, these entities, like the larger 'Indian Community,' are structurally of little importance. The division of the Indian population into Hindu castes and Muslim sects (both Shiah and Sunni) of varying degrees of corporate organization is of greater significance in the structure of the Indian section of the society.

One Shiah Muslim sect, the Khoja Ismaili followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, composed almost exclusively of Indians, early organized itself as a corporate 'community,' largely independent of other Indians whether Muslim or Hindu, and has with great success pursued the separate interests of its members in matters of trade, general welfare and politics. To achieve their objects the leaders have tried to influence officials and other persons holding power in favour of the 'community' by various forms of persuasion ranging from personal relations arising out of an elaborate system of inter-racial entertainment to 'deals' and alliances in the political sphere. In acting as a pace-making group in this way the Ismailis have by their success forced other groups in all sections of the population—especially the Indian—to organize in similar ways, thus extending the mingling of people far beyond the market place, which was the only common meeting ground postulated by Furnivall.⁵

In the East African situation, then, the members of the society are in their own minds divided into 'racial' categories. In fact the effective structural units are frequently quite other groups. Among the Indians they are the organized Muslim sects and Hindu castes. Among Africans they are often tribal units or the factional followings of outstanding leaders; and among Europeans—a small minority of the population—it is unusual to find the 'community' acting of a whole to defend or further its interests. The questions then arise, how far can Furnivall's conceptual scheme be usefully applied, and how far is East Africa a plural society, different from other highly stratified societies?

It can perhaps be maintained that East Africa in its present form 'evolved' in accordance with the free play of economic forces⁶; but examples of plural or ethnically composite societies formed by military conquest in both primitive and civilized conditions are

not hard to find. In considering the more complex multi-racial societies sociologists have usually fixed their attention on the cultural badges used by the various sections of the population to distinguish themselves from one another, and in so doing have tended not to look for the underlying structural uniformities. It is characteristic of some societies that their members seize on their own physical features and use them as social badges, but not all societies containing 'racially' diverse populations do this. Again, certain societies pick out only some of their 'racial' categories for social recognition; so that it is never certain that categories delimited in this way are as structurally significant as the people who delimit them may like to think. In every case the matter must be examined critically and sceptically.

Furthermore, it does not follow that a 'racially' diverse society with a strongly centralized government principally manned by one section of the population is less united or stable than a society which is ethnically uniform and also highly stratified. It is not clear what Furnivall intended by the concept 'social will' or his claim that plural societies do not display it. The presence or absence of this quality is critical in his scheme, and in the context of East Africa would appear to mean that Africans, Arabs, Europeans and Indians do not have a generally agreed set of ideas about right and wrong behaviour for the guidance of social action. The same thing can be said, however, of other societies that are not plural. Moreover, the use of the adjective 'plural' fixes attention on the diversities apparent in ethnically and culturally composite societies and diverts attention from the wide measure of agreement in many spheres of social action evident in all sections of the population—a measure of agreement that may well be no less than that to be found in societies more ethnically homogeneous.

The problem of distinguishing societies such as Burma, Malaya, South Africa and East Africa from one another and from other societies which do not use badges so difficult to alter as those of skin colour and other physical features still remains. In spite of the beginning made by Furnivall it would seem that we have hardly begun to investigate this particular problem of classification.

I would suggest that a society such as that in South Africa, where the different categories of the population have status and occupa-

tion explicitly and legally defined, has more in common with the estate system found in seventeenth-century France than it has with contemporary East Africa. It is true that 'racial' categories which are not unlike estates exist in East Africa; but within these categories and across their boundaries the significant structural groups have a freedom and flexibility of manoeuvre more like that seen in present-day France than in South Africa or other estate systems. The behaviour of the Khoja Ismaili Muslim sect in Nairobi is not unlike that of a political party in Paris today. As a rule the Ismailis will act with other Indians, especially Muslims, whose ideologies are considered to be roughly equivalent to their own, but on almost any occasion the members of the sect are willing to form quite other alliances of expediency.

If the legal recognition of 'racial' categories in East Africa is not increased or is reduced, the lack of coincidence of these categories with the significant structural units might well become obvious even to East Africans themselves. In that event East Africa might become a society much more like Mexico or parts of the West Indies than like South Africa.

It is along such lines that I would suggest that we begin our efforts to classify composite societies. In general the use of the criterion of race confuses the analysis and may involve the sociologist in irrelevant local political criteria. It is also likely to bring together societies that have little in common other than ethnic diversity. To emphasize plurality of culture may also encourage people to look on societies with 'minority problems' as if they did not have coherent social systems that are strictly comparable with societies that do not have 'minority problems.'

Notes

¹ J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands Indies*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 446.

² J. S. Furnivall, 'Political Economy of the Far East,' *J. R. Centr. Asian Soc.*, 1942, p. 199.

³ Furnivall, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 204.

⁴ Furnivall, *op. cit.*, 1942.

⁵ Stephen Morris, 'Indians in Uganda,' *Brit. J. Sociol.*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1956, pp. 194-211.

⁶ Furnivall, *op. cit.*, 1942, pp. 198f.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

Chugach Prehistory: The Archaeology of Prince William Sound, Alaska. By Frederica de Laguna. Seattle (U. of Washington P.), 1956. Pp. xxii, 289. Price \$6.50

I49

It has been a pleasure for a non-archaeologist like myself to read Professor de Laguna's treatise, in which the excavated material is dealt with as comprising a whole culture of a people, no matter how lacunately this latter may be documented because of the necessary character of archaeological remains. We are introduced to life in Prince William Sound, Alaska, with a concise report on the physiography and ecology of the country, and after the specific examination of the nature and import of the archaeological material, we are given a final summation in the last section of the book, entitled 'Way of Life.' Not only has the author conceived her subject as the prehistory of the aborigines still living in the area, among whom she has herself studied, but she also undertakes for us a minute description and a detailed scientific analysis of valuable information carefully collected, from which to deduce inferences on the prehistoric relations of the Chugach to their neighbours on the North Pacific coast of North America. The Chugach are a Yupik-Eskimo-speaking people, closely related linguistically, culturally, and racially to the Kanyagh of Kodiak Island and the Alaska Peninsula, and also close culturally and racially but only distantly related

linguistically to the Aleutian Islanders. Since they have for some centuries been occupying the borderland between the other Eskimo-Aleuts to their west (i.e. the Kanyagh and Aleutian Aleuts) and the coastal Indians to their east and south, it is important to determine whether they have acted as connecting link between these two racial-cultural areas, especially in view of the oldest cultural finds at the mouth of the Fraser River in British Columbia, now radiocarbon-dated at 2480 years ago, which display definite similarities to the Eskimo-Aleut area of Alaska's Pacific coast. Professor Laguna's thorough work now permits the conclusion that the Chugach were not the link connecting the older cultural periods of Kachemak Bay, Kodiak, and the Aleutians with the Canadian coast. Adding my conclusions to the author's, the Chugach were apparently too recent arrivals in their present area, as witness their few and shallow middens, their small numbers in an ecologically rich area, and their closer connexions with Bristol Bay than with the south coast (inferred from Birket-Smith, *The Chugach Eskimos*, p. 99). The Chugach have been borrowers from the Indian coast culture in its more recent forms (see splitting adzes, pestle-shaped pounders, mortars and pestles, double-pointed 'tomahawks' or picks, stone-sawing, fairly extensive use of copper, the steambath as against the dry sweatbath, dug-out canoes, variety in beads, pictographs, spruce-root baskets,

basketry hats, face paints, and wool blankets). De Laguna has seen, in her cross-cultural comparisons of the Chugach material, that the position of the latter in the chronology of the Pacific coast Eskimo-Aleuts is the primary problem. And I would add that it is still premature to equate the archaeological periods of this latter area with periods in the Bering Strait area, be it Cape Denbigh, Old Bering Sea, Punguk (not 'Punuk' as heretofore—let's introduce greater linguistic accuracy into archaeological literature—), Ipiutak, or Thule, until we have more and older materials between Norton Sound and Bristol Bay.

Professor de Laguna's present monograph constitutes a masterful contribution to the study of North Pacific coastal prehistory to be placed with her *Archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska* and utilized in conjunction with her Tlinkit archaeological reports.

GORDON H. MARSH

The Crow Indians. By Robert H. Lowie. New York (Rinehart), 1956. Pp. xxii, 350, plates and figures. Price \$3.

150 Professor Lowie's main fieldwork with the Crow was done between 1907 and 1916, when there were still those among them who remembered the old life. The outcome was a series of papers published by the American Museum of Natural History, well known to Plains specialists but not to the general public. After a further visit to the Crow reservation in 1931 Lowie accepted the suggestion that the material should be brought together in a form suitable for anthropologists working in other fields and for 'sociologists, historians . . . and laymen interested in aborigines as human beings.' *The Crow Indians* appeared in 1935, and has a firmly established place in the literature.

The present book is a reissue of the 1935 edition, differing in having limp covers and a smaller format (at the expense of margins) but with the same pagination and illustrations, and the same minor misprint on p. 224. An additional one-page preface brings the Crow census figures up to date, and records the spread of peyotism and the borrowing in 1941 of an alien sun dance religion from the Wind River Shoshone. These recent developments are not investigated or discussed since the author's object is to present the 'aboriginal' culture. This he does in 17 chapters, of which the longest is devoted to the men's societies. The book has been criticized as overweighting the masculine aspects of the culture, and it is perhaps true that students of the Plains Indians in general might gain enhanced perspective from parallel reading of Regina Flannery's monograph on Gros Ventre social life. *The Crow Indians* none the less remains by far the best and most comprehensive study of a Plains tribe to be found in a single volume.

GEOFFREY TURNER

The Trickster. By Paul Radin, with commentaries by Karl Kerényi and C. G. Jung. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1956. Pp. xi, 211. Price £1 1s.

151 This book has a curious history. The Winnebago Trickster Cycle which Radin was instrumental in having recorded in the year 1912 was first published in America. It was later thought to be of such psychological interest that it appeared in Switzerland in 1954, together with other North American Indian trickster material, translated into German with three commentaries, one by Radin on its ethnological and more general aspects, another by Kerényi pointing out some classical parallels, and yet a third by Jung on its psychological meaning. Though the two latter commentaries were quite short in comparison with Radin's own material, this volume appeared with the title of *Der Göttliche Schelm* as under the triple authorship of Jung, Kerényi and Radin, in that order, and was sold, apparently for that reason, at the almost prohibitive price of 60 Swiss francs, which is equivalent to something like £5. The present English edition rightly restores pre-eminence to Radin as the main author, and brings the work within the reasonable compass of a modest English purse. The skilled translator of the two German commentaries is Richard Hull, who is at present engaged in translating Jung's complete works, now being brought out by the same publisher.

The book now includes the Winnebago Trickster Cycle, the Winnebago Hare Cycle, and summaries of the Assiniboine and Tlingit Trickster Myths. Radin supplies notes and a good cultural

commentary, and a general discussion of the material from the point of view of the Trickster as a youngster having to learn his way in the world of both inner and outer reality. He is a godling, it is true, but he is also a married man with the psyche of a youth who, among other things, has to stop living a fantasy sexual life with a genital organ of huge length carried coiled up in a box on his back, indulging in various amorous adventures, all mirroring psychic fact. Not till towards the end does he finally manage, after many blunders, to get it fixed on to his body in the proper way, while its superfluous extension gets gnawed up by a chipmunk into many small pieces, which then become transformed into food plants and other objects necessary to man's material well-being, which, this being a myth, also symbolize psychic experience. There are innumerable conflicts with animals (symbolizing different kinds of instinctive reaction), in which Trickster both tricks and is tricked himself. There are also familiar instances of change of sex, in which, on one occasion, he changes himself into a woman and 'marries' a chief's son and himself gives birth to sons. These all symbolize transforming soul experience. There is much play on the motives of excretion and of flatus, with psychological meanings which any psychologist versed in the deeper layers of both infantile and adult psychology will recognize, and may perhaps draw profit from reading of them in these North American Indian forms.

Kerényi draws parallels with Hermes and other Greek and even modern Italian beliefs and dramatic buffoonery, though some of his comments are not particularly apposite. Jung's commentary is on a more profound and human level, regarding Trickster as what he calls a 'shadow' figure showing forth infantile traits not yet assimilated and so still active in the unconscious, which are partially released and 'purged' by having them brought into half-consciousness by the recitation of such tales. He mentions buffoonery in mediaeval churches as another instance of this.

None of the three commentators, however, see the real point of this Trickster myth as made clear in the beginning of the Winnebago version. This is that Trickster is a chief of a kind that is never supposed to go to war. Nevertheless, he 'goes on the warpath.' But this warpath is a very different one from that expected of any warrior. For what he does is to strip himself of all his warlike accoutrements, and even of his followers-in-arms, who leave him as it gradually appears that he does not intend to go to war at all, and call him 'wicked' for contravening every sacred duty, both those of the peace-chief and those of the warrior. He thus goes all alone into his inner world, symbolized by the adventures that are recounted of him. The 'war' is a psychic war in which every material concept is turned 'upside down,' a war of suffering in which he increasingly becomes aware that he is the source of his own illusions and misfortunes, and therefore, precisely because he has experienced all this, becomes in the end a 'saviour' figure, since he has by then at last experienced the duality and the double meaning of everything.

JOHN LAYARD

Black Gown and Redskins. Selected and edited by Edna Kenton. London (Longmans, Green), 1956. Pp. lvi, 527. Price £1 5s.

152 The subtitle of this book is *Adventures and Travels of the Early Jesuit Missionaries in North America, 1610-1791* and it contains Thwaites's original introduction to the 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations* of which it is a condensation. There is a Foreword by the editor and a Preface by David B. Quinn, and the whole is a reprint of a work first published in 1926 by Brentano.

Seldom may the reviewer quote a dust-jacket blurb with any confidence. Yet in this case it is possible with only one stricture—any serious scholar will of course have to refer to the original volumes. Otherwise it is true that: 'One can read *Black Gown and Redskins* for sheer adventure and excitement or for its illumination of anthropological studies.' If there is any anthropologist who does not know the Iroquois and Algonkians of the Eastern Woodlands from these early records, he can do no better than begin with this masterly condensation. The *Jesuit Relations* give first-hand accounts of one of the great adventure stories of all time. With the conquests of Mexico and Peru, they supply the base from which all studies of acculturation among American Indians inevitably begin.

MARIAN W. SMITH

ASIA

Ethnological Field Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam: A Preliminary Report. By Halfdan Siiger. *Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2. Copenhagen, 1956. Pp. 66, 12 illus. Price kr. 10.

The practice of publishing brief preliminary accounts of anthropological fieldwork is to be welcomed, for it is common knowledge that much ethnographical information remains for decades and sometimes for ever buried in the notebooks of anthropologists unable to fit all of it into their more systematic publications. To save his data from such a fate Halfdan Siiger, the well-known Danish ethnographer, has given us a short preview of the results of two and a half years' fieldwork carried out in the hills of Chitral and Sikkim, and in the plains of Assam. Though a member of the 'Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia,' he did most of the work on his own, and his interests were mainly focused on certain problems connected with religion and ritual.

The most important part of his material relates to the Kalash Kafirs, a tribal group 3,000-4,000 strong, inhabiting three valleys of Chitral. Unlike most other Kafirs, the Kalash have not embraced Islam, and their religion constitutes a blending of Hinduism and elements of ancient tribal cults. The latter are centred in sacred groves and sanctuaries marked by 'long rows of benches with carved posts raised in memory of great donors of lavish feasts' (p. 19). Such monuments, reminiscent of the wooden posts and megalithic structures elsewhere connected with feasts of merit, have been reported already by G. S. Robertson, and it is likely that Halfdan Siiger's fuller publications on the Kalash will give us a clearer picture of the circumstances under which feasts are given and memorial posts are being set up.

The Kalash speak an Aryan language related to Khowar, and it would seem that this small tribal community represents one of the most archaic types of Aryan folk culture found today on Indian soil.

The second group studied by the author are the Lepchas of Sikkim, and he succeeded in obtaining for the National Museum of Copenhagen a large number of manuscripts in Lepcha script.

Finally Mr. Siiger spent some months among the Bodos or Plains Kacharis of Assam and investigated the mingling of old tribal and Hindu elements in their ritual and ceremonies.

It is to be hoped that in due course the author will be able to publish in full the many interesting data mentioned but briefly in this preliminary report. C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF

Chez les coupeurs de tête de Bornéo. By Pierre Ivanoff. Paris (Arthaud), 1955. Pp. 122, 57 photographs, map.

154 In the vast island of Borneo it is very easy to travel where no white man has ever trod, but it is by no means an unexplored island, as Helbig has thoroughly demonstrated. Yet it has such associations that popular writers have free rein (and publishers) for sensationalist accounts of journeys there. A notorious example is Miller's *Black Borneo*, and the latest is the book under review.

Two or three years ago (by report—there are no dates) the author and four other young Frenchmen went up the Mahakam river to the country of the Penihing and stayed there, by their account, for a year. Most anthropologists would be very happy to be able to travel for once just for the sake of travel, but Mr. Ivanoff and his companions,

who had this enviable opportunity, felt that they needed the respectability of Science. The project which they set themselves was to search for traces of the passing of the Polynesians from mainland south-east Asia to the Pacific, but there is no sign in the narrative of any information bearing on this matter nor that they were at all fitted for ethnographical investigations of any sort.

Mr. Ivanoff records everyday trivia of Bornean life which have been on record for over a century; he dramatizes petty afflictions of river travel; he presents breathless impressions but little exact description; and he constantly writes in such a fashion as to mislead the uninformed reader into imagining a journey up the Mahakam to be almost as dangerous as when Georg (wrongly given by the author as Charles) Müller first made it. He enquires into the fate of Müller (who vanished in an exploration of the headwaters) and sees in the people's reactions distrustful silence and continual evasion. But the Mahakam came under Dutch rule in 1844, the peoples of the river have had continual contact with European administrators, doctors and technical specialists (as well as with Weddik, Bock, Nieuwenhuis, and Lumholtz, whom the author neglects to mention)—and Müller was killed in 1826! The author presents a solution of the 'mystery' of Müller's death, presumably for dramatic interest, as though it were new information—the disclosure of a guiltily kept secret of the Penihing through his own remarkable capacity for gaining confidence—but all of it and more has been on record since 1843. None of this would matter much if the author had been content to write a travel book, but his disingenuous account and scientific pretensions attract severer attention.

The sole reference to the 'scientific' aim of the journey is the observation that objects were found which resembled those of the Marquesas, and others of forms 'closely related' to Viking art. Yet there may be more to come from it, some of it possibly respectable: they collected 800 objects, made six hours of sound recording, 2,500 photographs and 1,000 metres of colour film, though there is no indication of where these have been deposited or if they are available for study. As for the notebooks '*gonflés de précieuses informations*' . . . , we must wait to see what they contain, but it seems very unlikely that much can be expected from an author so ignorant of Bornean ethnography and so silent about his scholarly and genuinely courageous predecessors.

The photographs, however, are extremely good and worth the book's price. Some of them appear to have been posed or arranged, but they nevertheless give a good idea of house styles, carvings, costumes, ornaments, etc., of middle Borneo in the nineteen-fifties.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

Lords of the Mountains. By Marie-Thérèse Ullens de Schooten. London (Chatto & Windus), 1956. Pp. 128. Price 18s.

155 This story of a courageous journey into mountains of Southern Persia held by a tribe of Turkish-speaking nomads, told very much in the first person, might be thought to hold little or nothing for professional anthropologists. In fact, a certain amount of ethnographical information is to be gleaned from Madame de Schooten's account. The photographs are excellent, and two appendices contain, first, a list of nomadic peoples in Iran, and, secondly, a detailed list of the sub-divisions of the Kashkai or Gashgai people. There is also a four-page bibliography.

PAUL STIRLING

CORRESPONDENCE

Statuettes inside Cups or Bowls. Cf. MAN, 1956, 194

156 SIR.—In her article 'A Bushongo Cup in the Musée de l'Homme,' Mme Jacqueline Delange describes the interesting cylindrical form with a human head at its top, which fits into a hole in the centre of the bottom of the wooden cup, as a 'stopper.' The fact that this stopper is 'loose,' which is due to a 'small gap between its end and the edge of the hole' would thus cause the cup to leak. This is an important feature, in particular if

we compare this Bushongo cup with an Indian parallel, viz. the well-known brass cups of Benares inside which there is a brass statuette of Rama carrying on his outstretched arms his brother Lakshmana. This group represents the mythical episode relating how Rama carried his brother across the river Ganga, and the water receded as soon as it reached the feet of Lakshmana. Indeed the hydraulic mechanism of the cup is so arranged that, when water is poured into the cup, it will run out at the bottom as soon as it

reaches the dangling feet of the figure of Lakshmana. How old this interesting type of cup is I cannot tell, but many replicas have been made up till modern times and are probably still made. I am inclined to regard it as a true parallel, i.e. I do not wish to suggest any genetic connexion with the Bushongo cup.

However, statuettes or zoomorphic figures inside bowls occur in various parts of the world and at different periods. As far as Africa is concerned, the wooden bowls of the Zimbabwe district (the so-called 'zodiac' bowls and the one with the relief of a crocodile) are no parallels here as they are morphologically different. But I may refer to a painted pottery bowl from Nigeria, probably not a unique piece but a type. It is an object collected at Ibi by Major Langheld in 1905 and is, or at least was formerly, in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (No. III C 20528b). This bowl is the top of a nest of four or five concentric bowls, altogether 17 centimetres high. The uppermost bowl (diameter 17.5 centimetres) has in its centre the figure of a guinea fowl perched on a short vertical post. The bowl, post and fowl are all modelled in one piece. The fowl as well as the whole inner surface of the bowl are painted in various colours, viz., indigo blue, a chalky grey, a dark grey, and a silverish grey suggesting ground mica as an ingredient of the pigment. The original reddish shade of the clay is completely covered by the thick paint. The designs on the inner surface are geometric. It is interesting that an almost perfect parallel, viz. a pottery bowl with a bird perched on a short post inside, has been excavated in Peru. The piece is from Recuay and used to be in the Peruvian collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

Finally, a holy water vessel of chased copper from Mount Athos, obviously a type, has a group of Christian symbols mounted at the top of a short metal stick fitting into a hole in the centre of the interior of the bowl. The group consists of a fish, with movable sections, and above it a dove. A representation of this type was formerly in my possession but was lost many years ago; fortunately a photograph still exists.

LEONHARD ADAM

Seminar für Völkerkunde, University of Bonn

Pygmy Music and Ceremonial. Cf. MAN, 1955, 31; 1957, 78

I57 SIR,—It is surely *odium academicum* for Father Schebesta to base his criticism on a mere thousand-word summary of a paper read to the Royal Anthropological Institute over two years ago. Had he been sufficiently interested to ask to see a copy of this paper he would hardly have been able to write as he does.

He alleges that I say 'that there is an almost complete lack of instrumental music among the Bambuti.' I do not, and even in the summary (MAN, 1955, 31) I think my opening sentence makes it sufficiently clear that I am talking about one particular group of Bambuti Pygmies only. Schebesta himself seems to realize this since one of his later criticisms is that I am analysing Pygmy institutions 'from a single place.'

I am also advised by Father Schebesta, for my further studies among the Bambuti, 'to look to the literature that already exists about them.' I have a bibliography of some 200 sources, most of which, as Father Schebesta must know, are useless for purposes of scientific analysis. I have also had the advantage of being able to work on the papers of the American anthropologist, Patrick Putnam, who lived in the Congo and worked among the Ituri Pygmies both as an anthropologist and as a doctor for a quarter of a century. Together with the notes of Mrs. Anne Eisner Putnam, who spent over eight years in the Epulu district, this represents a total of some 30 years' experience. From this material, as from my own limited field experience (a total of about 10 months) I can only say that I am in possession of facts that are certainly no less reliable than those offered by Father Schebesta and yet are in direct contradiction to them.

The resolution of this contradiction is simple enough, and brings me to what I believe to be the most important issue raised by Schebesta's letter—a question of methodology. Schebesta seems to favour an eclectic method which gathers facts from all over the Ituri and lumps them together in the form of a cultural hotch-potch called 'Bambuti culture.' This leads to the kind of generalizations that he makes, in his letter as in his other works, and with which

any body of facts drawn from a single community can hardly fail to disagree. I am unable to see how one can talk of 'Pygmy' institutions when no single Pygmy community has yet been made the subject of a full sociological study, a task on which I am engaged at the moment. A series of such studies will, to my mind, give us the kind of foundation needed for proper use of the comparative method. For the social anthropologist, and I imagine for other scientists, a comparison of general observations such as Schebesta gives us leads us exactly nowhere, except possibly to this generalized notion of a mythical 'Pygmy culture' that exists in no one society.

Further, such detailed studies of different hunting groups will, I believe, reveal a more significant division of the Ituri Pygmies than the threefold linguistic division made by Father Schebesta—a division which merely corresponds to major Negro tribal groupings. The division that I refer to is based on a difference in hunting technique. From my own observations so far, I expect to find that a detailed analysis will reveal a profound sociological difference between the structures of the societies of net hunters and those of archers and trackers.

With regard to the *Alima*, I must admit to going down in print as saying that 'it is not of Bantu origin,' and I am grateful to Father Schebesta for pointing out this careless assertion. In view of his remarks I am prepared to modify the statement to read that the *Alima* 'does not seem to be of Bantu origin'; though frankly the question of origin seems to rest necessarily on so much assumption as to be incapable of absolute certainty. But when Schebesta says 'The Bambuti among themselves nowhere celebrate such a ceremony,' I can only assert most emphatically that in my own experience, and in the odd 30 years' experience of the Putnams, they do; and, moreover, that unlike the initiation of boys, the *Alima* is conducted (by these Pygmies who practise it) without reference to the Negroes, and usually away from any contact with them. Further, it is consecrated by a peculiar type of music which can, if anything can, be called truly 'Pygmy,' as it is found throughout Schebesta's three linguistic divisions of the Ituri, and even among the Pygmies of French Equatorial Africa, and which is distinct from the music of neighbouring Negro tribes both in technique and function. To amplify this point would, unfortunately, be to repeat my original paper.

Reference to the term *molino* interests me, as the Pygmies that I know do not use this term—but perhaps that is because, speaking a mixture of Lese and Bira and Kinguana, they do not fit exactly into any of Schebesta's linguistic divisions.

There certainly are restrictions on the singing of the Lusumba songs, which perhaps accounts for Schebesta's failure to make any mention of them in the 20 pages he devotes to Dance, Music and Song in his three-volume work *Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri*. The Epulu Pygmies, who are no more and no less 'spoiled' than any other Pygmies, contrary to Schebesta's assertion, rigorously maintain the sanctity of their forest life and maintain its integrity against the profane outsider—Negro or European.

Finally, with reference to Father Schebesta's advice as to how I should gain 'more essential insight into the Pygmies' souls,' I can only express my astonishment that in so lengthy a work as *Die Bambuti Pygmäen vom Ituri* Schebesta should have given such scant attention to such a vitally important means of religious expression as song; even, indeed, entirely ignored its social significance. The religious importance of music among the Epulu Bambuti was precisely the whole point of my original paper, which Father Schebesta has not even read.

Magdalen College, Oxford

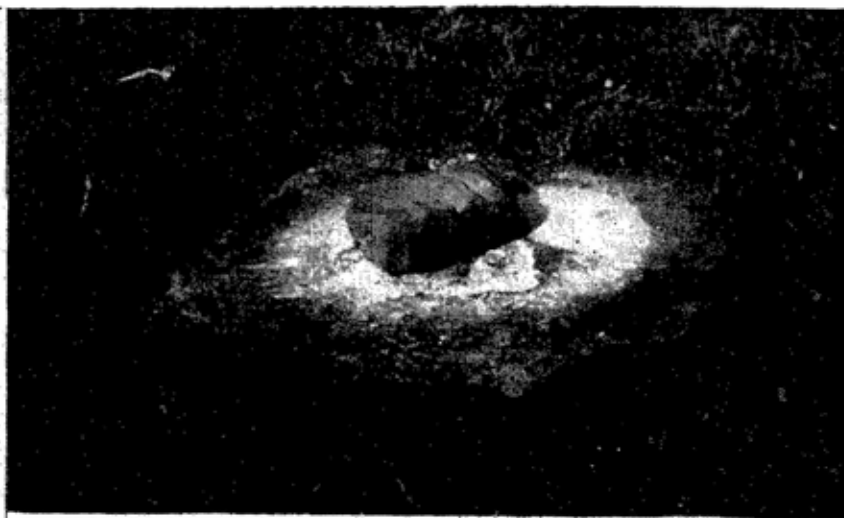
COLIN M. TURNBULL

African Law. Cf. MAN, 1957, 130

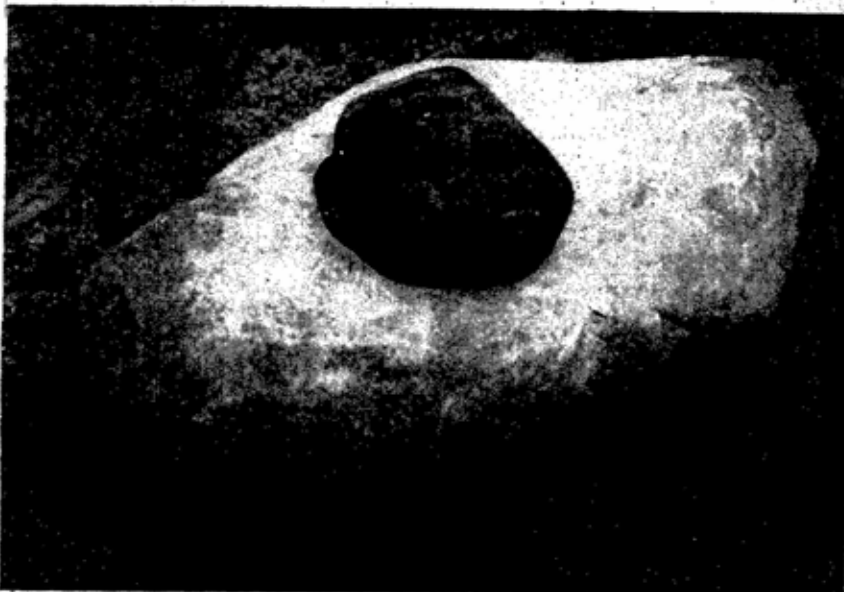
I58 SIR,—In his review of *The Nature of African Customary Law*, by T. O. Elias, Professor Hoebel regards as valid the author's thesis that 'a distinction between what we call civil and criminal law exists throughout Africa.' This is not in accordance with my experience among the Lotuko. I remember, for example, a case in which a man was sitting on a platform when it broke under him and a man sitting below was killed. I was told that the compensation payable was the same as for murder.

Ush

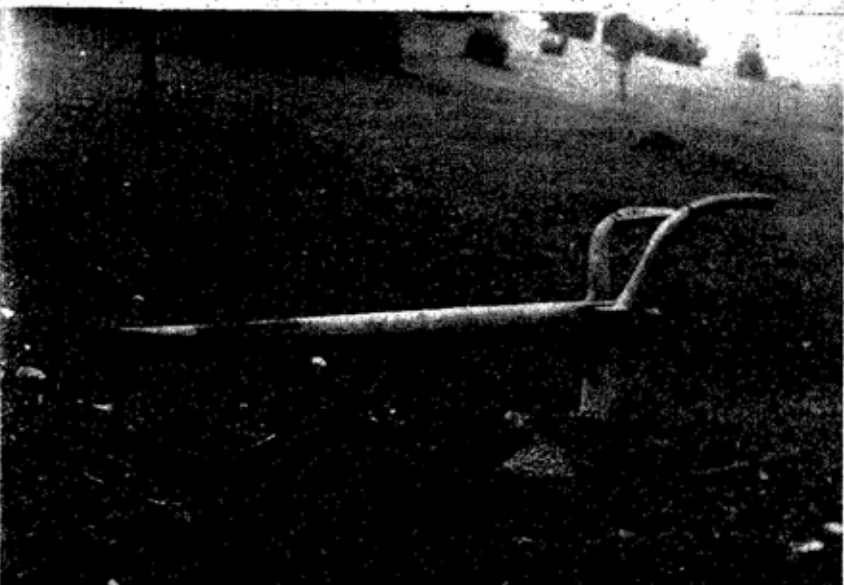
RAGLAN



(b)



(d)



(e)

ETHNOLOGICAL SURVIVALS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

(a) Moravian Valach fire drill, Velké Karlovice, Czechoslovakia; (b) Moravian Valach primitive milling stone, Velké Karlovice, Czechoslovakia; (c) Slovak primitive milling stone, Terchova, County Trenčín, Czechoslovakia; (d) Roumanian primitive milling stone, Sačel, County Tordaaranyos, Transylvania, Roumania; (e) Moravian Valach wooden plough, Halenkov, Czechoslovakia

ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCHES AMONG THE MORAVIAN VALACHS*

by

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159 The Moravian Valachs live in the north-western Carpathians west of the Javorník mountains in Czechoslovakia. We find their most characteristic villages and small towns in the region of the two Bečva rivers.

The origin and history of the Moravian Valachs are veiled in mist in many respects even today. The old Moravian population was probably mixed with Slovak and Polish elements coming in somewhat later. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries further waves of immigrants, this time wandering Roumanian herdsmen, reached the region of the two small rivers named Bečva and the country of the Radhošť mountains. These Roumanian herdsmen occupied mainly the higher ridges of hills which were suitable for use as pastures. Their memory is preserved in the hill names and Roumanian words occurring in the terminology of the Moravian Valach herdsmen.¹

In October, 1955, I had the opportunity to stay with this very interesting folk group and to make ethnological researches among them, my special interest being in housing, house-keeping, and economy. I found that very many archaic elements were preserved in the culture of the Moravian Valachs, and of these some are presented below.

Fire-making. In the eastern and middle parts of Europe and in the Balkans several ancient methods of fire-making survive. The most common is the fire drill, mentioned by K. Moszyński and D. Zelenin² among others. Many variations of the fire drill are known in the Radnai mountains of Transylvania among Roumanian herdsmen.³

I found a form of fire drill among the Moravian Valachs. The example to be described was in the possession of an old peasant in the valley of Upper Bečva near Velké Karlovice. Two boards, about 114 by 21 centimetres in size, are erected vertically, and between them is fitted a stick about 40 centimetres long and 6 centimetres in diameter. Its ends are somewhat rounded with a cruciform incision, into which some beech tinder is put. The stick held firmly between the two boards is brought into motion by two men by means of a rope passed round it. The quick driving motion makes the tinder in the ends of the stick begin to glow. The fire drill shown in Plate Ka had been in use for a long time, as can be seen from the number of hemispherical hollows on the board. The two boards and the cylinder were made of spruce. When the fire drill was in use it was not necessary to fasten the boards into the earth as the two boards were usually held very firmly by the two men pulling the rope, who faced each other across the rotating stick. One of the boards was placed against a tree so that the rather primitive mechanism should stand more firmly. The 'fire drill' has no name of its own in the

* With Plate K and two text figures

Moravian Valachs' language, but the fire made by it is called *dřevný oheň*, 'fire made of wood.'

The example illustrated was being used to make fire some years ago by herdsmen on the pastures in the mountains. A similar primitive fire-making implement of the Moravian Valachs was displayed at the Ethnological Exhibition in Prague at the end of the last century.⁴ Similar specimens may be found in the neighbouring Slovakian areas east of the Moravian Valachs.⁵

Primitive Milling Stones. We are reminded of prehistoric times when we see the primitive milling stones that are being used among the Moravian Valachs to this day. One such is shown in Plate Kb. The lower stone is about 40 by 43 centimetres large and 3 centimetres thick. The upper one is of convenient size to be held in the hands. Both stones are of crystal slate. Salt, sugar, poppy seeds and different spices are still ground by this type of milling stone in the valley of Upper Bečva and in the mountains round Velké Karlovice. The stone is swept clean as necessary by a hairy hare's foot.

L. Baran, an excellent expert on Moravian Valach ethnology, asserts that these primitive milling stones may be seen only in museums.⁶ I found them in use not only among the Moravian Valachs but also among the Slovaks in the counties of Trenčín-Trencsén and Orava-Árva (Plate Kc) and the Roumanians in Transylvania (Plate Kd). In these areas the same milling stone is used for milling cereals as well as for grinding salt. In some Slovak villages in the county of Orava-Árva the leaves of a table are made of stone (crystal slate). On these slabs salt and cereals are ground by means of another smaller stone, and the part of the table on which they are ground is usually a little concave as a consequence of the use over long years.

These prehistoric milling stones still occur sporadically in the most different areas of Europe, e.g. among the Kurps,⁷ a Polish ethnic group, and among the Bulgarians⁸ in the Rhodope mountains. They are also known among the Greeks in southern Italy.⁹

Primitive Wooden Ploughs. In the light of the genesis of European ploughs the wooden plough of the Moravian Valachs is also remarkable. It is formed by a crook one and one-half metres long, fitted at its lower end with a symmetrical ploughshare that is relatively large. Two wooden plough handles (stils) are fastened at the angle (Plate Ke), and a forecarriage is also used with this plough (fig. 1). The depth of the furrow is governed by the hole on the plough beam to which the forecarriage is coupled.

These primitive wooden ploughs were made, usually of beech, by the Moravian Valach peasants themselves, and were called *hák* in their language. Nowadays such primitive

ploughs are no longer used but their more developed variations are still used.¹⁰ The oldest known occurrence of this crook plough is in the twelfth-century fresco on the walls of the chapel in Znojmo, Moravia, a portrait of the



FIG. 1. MORAVIAN VALACH FORECARRIAGE, HALENKOV, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

legendary founder of the first Czech dynasty, Přemysl the Ploughman.¹¹

Without doubt this plough has its prehistoric ancestors. In my opinion the Bronze Age plough that was lately reported by A. G. Haudricourt and M. Jean-Brunhes Delamarre¹² may have been similar to this wooden plough of the Moravian Valachs. I studied in detail how far the rock drawings of the early Iron Age or the Bronze Age in Val Camonica¹³ are identical with the Moravian Valach wooden ploughs. In my opinion these prehistoric ploughs are just such simple wooden crooks as those which I have described. We cannot determine how the handles were fastened to the end of the beam of these prehistoric ploughs. It is striking, however, that the Moravian Valach plough does not look like either the Walle ploughs or the Døstrup ploughs.¹⁴ The crook of the Walle plough lies on the ground parallel with the surface of the ground whereas with the *háč* of the Moravian Valachs only the point of the crook touches the ground. In the Døstrup plough,

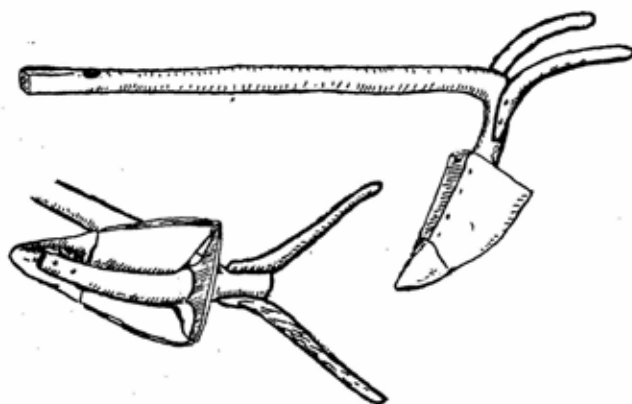


FIG. 2. SLOVENIAN CROOK PLOUGH, PODKOREN, YUGOSLAVIA
After B. Orel

however, the beam is separately fastened to the crook of the plough itself.

The *háč* is important also from the point of view of the genesis of the Slavic ploughs. Without hesitation I consider

it to be an ancient form of the *ralo*, which is the ancient crook plough of the Slavs.¹⁵ (Whether the plough has one or two handles does not seem to me to affect the problem materially, since *ralo*-type ploughs may occur with either one or two.) It is remarkable also that a plough like that of the Moravian Valachs is in use at the present time among the Slovenians living in the Eastern Alps. It is called *dréucl*, 'small tree.' In this kind of plough, according to B. Orel, a 'mouldboard' is fitted on each side of the crook¹⁶ and the ploughshare is fastened on the mouldboard that is nothing else than an extension of the ploughshare (fig. 2). In my opinion there is a genetic connexion between the *háč* of the Moravian Valachs and the *dréucl* of the Slovenians. The Slovenian crook plough may have been brought to the Eastern Alps by the Slavs who were wandering from the north to the south. Or we may be more correct in thinking that these primitive wooden ploughs are prehistoric relics in the Eastern Alps just as are those used in the areas where the Moravian Valachs nowadays live. The survival of the *dréucl* and the primitive *háč* may be explained by geographical, economic and social circumstances.

Notes

¹ There are very many works dealing with the problem of the Moravian Valachs among which I will mention the fundamental work of D. Crânjala, *Rumunské vlivy v Karpatech*, Prague, 1938, which includes information about the earlier literature. V. Chaloupecký's book, *Valaši na Slovensku* (Prague, 1947), contains valuable points of view, though some of them are open to discussion. Recently, valuable researches made by the Czech historian J. Macůrek into the history of the Moravian Valachs have been published in various Czech periodicals (*Slezský sborník*, *Valašsko*).

² K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian*, Vol. I, Cracow, 1929, pp. 235-8; D. Zelenin, *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 97-9.

³ T. Morariu, 'Contribuții la aprinderea "focului viu" în Ardeal, Maramureș și Bucovina,' *Anuarul Arhivei de Folclor*, Vol. IV, Bucharest, 1937, pp. 229-36. For the different primitive ways of making fire in Roumania see: I. Mușlea, 'Materiale pentru cunoașterea și răspândirea "focului viu" la Români,' *Anuarul Arhivei de Folclor*, Vol. IV, Bucharest, 1937, pp. 237-42; D. A. Vasiliu, *Focul viu*, Bucharest, 1943.

⁴ Č. Zíbrt, 'Národopisná výstava československá, Český Lid, Vol. V, Prague, 1896, p. 12.

⁵ R. Bednárík, 'Hmotná kultura slovenského ľudu,' *Slovenská vlastiveda*, Vol. II, Bratislava, 1943, p. 166. It is very interesting that fire made by a 'fire drill' is called 'dry fire.' These primitive methods of fire-making are also known in the folk tradition of Western Europe. See R. Weiss's recent study: 'Nebelheilen, Teufelheilen: Notfeuerbereitung und Wetterzauber als Hirtenbrauch,' *Schweiz. Arch. für Volkskunde*, Vol. XLV, Basel, 1948, pp. 225-61. Cf. S. Lagercrantz, *African Methods of Fire-Making*, Uppsala, 1954.

⁶ L. Baran, 'Žrna, mlýnce a šupňáky na Valašsku,' *Valašsko*, Vol. II, Brno, 1953, p. 92. On this problem see also the earlier work by the excellent Polish geographer L. R. v. Sawicki, 'Almenwirtschaft und Hirtenleben in der Mährischen Walachei,' *Zeits. für österreich. Volkskunde*, Vol. XXI-XXII, Vienna, 1915-1916, p. 38.

⁷ A. Chetnik, 'Žarna,' *Lud Słowianski*, Vol. II, Cracow, 1931, p. 216-B 220.

⁸ L. Szolnoky, 'Néprajzi megfigyelések a rodopei házban,' *Néprajzi Értésítő*, Vol. XXXVII, Budapest, 1955, p. 217.

⁹ G. Rohlf, 'La Grecia italica,' *Anthropos*, Vol. XXIII, 1928, p. 1026.

¹⁰ There are other Czech works about the plough. L. Kunz is the last to write about this matter: 'Staré zemědělství na Valašsku,' *Valašsko*, Vol. V, Brno, 1956, pp. 6-21.

¹¹ F. Šach, 'Development of the Plough and Czech Radlo,' in P. Michelsen (ed.), *Research on Ploughing Implements*, Copenhagen, 1956, p. 129; *idem*, 'Vývoj pluhu a české rúchadlo,' *Československá Ethnografie*, Vol. III, Prague, 1955, p. 38.

¹² André G. Haudricourt and M. Jean-Brunhes Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue*, Paris, 1955, p. 76, fig. 12.

¹³ F. V. Glob, 'Plovbilleder i Val Camonica,' *Kuml*, Vol. IV, Aarhus, 1954, pp. 7-17.

¹⁴ A new report on these ploughs has been written by G. Mildemberger, 'Der Pflug im vorgeschichtlichen Europa,' *Wissenschaftl. Zeits. der Universität Leipzig*, 1951-1952, No. 5, pp. 69-75.

¹⁵ L. Niederle, *Rukověť slovanských starožitností*, Prague, 1953, pp. 330-6; D. Zelenin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ B. Orel, 'Ralo na Slovenskem,' *Slovenski etnograf*, Vol. VIII, Ljubljana, 1955, pp. 63-6.

THE WAYANG KULIT OF JAVA AND BALI

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO STUDY MATERIAL IN ENGLAND*

by

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London

I60 The object of this lecture was to describe collections of Javanese and Balinese *wayang kulit* puppets in England and to evaluate them for the purpose of study. And at the same time to present a brief, but authoritative selection of publications that are available here and to draw attention to certain aspects of study of the *wayang kulit* puppet which have been relatively neglected.

Collections of Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets are to be found in London, Liverpool and Oxford. They cover a period of over 150 years and the tally of puppets is in the region of 600. To date no catalogues of these collections have been published, so it is time that some assessment of this material was made and the data placed on record.

No collection of Balinese *wayang kulit* puppets appears to exist in England, except for a private collection belonging to Dr. C. Hooykaas of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. This consists of about 60 specimens which were acquired piecemeal from north Bali before the war.

This collection—substantial for Balinese *wayang kulit* puppets—is particularly useful for the comparative study of the structure and internal composition of Javanese and Balinese *kulit* puppets. They are distinguished from the Javanese *wayang kulit* puppet not only in their structure and in their internal composition, but also by the very individual character of their *tatahan*. This seems to suggest that the Balinese *penatah*—at least in modern times—has not adhered to any set rule for the contours of his chisel work, but has followed the dictates of his own fancy. The Javanese *penatah*, on the other hand, judging by Javanese *kulit* puppets here, in the Leiden Museum voor Volkenkunde and in the Instituut voor de Tropen at Amsterdam, was and still is either more conservative in respect of his chisel's contours, or has deemed no material change in their shape or size to be necessary, regarding them as perfect tools for the job.

This free approach of the Balinese *penatah* to his material and to his subject tends to make the work of an individual *penatah* more distinctive than that of his Javanese counterpart. In some of the puppets of the Hooykaas collection the *a jour* work is of a very open nature. This tends to a loss of

balance in the figure as a whole, a loss of definition of the inner decorative motifs and of the emblems of rank. In such puppets there is a noticeable encroachment of the ornaments and the clothing over the body area. Moreover there is no conformity in the size of the *tatahan*, they vary from *penatah* to *penatah*. However, there is one puppet in this collection which is free from these defects and is perfectly balanced and proportioned.

If restraint in character-portrayal is a feature of the Balinese puppet, in distinction from the Javanese puppet, the reverse holds good for the chisel work in the inner composition of the Javanese *kulit* puppet. The exuberant use of his chisel by the Balinese *penatah* is reminiscent of the riot of carving to be found on present-day temples in north Bali. The balanced composition of the Javanese *penatah* can be likened to that displayed by the architects and sculptors of the *Dieng* temples.

In collections of Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets our museums are well off.

The City of Liverpool Public Museums have a collection of 120, acquired in 1928, no further data being available. Most pieces of this collection have now been identified. These puppets were also piecemeal market purchases and a number of *penatah* have produced them. In general there is type-for-type conformity, but where form or treatment does vary it does so in a distinctive fashion. Certain puppets are not to be found in other collections in England. This collection contains puppets which in quality of workmanship and colour equal those of the Raffles collection.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section, has a smallish collection of Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets dating from 1881, and a few animals and unpainted weapons that are reputedly late eighteenth century and were acquired in 1916. Among the group of puppets dating from 1881 there are to be found some unusual features. A *Garuda* has appeared in the centre of the *praba*, the cutting of the hair coils of one of the women is distinctive and in the women of the so-called *gedog* type the breast has a prominence that it is more usual to find in Indian sculpture than in *wayang kulit* puppets. The breast is more modified in the women puppets of the Raffles collection, in those illustrated by Kats and in the *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa*.

The prize of this collection is undoubtedly the boar. This

* The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 2 May, 1957. A glossary of vernacular words and names, in the order in which they appear in the text, is given at the end of the paper.

puppet is one of the 1916 acquisition and it is without doubt a perfect example of the ability of the Javanese *penatah* to interpret in hide that often fleeting movement that characterizes an animal. A good Javanese *penatah* and a good Javanese poet should both observe nature. This one did. Not even the boar and sow of the Raffles collection—and they are vividly alive—match the teetering stance and head-to-the-ground-rooting attitude of this boar. None of these puppets are identified.

The Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London, has a small collection of *wayang kulit*, acquired in 1949. No other data are available. A few of these puppets have been identified.

Another very interesting collection and one that will repay further investigation is that at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. These 62 puppets were acquired in 1899 from an old Javanese then living in Singapore. What they lack in workmanship they more than make up for in the distinctive development of the outer form of the *dodot* and the unusual treatment of the double-tailed *kuncha*. The work of many *penatah* is represented and the puppets are made of goatskin, according to the donor. The puppets were identified by their collector, Mr. Ridley.

Two recent acquisitions at Oxford, though they come from Kelantan, north Malaya, and not from Java, nevertheless merit comment; like those of Java, they are made of hide and perforated. The male puppet is, externally, as Javanese an *Arjuna* as one could wish to find, but the internal motif of the *dodot* and the form of the *tatahan* are never found on Javanese or Balinese *wayang kulit*. But an identical form of *tatahan* and motif are to be found on a *kulit* puppet fairly recently acquired by Professor Raymond Firth from Kelantan. The female is markedly Javanese in some respects, but the hair is the subject of an interesting development, and motif and *tatahan* are as that on the male figure.

Our finest collection of Javanese *wayang kulit* puppets is the Raffles Collection in the Department of Ethnography, British Museum. Raffles acquired them during the years 1811–1816 and they were given to the British Museum in 1858. This collection, incidentally, is not confined to *wayang kulit* puppets, it has *keruchil*, an unknown form of *golek* (on which a paper will be published next year), and *topeng* masks. There is no specimen of a *wayang beber* and the true *golek* is not represented. (A good collection of the latter is at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section.)

The exact part of Java from which the Raffles Collection came is not known; they may have come from the eastern part, for Raffles was on very friendly terms with certain cultured East Javanese and Madurese noblemen.

The whole collection is of a remarkably high order of craftsmanship. It is not excelled by collections in Holland, but is on a par with Series 37 in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, which is considered their best. The Raffles Collection can be accepted as the criterion by which to judge the craftsmanship of Javanese *kulit* puppets in England.

The *wayang kulit* collection consists of 360 specimens: 45 are weapons; 24 are animals and birds; 96 are *wayang gedog kulit*, none of which are duplicated, and 195 are *wayang purwa kulit*, a few of which are duplicated. Included in this

number are four armies and five *gunungan*. 106 of the *purwa kulit* and the 96 *gedog kulit* are of first-class workmanship and painting, the remaining 89 are only slightly less perfect. Their *tatahan* are not so elaborate, there is rather less gold-leaf embellishment, and red is the dominant colour. None of this group have their names in Javanese characters, only in Latin script, and some of them are suspect. The *gedog*, a mere handful excepted, are identified in Javanese script and also in Latin script, the latter not always being a faithful transcript of the former. This also applies to the first 106 *kulit* first mentioned.

The colours of all the *wayang kulit* are in an exceptionally good state of preservation, the deterioration of colour strength through all tones being negligible—this despite their age, the varying climatic changes to which they have been exposed and the fact that they have been subjected to conditions generally which are the direct opposite to those laid down by the world-famous artist's colourmen, Messrs. Winsor and Newton, as the permanency test for oil colours. But these *wayang kulit* colours are water colours; in all accounts of the painting, glue is the binding medium.

The work of four or five *penatah* is discernible.

The quantity of *wayang gedog* puppets adds greatly to the value of this collection, the number exceeding by some scores that of any collection in the west, at least. This form of *wayang* is virtually extinct—it was always regional—and, for want of specimens as much as anything else, has been rather neglected. Unlike the *wayang purwa kulit*, the *wayang gedog kulit* represent characters from the cycle of the *Panji* stories; they are thus linked with the historiographical studies of Professor Berg on the *Panji* tradition and with the researches of Professor Galetin.

In the very near future an analysis of these puppets will be made and a paper prepared for publication.

In the case of the *wayang purwa kulit* it is evident after examining *kulit* puppets here, in Holland and in the *Sedjarah Wayang Purwa* that while there is a marked degree of continuity in their iconography it is not absolutely constant. It is also clear from the Raffles *kulit* that the very elegant development of the *supit urang* found on puppets made some decades later that are in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, was already a feature, in a slightly less exaggerated form, in these much earlier *kulit* puppets.

From this survey it is apparent that there is material here with which, in conjunction with that in Holland, a critical analysis can be made of the iconographical continuity of the *wayang purwa kulit*; of its structure and composition and the changes that have taken place from time to time.

Finally, in whatever way one approaches the *wayang kulit* puppet for study it must always be treated as an integral part of Javanese or Balinese culture. There is a relationship between the *penatah* and the puppet he makes, between them and the *dalang* and the *lakons* he narrates, the performance of any part of the *wayang purwa* cycle of stories and the audience. From this background the *kulit* puppet cannot be separated.

It is also a faulty approach to begin by making a comparison as such between the Javanese and the Balinese *kulit* puppet. Admittedly both *penatah* have the same basic

material for their puppet, buffalo hide, and approximately the same tools, chisels, and the puppets of both are animated before a white cotton screen; but each must be treated as a product of its environment, for the one is not a copy or imitation of the other.

Glossary

Wayang: puppet; also the performance itself, even when puppets as such are not used; see *topeng*, *beber*.

Kulit: hide.

Tatahan: the perforations made in the hide by the chisel.

Penatah: the maker of the *kulit* puppet; the *penungging* is the painter of the puppet.

Dieng: the site of the beautiful Hindu-Javanese temples, the Chandi Bima, Chandi Arjuna, etc.

Garuda: an ornament in the form of a bird's head; found on various parts of the puppet.

Praba: the wing-like protuberance rising from the shoulder blades, behind the shoulders to above the crown of the head.

Gedog: a *kulit* puppet having a form distinct from that of the *kulit* puppets used in the *wayang purwa*. The stories of the *wayang gedog* are also different from those of the *wayang purwa*.

Dodot: elaborately folded material on lower half of the body of many of the male *kulit* puppets; the state robe.

Kuncha: the double tail of the *dodot*; hangs between the legs, often to the ground.

Arjuna: the third son of Pandu; one of the five Pandawa.

Keruchil: a form of flat wooden puppet; carved and painted on both sides.

Golek: a form of wooden puppet, which is three dimensional, the clothing being of cotton *batik*.

Topeng: a form of *wayang*; performed by actors wearing masks.

Beber: a form of *wayang*; a long scroll of cotton on which the episodes are painted.

Wayang purwa kulit: a puppet representing characters from the cycle of the *Ramayana* stories, and the *Bharata Yuddha*, etc.

Gunungan: the pyramid-shaped object which appears only at certain places in the performance of a *wayang*.

The *Panji*: the hero of the *wayang gedog*.

Supit urang: the coil of hair curling high above the head.

Dalang: the animator of the puppets and the narrator of the story.

Lakon: the story narrated by the *Dalang*.

BRIEF LIST OF PUBLICATIONS CITED WITH PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES WHERE A COPY IS TO BE FOUND

Abbreviations: SOAS, School of Oriental and African Studies; BML, British Museum Library; BMdpe, British Museum, Department of Ethnography; RAI, Royal Anthropological Institute.

L. Serrurier, *De Wajang Poerwa*, Leiden, 1896. An ethnological study in Dutch with beautifully illustrated folio of colour plates. BML, BMdpe; second edition, 8° concise, with a few plates in text, but no folio, RAI.

G. P. Rouffaer, *De Batik Kunst*, Utrecht, 1914. In Dutch with accompanying German translation; many photographs. SOAS, BMdpe, RAI.

J. A. Loeber, jr., *Leder- en perkamentwerk, schorsbereiding en aardewerk in Nederlandsche-Indië*, Amsterdam, 1915, No. VI. In Dutch. Pp. 11-13, description of preparation of hide; pp. 21-28 description of making of puppet, performance, etc. No copy is listed in libraries quoted.

J. Kats, *Het Javaansche Tooneel 1, Wajang Poerwa*, Weltevreden, 1923. In Dutch, many illustrations in colour and black and white. SOAS, and International Library, Liverpool.

W. H. Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, Antwerp, 1922. In Dutch. SOAS, RAI.

—, 'Over de Zin van het Javaansche Drama,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1925. In Dutch. SOAS, BML, RAI.

J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië*, Vol. III, *De Batik Kunst*, The Hague, 1930. In Dutch, 100 or so black and white drawings of *batik* patterns. SOAS, RAI.

W. H. Rassers, 'Over de Oorsprong van het Javaansche Tooneel,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Part 88, 1931. In Dutch. SOAS, BML, RAI.

P. A. A. Mangkoenagara VII, 'Over de Wajang Koelit (poerwa) in het algemeen en over de daarin voorkomende symbolische en mystieke elementen,' *Djawa*, Vol. XIII, 1933. In Dutch, with a few photographs. SOAS, BML, RAI.

Colin McPhee, 'The Balinese Wayang Kulit and Its Music,' *Djawa*, 1936. A few photographs and musical illustrations. SOAS, BML, RAI.

Th. Pigeaud, *Javaanse Volksvertoningen*, Batavia, 1938. In Dutch, with some photographs. SOAS, BML.

B. de Zoete and W. Spiess, *Dance and Drama in Bali*, London, 1938. Photographs. SOAS, BML, RAI and any reputable library.

B. M. Goslings, *De Wajang op Java en Bali*, Amsterdam, 1939. In Dutch. No copy in libraries listed.

R. Hardjowirogo, 'Sedjarah Wajang Purwa,' *Balai Pustaka*, Djakarta, 1952. In Bahasa Indonesia, Latin script; contains roughly 130 line drawings of characters from the *wayang purwa* with a brief history of each person. SOAS. In course of translation.

R. M. Sulardi, 'Gambar Printjèning Ringgit Purwa,' *Balai Pustaka*, Djakarta, 1953. In Modern Javanese, Latin script; 182 line drawings of individual parts of the *wayang kulit* puppet each with the Javanese name. No copy in libraries listed. In course of translation.

R. L. Mellema, *Wayang Puppets*, Amsterdam, 1954. Part of this work is a rather free translation of a manual, originally written in Modern Javanese, on the making and painting of a *wayang kulit* puppet. The line drawings and the terms relating to dress and to making and painting the puppet are very useful. SOAS, BMdpe, RAI.

Wayang and Education, published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, October, 1955, No. 8. Illustrated with photographs. No copies in libraries listed, but probably obtainable at the Indonesian Embassy.

SHORTER NOTE

Yoruba Collections in Germany and Switzerland. By Mrs. Joan A. Wescott

161 The following notes are a result of a recent (1956) survey of public and private collections of Yoruba art in Germany and Switzerland, and are abstracted from a much fuller record which includes photographs of the more interesting or representative specimens. In each instance, the name of the collection is followed by a summary of the contents classified according to whatever cult the pieces belong to. Those which could not be assigned with certainty to a cult are listed as 'miscellaneous objects' together with Yoruba secular art.

Of the many private ethnographical collections visited, the few listed below are owned by collectors who have not asked for their names to be withheld and who have either a representative selection of Yoruba ritual art or particularly fine examples of it. It should not be assumed that because a private collector's name appears in this list the collection can be casually visited.

I wish to record my sincere thanks to the museum officials and private collectors (many of whom are not listed), who spared no pains in helping the enquiry, and who were most hospitable and generous with their time.

GERMANY

BERLIN

Ehem. Staatlichen Museen für Völkerkunde

A good part of this collection is still in storage in Wiesbaden and Celle and cannot be seen. Two-thirds of the Frobenius Collection is said to have been either destroyed or lost somewhere in Silesia during the last war. Since most of their records were also lost and the boxes in storage have not yet been fully examined, this is only an estimation. Pieces are being returned to Berlin frequently now, and in September, 1956, there were 53 Yoruba carvings, most of which came from the Frobenius Expedition. It was mainly these pieces that were either drawn or photographed in *The Voice of Africa*.

Egungun: 2 face masks and 2 helmet masks. *Elegbaa*: 2 figures. *Gelede*: 1 mask. *Ibeji*: 3 single figures. *Ifa*: 3 rectangular, 2 semi-circular and 4 round boards, 8 bowls, 3 wood and 4 ivory *iroke* (rattles). *Odudua*: 1 cock. *Osanyan*: 1 snake. *Shango*: 1 *shere Shango*, 11 *oshe Shango* (including several good examples of the traditional female figure as well as a wide range of variations on the multi-faced motif). *Shopono* (*Shankpanna*): 1 staff. *Miscellaneous objects*: 1 spoon, 1 large polychrome seated missionary, 1 polychrome stool supported by 11 figures, 1 table supported by a kneeling female figure.

HAMBURG

Konietzko Private Collection

In this collection of African and Oriental Art there are about 10 Yoruba pieces for the ritual of *Ibeji*, *Ifa*, *Elegbaa* and *Gelede*. Among these is a rare and superb example of a very old *Gelede* mask as well as an excellent carved horseman.

Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte

Many of the Yoruba specimens in this comprehensive collection are from the Frobenius Expedition.

Egungun: 1 mask representing *Elegbaa* (?), 1 Janus head on a base (described and illustrated in *The Voice of Africa*), 1 satirical mask representing King Edward VII (?), 4 common masks, 1 large and elaborate Janus-head mask. *Elegbaa*: 1 female figure. *Gelede*: 6 unusual masks. *Ifa*: 9 rectangular, 3 semicircular and 16 round boards, 5 bowls, 2 ivory beetles, 2 carved boxes (on the lid of one is carved a face and tiny arms, and the whole is in the shape of a fish-tail; another like it is in the Zürich University Museum), 3 *iroke*, 1 iron post, 1 iron stand, 2 small ivory heads. *Odudua*: 1 kneeling female figure carrying a bowl in the shape of a cock. *Ogboni*: 1 small ivory horseman. *Oro*: 1 wooden blade. *Shango*: 2 large mother-and-child figures, 1 large elaborate horseman surrounded by figures, 2 *oshe Shango*, 1 spoon, 1 clay pot. *Shopono*: 1 spoon. *Miscellaneous objects*: 4 door panels, 1 sword-like wooden stick with geometrical patterning used as a model for leather-working, 1 loom pulley decorated with a human head, 1 kneeling woman holding her breasts, 1 kneeling man, 6 *mankala* boards, 1 brass group of figures.

COLOGNE

Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde

Gelede: 4 masks. *Ibeji*: 1 single twin. *Ifa*: 1 board, 4 bowls, 2 *iroke*. *Miscellaneous objects*: 1 brass group of figures, 1 brass bell with figures, 1 standing mother and child.

BREMEN

Übersee Museum

Elegbaa: 2 figures. *Gelede*: 4 masks, 1 standing female figure. *Ibeji*: 1 superb old female twin with highly stylized hands and vast feet. *Ifa*: 6 bowls; five of these are inferior examples of the frequently used supporting bird, and were probably carved by the Yoruba for use in Dahomey and Togo.

FRANKFORT

Museum für Völkerkunde

Though the Frobenius Institute is in Frankfort, the Frobenius Collection is largely in Berlin, Hamburg, and in the hands of private collectors. The Frankfort Museum's collection is small and none of

it is on exhibit. It may, however, be visited in the air-raid shelter which houses it.

Gelede: 1 mask. *Ifa*: 1 rectangular and 1 round board, 6 bowls from Dahomey, 1 wood and 1 ivory *iroke*. *Miscellaneous objects*: 1 *mankala* board with six supporting figures, 1 figure with two faces, 3 female figures.

HEIDELBERG

Portheimstiftung

This museum contains the Goldsmidt Collection. Here, as in Frankfort, the Yoruba material consists mainly of Dahomey polychrome carvings. The *Gelede* masks, however, are the museum's best examples of Yoruba art.

Elegbaa: 1 figure. *Gelede*: 7 masks. *Ifa*: 1 board, 8 bowls. *Miscellaneous objects*: 1 excellent carved door, 1 stool carved in eight figures, 2 large kneeling female figures.

STUTTGART

Linden Museum

The Linden Museum has a fine ethnographical collection. (Among the Africana, the vast number of clay and brass pipes from the Cameroons deserves mention.)

Elegbaa: 1 head. *Gelede*: 2 masks. *Ibeji*: 1 excellent Egbado type female twin. *Ifa*: 1 bowl, 3 wood and 1 ivory *iroke*, 2 small ivory heads from Ife. *Miscellaneous objects*: 1 large table carved in two layers of figures.

MUNICH

Museum für Völkerkunde

There was no African material here except for one recently acquired *Gelede* mask.

SWITZERLAND

ZÜRICH

Rietberg Museum

The Rietberg has an excellent selection of ethnographical art most of which is the collection of Baron Eduard von der Heydt.

Ibeji: 1 single twin. *Shango*: 1 very old and superb *oshe Shango*.

Sammlung für Völkerkunde der Universität Zürich

Gelede: 4 masks. *Ibeji*: 1 pair. *Ifa*: 1 board, 1 bowl, 1 box in the shape of a fishtail from the Frobenius Collection. *Ogboni*: 1 drum. *Shango*: 1 small *oshe Shango*.

BERN

Historisches Museum

There is very little African material here. The Yoruba are represented by 2 *Gelede* masks and 1 *oshe Shango*.

NEUCHÂTEL

Musée de l'Ethnographie

Gelede: 2 masks. *Ibeji*: 1 single twin. *Shango*: 1 *oshe Shango*.

SOLOTHURN

Müller Private Collection

This is the largest private collection of African Art in Switzerland. Many of the Yoruba pieces are very unusual and of excellent quality.

Elegbaa: 1 figure blowing a whistle. *Egungun*: 1 mask. *Gelede*: 9 masks. *Hevioso*: 2 Fon staffs for the Dahomey equivalent of *Shango*, carved by Yoruba hands. *Ibeji*: 4 single figures. *Ifa*: 1 board, 10 bowls, 1 ivory *iroke* in excellent Owo style, 1 rare barrel-shaped stand carved with the traditional Ifa board face, 1 brass knife. *Ogboni*: 1 pair of *edan*, 1 single brass figure from *edan* pair. *Shango*: 1 large and unusually angular *oshe Shango*, 1 stool carved in many figures. *Miscellaneous objects*: 2 stools carved in two layers of polychrome figures, 1 seated figure, gagged and ready for sacrifice, 1 standing mother and child, the mother holding a large frame for a mirror, 1 standing female figure tying her wrapper, 1 large mother and child, the mother holding a bowl decorated with birds.

BASEL

Eckert Private Collection

This is a small collection of New Guinea and African carvings. One excellent Gelede mask deserves mention.

Röthlingshöfer Private Collection

This is another small but careful selection of African art which includes 3 excellent Gelede masks.

Museum für Völkerkunde

The Basel Museum has a large ethnographical collection which includes a number of pieces from Dahomey Yoruba tribes. There are also many Fon carvings and some excellent Egun (Popo) figures. The Museum houses the Paul Fitte collection of Gelede masks which number about fifty and were acquired in 1951, mainly from the Anago (West Yoruba) tribe in the Ouémé Valley; although minutely representative of the varieties of masks in this area, they are mostly of inferior craftsmanship.

Ibeji: 1 pair, 1 single twin. Ifa: 1 board, 3 bowls. Ogboni: 3 old and finely executed bangles decorated with five Ogboni figures, 1 old brass edan. Shango: 1 poor example of an oshe Shango from the

Frobenius Collection. Miscellaneous objects: 5 polychrome Dahomey figures, 1 stool for the Dahomey python cult.

Collections not visited but said to include a little Yoruba material

GERMANY

DÜSSELDORF

Clausmeyer Private Collection

ULM

Staat. Museum für Kunst

This museum owns the seventeenth-century Weickmann Collection (described and partly illustrated by R. Andree in *Baessler-Archiv*, Vol. IV, Part 1, pp. 29-38, and including Yoruba work from 'Haarder,' i.e. Allada in Dahomey).

SWITZERLAND

BURGDORF

Museum für Völkerkunde

GENEVA

Musée de l'Ethnographie

ZÜRICH

Storrier Private Collection

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization. By Robert Redfield. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. 163. Price £1 1s.

162

In this small book, which is based on a course of lectures given at Swarthmore College, Professor Redfield develops some of the ideas set out in his recent work *The Little Community*. He begins by emphasizing that anthropology has ceased to be primarily the study of isolated and self-sufficient primitive societies. Anthropologists are now focusing their attention on more complex societies, and Professor Redfield considers the growing interest in peasant communities the most significant development in modern anthropology. His definition of a 'peasant society' is somewhat narrower than that of some British anthropologists. While Firth applies the term 'peasant' to any small-scale producer who uses simple equipment and relies for his subsistence mainly on his own produce, Professor Redfield regards as 'peasants' mainly those agriculturists who, while themselves attached to the land and almost totally absorbed in its cultivation, yet form part of a society which also includes an aristocratic or urban stratum. He thinks about peasants 'as the rural dimension of old civilization' (p. 29), and emphasizes the constant status relationship between the peasant and the *élite* above him.

The anthropologist who studies a peasant society finds that the local community accessible to his traditional methods of inquiry is not representative of the total culture. Unlike a primitive tribal group the peasant village is not a complete system; a knowledge of its relations with urban centres and an *élite* which does not form part of village life are essential for the understanding of a peasant civilization, for it is these relations which distinguish it from a community in a compact, non-stratified society. Redfield regards peasant society as a 'half-society,' just as he regards peasant culture as a 'half-culture.' He conceptualizes the relations between the unreflective mass of peasants and the urban or aristocratic reflective few as the interaction between a 'little tradition' and a 'great tradition.' In Central and South America, where these concepts were developed, the distinction between the indigenous folklore and the 'great tradition' of Spanish Christianity is easily made, but the attempt to apply this framework to such countries as India would seem to meet with some difficulties. For here we do not deal with a simple dichotomy of two traditions; the position is much more complex and in many cases there is a superimposition of several 'great traditions' over a conglomeration of distinct folk cultures.

Professor Redfield rightly stresses the need to improve the communication between humanist-historian and anthropologist, for

contextual studies of peasant communities must remain barren if the investigator is unaware of the values of the 'great tradition' contained in texts to which he may have no direct access.

The final chapter entitled 'The Peasant View of the Good Life' contains a discussion of the values and basic attitudes of peasant societies. Professor Redfield and many observers have been impressed with a certain 'sameness' of peasantry all the world over, a sameness which anthropologists have not encountered when dealing with more primitive peoples. Similar attitudes to the respective values of agricultural work and other occupations is found among peasants of widely different ages and zones, and from this the author tends to conclude that these attitudes are general characteristics of all peasant societies. What distinguishes the peasant from the more primitive cultivator is his conscious dependence on more civilized people. Hence his value-orientation 'is not to be understood from consideration of the way the people of the village look upon themselves' (p. 134), for the model of the urban or aristocratic way of life impinges inevitably on rural ideals.

It is at this point that one may feel some hesitation in accepting some of the generalizations about peasant societies suggested by Professor Redfield. When the two superior civilizations radically differ, as in the case of the Christian-Spanish civilization of Latin America and the Hindu civilization of India, it is hardly to be expected that the peasant populations living in the shadow of these 'great traditions' will show more than superficial similarities. But should they do so, such 'sameness' would obviously be independent of any relations between peasants and gentry or townsmen. In so far as these two civilizations are concerned the comparison suffers also from the fact that the historic events which underlie interrelations between 'little' and 'great traditions' in India are radically different from those which led to the contrast between folk culture and the civilization of the urban *élite* in Latin America. Professor Redfield is well aware of these difficulties and he himself emphasizes the tentativeness of his ventures into new areas of anthropological research. To the student this small book can be warmly recommended as a thought-provoking and readable introduction to a set of problems no modern anthropologist can afford to ignore.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. By Arnold W. Green. Second Edition. New York (McGraw-Hill), 1956. Pp. xiv, 576. Price £2 9s.

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Dr. Green has provided us with a very interesting introductory text for the student of the social sciences. There are 26

chapters which are grouped into four sections entitled 'Man and His World,' 'Numbers, Distribution and Organization of People,' 'Social Institutions' and 'Social Change.' Notwithstanding the subtitle of the volume, the material is heavily weighted with descriptive accounts of contemporary life in the United States. The presentation of the material seems to be 'tailor-made' for teaching purposes. There are numerous section titles and subtitles, many illustrations, references to pertinent films, review questions, and excellent short bibliographies.

In some respects the volume reflects a number of trends in the development of the social sciences in the United States. The presentation here includes a considerable amount of material from the discipline of social psychology. There are separate chapters on personality structure, personality stability and conflict, social interaction, and the socialization process. In addition the author uses psychological insights freely in the discussions in the chapters on social institutions and social organization. There is a very neat integration of material from both the social and psychological levels of conceptualization. There is also the attempt to integrate data from the fields of sociology and anthropology. Thus, preceding each chapter on some aspect of contemporary United States, there is a presentation of relevant findings from other societies. In this way the author is able to weave in considerable cross-cultural material in such cases as economic behaviour, religion, marriage and courtship, and the family. There are also separate chapters on 'The Universality of Culture' and 'The Variability of Culture.' In the opinion of this reviewer the integration of material from a number of different disciplines is one of the major strengths of the book.

Another aspect of the text raises some questions about the purpose of an introductory book in the social sciences. For the most part the material here is weighted so heavily with descriptive material that it gives the student little opportunity to savour the theoretical issues or different viewpoints in the field, or the development of sociology as a scientific discipline. It may be that the lack of these will tend to dampen the interest and excitement of the superior student. However, there will be divergent opinions on this question.

There is little doubt that Dr. Green has done a superior job in incorporating data from a number of different disciplines and presenting it in a lucid fashion.

SEYMOUR PARKER

Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology. By Raymond Firth. Revised edition. London (Nelson), 1956. Pp. vi, 7-224, 14 plates, bibliog. Price 8s. 6d.

This is a slightly revised reissue of a book first published in 1938 at the modest price of 2s. 6d. Perhaps because of this undignified valuation neither MAN nor the *American Anthropologist* seem to have considered it worthy of notice. Undergraduates, however, were more discerning and the book has served as a standard 'Introductory Text Book' at most British Universities ever since. The original version has now been out of print for some time and the reissue is welcome, though a more comprehensive revision would certainly have made it more attractive.

The new book is slightly larger than the original and has many more pictures and is priced accordingly. The principal revisions are:

Chapter I, pp. 15, 36, 37: new material on heredity and intelligence.

Chapter IV, pp. 121-124: a rather unsatisfactory modification of what was originally said about unilineal descent groups. And, at the end of this Chapter (pp. 126, 127), a new section on Status and Social Mobility.

Chapter VII, 'Anthropology and Modern Life,' contains extensive new material from page 195 onwards.

The list of Recommended Reading at the end has been increased about threefold.

For the rest, the argument generally wears well. Many of the examples cited have become rather 'dated' but their appropriateness remains.

As is to be expected, the general flavour of the book is 'functionalist' in the Malinowskian sense, and the 'Principle of Reciprocity,' as the ultimate prime mover of social activity, plays a larger role than perhaps the author would now intend. Correspondingly, the

sections on social structure are weak. Here in particular the author's efforts to patch up original thinness are not always happy. For example, the new p. 115, where terms such as 'descent,' 'inheritance,' 'patrilineal,' etc., are first defined, seems to me much more confusing than the first version. Among other changes the term 'bilineal,' as a form of descent, has been slipped in without explanation or comment; I personally have no idea what is meant. On the other hand there is no reference to 'double unilineal' descent, though the context seems to require it.

Admittedly a whole volume of theory is here condensed into half a page but it would surely have been better to expand these crucial matters at the expense of the remarkably bogus citation from Malinowski at pp. 118-120?

Rather similar objections can be raised against Chapter V, 'The Regulation of Conduct.' The theoretical discussion of Primitive Law has undergone considerable development since 1938 but Firth's argument here remains that of the tiresome debate between Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. At p. 131 he has found room to squeeze in the names of Gluckman and Arthur Phillips (but not Hoebel!) but this does not make the argument itself any more convincing. Incidentally the Recommended Further Reading for this Chapter (see p. 215) betrays the fact that nowhere in the whole book is Political Organization discussed as a separate dimension of society.

It is also startling to consult the index of what purports to be a textbook of contemporary social anthropology and discover that Magic is listed under Religion and that neither Joking Relationships nor Witchcraft have any entries at all. There are indeed references to 'witchcraft' both at p. 156 and pp. 163-165 but only as an aspect of erroneous belief. The structural concomitants of such phenomena which have received such extensive discussion in recent years are quite ignored.

But let me sum up. This book is now, as formerly, a masterpiece of compression. It remains the best available short textbook of social anthropology for students taking a first-year introductory course. On re-reading it after many years I find it much less 'out of date' than I had expected. Nevertheless I wish that the author could have been more drastic in his revision. Chapters IV and V in particular, if rewritten from the start, could be a good deal better than they are.

E. R. LEACH

What is Science? Edited by J. R. Newman. London (Gollancz), 1956. Pp. 495. Price £1 1s.

This is an interesting collection of essays by 12 distinguished workers in various sciences in U.S.A. and Britain. The range of subjects is wide but physiology, as such, and geology are not represented though the fine essay on biochemistry by Baldwin (University College, London) and the lucid exposition of Evolution and Genetics by Julian Huxley may be said to overlap physiology. The essays fulfil their purpose to various degrees and one may give high marks to that on Chemistry (Read, St. Andrews) and to Science as Forethought by Jacob Bronowski. Whatever the topic the writers nearly all emphasize the relation of science to the thinking mind with its special limitations as well as possibilities; this leaves a comforting feeling that science is not in special danger of falling under the influence of the evil principle of authority which is such a curse in some other fields. Sir Edward Whittaker's subtlety in talking of a possible geometry wherein parallel lines duly produced would meet is an instance of men's efforts to get to that which lies beyond; and the essays on Astronomy and Physics illustrate the same tendency. Condon (Physics, U.S.A.) makes a valiant attempt to expound subatomic research and ends with a glossary of names of theoretical particles conceived in the minds of physicists trying to describe and interpret recent experimental work. Bronowski's discussion of electronic and other machines to help calculation shows them largely as outgrowths of deductive logic.

Kluckhohn and Washburn (both U.S.A.) deal with anthropology. A part of this chapter summarizing sequences of human chronology might have been omitted as the statements are to be found in many books and essays, but the emphasis on anthropological linguistics is welcome; it is here treated as the coming advance movement in social study of mankind, in Western Europe and U.S.A. as well as in

Africa and Melanesia. Carbon-14 methods are discussed, but, strangely, not fluorine absorption. The chapters on Psychology and Psycho-analysis discuss the subconscious factors affecting our opinions and actions and form, in essence, a modern commentary on Spinoza's famous dictum that men think themselves free for they know their desires, but know not the sources whence those desires spring. Bertrand Russell's introduction to the whole book is a characteristic illustration of a stalwart mind.

In some essays thoughts are honestly put forth as new or original which I remember reading in the 1890's; and this is a reflection on the complex growth of science and its changes of fashion, changes which one suspects are cyclic, like other fashions. H. J. FLEURE

Ceramics for the Archaeologist. By Anna O. Shepard. Washington, D.C. (Carnegie Inst.), 1956. Pp. xii, 414. Price \$6.75

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For a good many years, many of the most important American archaeological reports have contained a technical appendix on pottery by Miss Shepard, and she has in addition made major contributions to the study of the pottery of the Southwest of the United States and of Mexico. It was therefore to be expected that *Ceramics for the Archaeologist* would be a work of the first importance, and the hope has not been disappointed.

The scope of the first two chapters is largely indicated by their titles, 'Ceramic Materials: Their Composition, Sources, and Properties' and 'Ceramic Processes and the Techniques of Prewheel Pottery,' though it is necessary to point out that Chapter II comprises modern ethnological examples, the archaeological ones coming later. Both chapters are admirable, and they should be of intense interest to many others besides archaeologists, while no one whose duty it is to teach primitive technology can afford to neglect them. Chapter II will lead particularly to a better understanding of firing processes. The only point which seems ambiguous is the discussion of paddle-and-anvil, both here and in Chapter III, in which it is described as a shaping and not a forming technique. When it is used to finish another process, like coiling, this is obviously true, but when it is used for forming the entire pot from a lump, or a short cylinder as in Borneo, it seems difficult to avoid regarding it as a forming technique.

Chapter III, 'Ceramic Analysis and Description,' is the longest in the book, and its avowed purpose is to evaluate current methods of analysis. It starts by contrasting the 'pottery sense,' obtained by long experience, with objective methods, and although no one is in a better position than the author to appreciate the value of experience in recognizing significant characteristics, she presses the advantages of objective standards of description, particularly for purposes of comparison. The theme is carried throughout the chapter, but that is not to say that the author believes that all the scientific methods at our disposal are to be applied in every case. For example she says: 'The analysis of clay is time-consuming and beset with uncertainties. It should not be undertaken without well defined objectives and full recognition of the sources of error . . .'

There is a long and formidable discussion of the physical properties of pottery, from which it emerges that really satisfactory objective standards for most properties, apart from colour, have yet to be defined. Miss Shepard's discussions should serve to promote their definition, but the application of many of the tests which she describes would require the services of a technologist of her calibre, provided with a considerable laboratory.

Next comes an interesting section on evidence for pottery-making techniques in archaeological samples, perusal of which should enable archaeologists to avoid many pitfalls in description, besides clarifying their ideas on subjects such as negative painting. After this is a section dealing with shapes, including a new method of describing profiles which would avoid much ambiguity if generally adopted. It is a little surprising that the author finds it expedient to call attention to the necessity for proper orientation of rim profiles, since it would appear obvious that unoriented profiles are of little use. She suggests that the ideal way of drawing an accurate profile of a rim sherd is to saw a section perpendicular to the lip, but this is an unnecessary complication, since a section can easily be obtained by moulding a strip of lead against the sherd in the proper direction. She castigates the habit of drawing sections of entire vessels, since she says that varia-

tions in the wall thickness have no significance, and cannot in many cases be properly measured; both these objections are true for deep bowls and jars, but in such forms as the open bowl or platter with a ring base they do not appear to be valid.

The final section of the chapter, on design of painted decoration and its analysis, which is illustrated largely by examples from the American Southwest, is highly stimulating, though of course its application is limited to whole or restorable vessels.

Chapter IV, on classification, is largely devoted to the discussion and criticism of the concept of pottery types based on sherds, which is extensively used by American archaeologists for chronological purposes. Its value has been demonstrated in many areas, including the Virú Valley in Peru, even though the types are arbitrarily defined, but the author believes that they could be made more useful if more attention were paid to technological features such as material and technique in their definition. There is no doubt that this is theoretically desirable, and this chapter may encourage archaeologists to study these features more closely, but a serious difficulty is that significant technological change may not be easily apparent in a sherd assemblage. I have the impression that those who are accustomed to work with series of types will find it difficult to make much improvement in their methods of definition. The content of this chapter could only be discussed intelligently with reference to specific examples; it cannot fail to be somewhat obscure *in vacuo*.

The concluding chapter deals with the interpretation of ceramic data. Since the author is first and foremost a pottery technologist, she naturally sets out, throughout the book, to show how the maximum information can be got out of pottery, but she never loses her sense of proportion. She faces the criticism that the archaeologist has become preoccupied with pottery to the neglect of other classes of evidence, and it is gratifying that she has recourse to Professor Grahame Clark for a 'moderate statement' of its proper place. She goes on to say shrewdly: 'It is possible that the stage of ceramic development with which a critic is most familiar bears some relation to the severity with which he judges the fault of over-emphasis. The more advanced ceramics are . . . the more a vessel has to tell about its makers'; and she sees that even this may need qualification. This leads me to recall that she works primarily in the American field, where pre-wheel pottery reached a high level of excellence in comparison with Europe, over a wide area; she does not fail, however, to glance from time to time at other parts of the world in this book, and has some illuminating things to say, *inter alia*, about the surface finish and decoration of Greek black-figure ware and Roman *terra sigillata*.

There are five appendices, dealing with ceramic terms, clay minerals, temper, field identification of paints, and classification of vessel-forming techniques.

This book is strong meat, but its readers cannot fail to gain much from its perusal. The one danger that I see is that the archaeologist, with such a counsel of perfection before him, may never dare to write a report on pottery again! G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Bones for the Archaeologist. By I. W. Cornwall. London (Phoenix House), 1956. Pp. 255. Price £2 10s.

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A general welcome will be given to this useful book which fills a gap which has existed—astonishingly enough—up to the present time in the literature available to the student of archaeology. Dr. Cornwall is to be congratulated on assembling in one book so much information on the comparative anatomy of mammalian skeletal remains likely to be encountered in archaeological deposits.

The central portion of the book (Chapters 3 to 11) consists chiefly of anatomical descriptions. These are given in a form designed to provide beginners with a grasp of the essentials for purposes of identification, and are accompanied by many excellent drawings. The chapter on determination of species neatly rounds off this section on vertebrate morphology as it affects the archaeologist.

Chapter 2 attempts the impossible task of compressing into a few pages an account of the evolutionary processes leading upwards to the vertebrates and through the mammalia to man. Short cuts both logical and verbal which appear in this chapter (and sporadically throughout the book) are not always skilfully managed.

Some of the information on the sexing and aging of human remains (Chapter 15) is not sufficiently accurate to be useful. For instance, the author states that the pre-auricular sulcus is 'a very constant indicator of female sex.' But in the drawing of the human female pelvis (p. 231) the upper and sexually indeterminate part of the pre-auricular sulcus above the ileo-pectineal line is indicated, instead of the lower section which lies below the ileo-pectineal line. No mention is made of the detailed anatomy of the sulcus in the text, nor of the fact that it quite frequently appears on one side only, and does not appear at all in many non-extreme or young female pelvises. In archaeological material where single bones or fragments of bones are being considered such points as these are important. Qualitative methods of sexing human material are encouraged without adequate mention being made of the variable degree of sexual dimorphism in different human groups, or of the difficulty of sexing small samples of unknown populations even when metric data are available.

Many reports on bone material by non-specialists and others have in the past been vitiated by failure to publish anatomical and metric data in a form which can be useful to later workers after interpretative hypotheses fashionable at the time of publication have been discarded. The opportunity to bring this point home forcefully has been missed.

No mention seems to be made either of the fact that the collection of bone material may be useful to physical anthropologists for blood-grouping purposes, or of the treatment of cremated bone. In the last chapter the logical-minded may find some of the archaeological interpretations unconvincing.

Dr. Cornwall has provided for the first time in a compact and readable form the kind of information about animal and human bones which archaeologists need, and his book represents a valuable addition to the literature available for teaching purposes. The book is well produced and the standard of the illustrations is high. The absence of an index is surprising.

P. M. DANBY

Yearbook of Anthropology, 1955. Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr. New York (Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthrop. Res. Inc.), 1955. Pp. xv, 836, 1 plate.

I68 **Current Anthropology: A Supplement to Anthropology Today.** Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents, C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. xii, 377. Price £1 17s. 6d.

The first issue of the *Yearbook* contains articles and information by more than 40 contributors. Its stated purpose is 'to report on the major accomplishments and trends during 1952-54 in aspects of the field of anthropology.' It is intended as 'a publication devoted solely to summarizing recent scholarly achievement through articles of wide scope accompanied by extensive selected bibliographies.' It is apparently meant for everybody: the professional specialist in anthropology, the vast audience of lay public, and for students and scholars in disciplines other than anthropology, but it was apparently published in a limited edition for private distribution to scholars and institutions.

Signes graphiques soudanais. By Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen. *L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Géographie et de Linguistique*, 3. Paris (Hermann), 1951. Pp. 87, 63 text figs.

I69 In *Signes graphiques soudanais*, Griaule and Dieterlen have produced a pioneer monograph of absolutely fundamental importance to West African studies. The numerous difficulties and frustrations which the reader encounters in his attempt to follow the discussion result naturally from the problem of giving a preliminary account of several related but different cosmologies of great subtlety. The graphic signs which are the subject of this study represent the various phases and concepts of these cosmologies and express abstractions of such a high level that, as Griaule says, 'We have difficulty in conceiving of them.'

'The Bambara sign connoting the concept "fish" is an assemblage of three elements, each of which stands for a series of 22 classified species; and this classification places at the head

The *Yearbook* is divided into six parts, each part being independent of the others. The first four parts, which comprise about half the book's 836 pages, consist of 24 summarizing articles by a number of distinguished scholars. These summaries of recent work in certain selected divisions of anthropology are divided into four parts. The first part consists of a guest editorial by Julian Huxley on 'Evolution, Cultural and Biological.' The second part contains 9 articles on subjects, methods and theories concerned with man in the time dimension and includes a consideration of developments in the fields of physical anthropology, human ecology, archaeology, and chronological and developmental problems. The third part consists of 8 diverse articles on other theoretical interests not touched on in part 2. The fourth part contains 6 articles on anthropology in relation to practical affairs, such as government and education. The content of these various articles is conveniently summarized at the beginning of each part.

The fifth part, which is more than a third of the volume, contains 13 articles on activities and accomplishments in Europe and South-West Asia for 1952-54. The sixth and last part contains useful information on doctoral dissertations submitted in various world universities, on professional awards and associations.

The method of compiling this vast tome consisted of drawing up a list of items for possible inclusion, based on examining the subject matter and content of journals, monographs and text books, then submitting this list to various scholars and, as a result of the consensus of opinion, choosing those items considered as dealing with the 'more significant problems.'

The *Yearbook* makes no claims to completeness and later volumes will apparently cover other topics. This encyclopaedic and 'experimental' endeavour is useful as a reference tool and should become more so when the coverage has been extended in subsequent volumes.

From the point of view of a yearbook, one wonders whether it would not be best to concentrate on the last two parts, the Regional Round-Up and the Reference Data. The former part is the first of a series planned to cover the world over a period of four or five issues. It would seem to be more valuable for reference purposes if the regions of the world, with extensive bibliographies, could be included under one cover and the valuable articles summarizing various topical developments were relegated to a separate volume. Evidently, after the issue of the *Yearbook*, this was considered, for the summarizing articles of the first three parts were issued again under the title *Current Anthropology* where they are intended as *A Supplement to Anthropology Today*. It would seem therefore that the editor considered that the first half of the *Yearbook* belonged with the encyclopaedic inventory resulting from the Wenner-Gren Foundation 1952 International Symposium. Perhaps, in future, articles covering topics not included in this issue of the *Yearbook* will be issued as supplements to *Anthropology Today* and the *Yearbook* take a more decisive form. It is hoped that its next issue, whatever form it may take, will be available to a wider professional as well as public audience.

PHILIP DARK

AFRICA

eight known fishes, the rest of the list offering first rare species and then those which have not yet appeared.

'The sign is more than a mark: it is also the precipitate of a myth. The three parts of the preceding [sign] stand for the first fall of the fish into terrestrial water; the relations between the bodies of man and of the silurid catfish; the descent of the impure fish. The commentaries on such a sign by a competent man evoke certain great stages of creation' (p. 6).

The Dogon, Bambara and related peoples attributed such a primacy, not to say sovereignty, to the sign that one might sum up their doctrine of creation by saying, 'In the beginning was the sign.' It is by the signs that things exist and achieve consciousness of themselves; it is by the signs—by his analysis of them into their parts—that man comes to understand and control his part of the universe. The meaning of these signs is almost never obvious to the uninitiated. Artistically they are deliberately bland and inconspicuous. It is not

expected that more than a few people will understand their deep meanings.

The book is divided into five separate essays: 'Systèmes graphiques des Dogons,' by M. Griaule; 'Signes d'Écriture Bambara,' by G. Dieterlen; 'Signes des Keita du Mandé,' by G. Dieterlen; 'Les Signes graphiques de la Circoncision Bambara,' by M. Griaule; and 'Signes graphiques des Bozo,' by M. Griaule.

Griaule's first essay, 'Graphic systems of the Dogon,' demands, for its full interpretation, a knowledge of certain parts of the Dogon creation myth which had not been published at the time the monograph appeared, and which are not available to me if they have been published since. We have in English his article on Dogon cosmology which appeared in *African Worlds* (edited by Daryll Forde, Oxford, 1954), but this account is exceedingly concise, to say the least; and two of the three signs reproduced in it do not appear in the present monograph. It says nothing about the system of signs of the First World (mainly astronomical—'Most of the constellations are known and named'), nor of those of the Second World. The events described in *African Worlds*—and at greatest length in the present work—belong, it would seem, to the system of the Third World, the world of terrestrial, divine, and human creation. These systems of signs are illustrated and discussed with a tantalizing lack of detail and of general, orienting information, in the monograph. It now appears that the creation story given in Griaule's earlier work, *Le Dieu d'Eau*, corresponds to the more or less exoteric information given at an earlier stage in the long process of initiation into Dogon religion and cosmology. There is an elaborate correspondence between the creation myth and the rest of the culture. The layout and development plan of the farms, the design of the compounds, and the structure of the lineage system and of the family are all conceived of as re-enactments of the origin myth.

In Dogon belief the whole universe came from an infinitely small seed, which was created by the word of Amma, God. On earth this infinitesimal beginning is symbolized by the tiny seed of *Digitaria exilis*, in the water by the egg of the silurid catfish, and in the heavens by the satellite-companion of the star Sirius. This infinitely small point developed into a vast matrix, called the 'Egg of the World,' divided internally into two twin elements with two corresponding placentas, which were to give birth to twin Monitors of the world, prototypes of man and possessing the creative word. But one of these left the egg prematurely, and seizing a part of his placenta, made the world out of it. He thus upset the order of creation and introduced impurity into the world. The earth was dry and infertile, so Amma released the other twin, sacrificed him to the heavens, revived him and through him brought fertility, water and men to the earth. In one aspect this twin is *Yasigui*, the female principle, bringer of water and fertility. In another aspect this twin is *Nommo*, the Monitor of the Universe, absolute master of the sky, of water, of souls and of fertility, who as such limits the disordered activities of the first twin, *Yurugu*, the pale fox (*Vulpes pallida*). In this endeavour, *Nommo* classified all the parts of the world into 22 categories, each with its appropriate sign. These signs are given in appropriate order by Griaule.

The origin myths and cosmology of the Bambara, as reported by Dieterlen, are even more abstract than those of the Dogon. The numerous systems of Bambara writing connote the different states or levels of their knowledge. The first of these systems, not yet published in this monograph, is the *dyē sira gale*, 'first road of the world.' The second, the *glā glā zo*, is composed of 266 ideograms which form a nomenclature of all things. These signs are intimately connected with the Bambara cosmology: they even preceded the creation of the things which they designate. The things, conceived in the invisible, the not yet realized, received a name and a sign connoting that name before they existed. The word *glā* designates the original empty nothingness and at the same time the ideas of movement, of awakening, of reawakening, of resurrection. '*Glā* is the principle of universal internal movement of the cosmos and of all that composes it. It implies, on the other hand, that creation is continuous . . . It must be distinguished from the sign *fu*, zero, nothing, the emptiness preceding the creation of the universe, and from *few*, the triple zero, the sign of the multiplication of the things in their totality.

'*Glā*' full of its emptiness and its emptiness full of itself" extended its power everywhere. It emitted a "voice of emptiness" which created first of all its double, *dya*: *glā* became two, thus marking the primordial, existential character of twinning.' Or as the Bambara put it, '*glā* is the emptiness, the emptiness is *glā*; *glā* made itself into two emptinesses, two emptinesses made themselves into *glā* itself.' From the couple there came a humid substance, *zo sumale*, 'cold rust,' which came out in the state of an invisible, liquid steam and formed hard, brilliant bodies.

'When everything was full of these frozen bodies, *glā* emitted a force *zo ŋami*, which, rising and falling in itself, produced an internal breath called *fye tasuma*, "fire of wind." The two *glā* traversed this vast content and this fire melted the substances: "The two *glā* arose and melted the voices of the *glā*—the creation spoke to the voice of the *glā*." At the time of this first melting "the vast *glā* gave a place to all things in secret and invisibility." The two *glā* then became quiet, "taking their energy back into themselves," and everything congealed and froze again. Then a second time they melted the substances, as if to make and remake a model. These movements, called *glā glā*, bear witness to the very essence of the *glā* which is that of the eternal resurrection of things; and the repetition of the word expresses the twinning which is the basis of creation.'

I leave it to the reader to continue the story of creation for himself, pausing only to remark that these 'primitive' Africans, who according to legend are incapable of abstract thought, are merely struggling with the philosophical problem of how something could proceed from nothing!

Returning to the story much later, after the creation of the 266 ideograms, we must consider the role of moral breach and of impurity. 'Every impurity which is due to a broken prohibition means first of all, for the Bambara, a departure of the living forces which support them: the emptiness left by this departure is overwhelmed by an alien and pernicious force which constitutes a stain.'

The ideograms determined the universe and permitted its analysis by man, by the fact that he came to know them. By them the universe penetrated into him. But although man contains all the things in the universe, he possessed them only by a mental act which consisted in decomposing the signs and analysing their parts.

'This decomposition and this analysis were possible only after the appearance of impurity in the world, the impurity which weakened the things and permitted to man their relative possession. In fact, in the earliest times of creation "the things were free and possessed themselves in the wind, for air and wind represent liberty." At that time men had consciousness of the things, but lacking the word, they did not have a full understanding of them. This was communicated to them, before time, by a female being, *Mouso Koroni Koundyè*, who having received the word and knowledge, revolted against the creator who had confided them to her and divulged them, when he alone could reveal them. Her rebellion provoked a disorder in the unrolling of creation, and this disorder introduced impurity into the universe. This determined, for the whole, the weakening of the things which permitted man to know them, to analyse them and to classify them. . . . "The creation would have given to each thing its own mastery if there had not been impurity." The signs were drawn to the body of man, placed themselves on him and dwelt there for 22 epochs, then they spread out into space and into all the parts of the universe, saying 'I leave, I leave in mastery, I leave, I belong to the person.' And the man said, before the universe, 'I have been conquered by you; the signs of your content have been known by me, all the invisible and all the visible' (p. 35).

Man has been thus able to decompose and to analyse the sign representing the domestic and wild animals. For this reason, he is in a large measure their master. But on the other hand, the sign of the insects cannot be decomposed, and they say, 'The secret of the insect was not given to the man; the insect belongs to itself.'

The ethnological and philosophical connexions of this story go a very long way!

The authors of this monograph give us reproductions of a great number of the signs mentioned in these two and the other articles, together with detailed commentaries on their immediate significance and their functional roles in the everyday lives of the peoples of this region. It is not too much to say that the whole of Dogon and Bambara life is a ritual drama.

It remains to be said that this is an enigmatic and difficult monograph. It was planned as a preliminary report, pending the study and solution of many problems. As such one must welcome it. But I cannot refrain from expressing astonishment that studies of such abstract and subtle matters should be done through an interpreter, that no competent study of the Bambara language exists as yet, and that serious study of the Dogon language was only begun after the Griaule group had been working for 20 years in this region.

It is clear, finally, that these studies will force a thoroughgoing revision of our thinking about many many African groups. The esoteric knowledge discussed here was only revealed to the fieldworkers after they had been working for many years. We must now ask how many other African groups there may be whose elders think on this level? One may also read this monograph in the light of the recent, still unpublished work of Professor George Peter Murdock, of Yale University. Murdock is convinced that the Bambara region of the Upper Niger is the scene of one of the oldest developments of agriculture on earth. If this proves to be the case, then the work of Griaule and Dieterlen takes on a very serious ethnological significance. ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG

Nuer Religion. By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. O.U.P., 1956. Pp. xii, 336. Price £2 2s.

170 This work is not only an important contribution to social anthropology; it may well prove epoch-making as a contribution to comparative religion. In it Professor Evans-Pritchard rounds off his account of the way of life of the Nuer on which he has been engaged for a quarter of a century. In earlier volumes he described their natural environment, their economic activities and their political institutions, their kinship and marriage arrangements and their tribal system. Now he completes the picture with an account of their religion, or, as he at times rightly calls it, their philosophy of life, their views about God and man and the relations between them. This is a much more difficult task than describing other aspects of their life, for it is largely concerned with inner states and attitudes towards something which is in its nature immaterial and invisible. It deals with the most intimate side of man's life and the most difficult for him to communicate to others, even if he has, as most primitive peoples have not, a sophisticated vocabulary in which to express it.

During recent decades social anthropologists, especially in this country, have tended either to ignore primitive religion or to confine their account of it to its external and visible side, i.e. ritual practices. This has no doubt been partly due to their own attitude to religion, for as Evans-Pritchard justly points out, it is useless to deny and rash to ignore that the personal attitude of the investigator makes a difference even to his description of the religion of another people and still more to his analysis and interpretation of it. If a man regards religion in general as illusory and irrational, he will naturally regard primitive religion and its practices as irrational superstition which no doubt serves a useful function in the lives of those who practise it but which can be explained entirely in psychological or sociological terms. Evans-Pritchard on the other hand regards religion as a sphere of study *sui generis*, concerned with an independent reality, the world of spirit. However much it may influence or be influenced by other spheres, such as the moral or social order, it cannot be reduced to any of them; and in trying to understand the religion of any people we have to consider its beliefs and attitudes and practices from the inside as the people concerned see them.

The Nuer religion, though not unique among primitive religions, is very unusual in its main emphasis. It is impossible to describe even its main features in a brief review, still less to do justice to the deep insight and sympathetic understanding with which Evans-Pritchard interprets it. Suffice it to say that it is theistic in the sense that they believe in a supreme spirit, Spirit which is in the sky, which Evans-Pritchard translates as God. He is invisible and ubiquitous, the creator and final explanation of all things. His will is always right and he is the protector and friend of man as long as man obeys religious interdictions and does right towards his fellows. He intervenes in the affairs of men to punish sins (i.e. breaches of religious interdictions and moral and other faults) by sickness and misfortune; and he can be influenced by prayer and sacrifice,

provided these are accompanied by contrition and, where wrong to others has been done, reparation. He has neither prophet nor sanctuary nor earthly forms. Anyone can pray or sacrifice to him at any time or place, or others can sacrifice on his behalf. The attitude of the Nuer to him is one of humility and resignation to his will. They also believe in 'spirits' of varying degrees of importance. These range in descending order of importance from spirits of the air who descend from above and possess people, some of whom become prophets who reveal their requirements, and spirits of persons who were killed by lightning and whose souls were transformed into spirits, through totemic and totemistic spirits to the familiars of diviners and the owners of fetishes and 'medicines.' Not all Nuer but only particular groups or individuals appeal for aid or are obliged to sacrifice to these spirits, e.g. the families or lineages of those possessed by them or whose totems they are. Evans-Pritchard interprets these spirits not as independent beings but as manifestations, representations, or refractions of the one supreme spirit in different relations and connexions, the refractions being largely determined by the structure of the Nuer social order. According to this view the Nuer have only one God, the supreme spirit, but while his nature is one its manifestations and embodiments are diverse. Despite the impressive mass of evidence which he advances in support of this conclusion, I do not find his argument entirely convincing; for the characteristics attributed to spirit (e.g. the moral qualities) in the different manifestations seem to be not only diverse but incompatible.

The Nuer do not profess to understand the nature of spirit. They describe it in symbols and metaphors, but in a very illuminating chapter on their religious symbolism Evans-Pritchard demonstrates clearly that they are well aware that their metaphorical statements about spirits are neither literally true nor yet pure metaphors. He also points out the errors into which many anthropologists have fallen through not recognizing this fact.

His interpretation of the meaning of their sacrifices and his account of their attitude to the dead, whom they do not worship and in whom they take little interest, are equally stimulating and suggestive, but they cannot be given here.

Taking their religion as a whole he concludes that it cannot be fitted into any of the theories, evolutionary, psychological or sociological, which have been put forward by writers on primitive religion. Such theories, he points out, are based on *a priori* assumptions rather than empirical research among primitives. What makes his own work so significant is his attempt to understand religious beliefs and practices from the inside and to pose questions about them in a way which will enable the fieldworker to provide materials for answering them. Only when we have many studies of primitive religions conducted along these lines can generalizations about comparative religion be made with any confidence. While some of his generalizations and interpretations, for which he claims no finality, may appear to others as they do to me not entirely convincing and so stimulate controversy, the fruitfulness of his method is beyond question. A. MACBEATH

Annales d'Éthiopie, Vol. I. Addis Ababa and Paris, 1955. Pp. xviii, 160, 23 plates

171 The recently formed Archaeological Section of the Ethiopian Government's Institute of Study and Research has produced the first volume of its Journal. The enterprise was due to the initiative of the Emperor, and the editorial work is done in the Ethiopian National Library, with the collaboration of M. André Caquot of the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, and M. Jean Leclant of the University of Strasbourg. The Journal is printed in Paris, and the Ethiopic type is good and clear. Contributions by Ethiopians are in Amharic with a French translation (one is in English), and those by Europeans in French. The volume is divided into four sections: (i) Reports on excavations, exploration, and study of monuments; (ii) Texts with French versions and notes; (iii) Miscellaneous studies on such subjects as Ethiopian paleography (epigraphy), religious art, and 'The Queen of Saba and the Wooden Cross'; (iv) Reviews.

In the first section, the most noteworthy item is the account, with good photographs, of a limestone statue recently found at Maqalle in Tigre, of a seated figure 465 millimetres high, on a base bearing an

inscription in South Arabian letters. The statue recalls in many respects not only the so-called 'ancestral statues' of Southern Arabia, but the seated figures of Mesopotamian priest-kings, such as Gudea of Lagash. The inscription is *boustrophedon* and reads *LWKB/YMNT/WLDM*, which is interpreted as meaning 'that to Ymnt be granted a child,' *Ymnt* being perhaps the feminine of a name *Ymny* found in recently discovered graffiti in Akkala Guzay. The figure is provisionally dated to the fifth century B.C. Parts of a limestone altar were also found at Maqalle, with an inscription in South Arabian. A third inscription, in unvocalized Ge'ez, occurred on a curved bronze 'votive object,' recording the name of *GDR/NGSY*, a king who may possibly be identifiable with the Agdur or Gedur of some king-lists, the former being given as the grandfather of Ella Abreha and Asbeha. While the objects themselves are sufficiently interesting, it is unfortunate that the circumstances of their discovery are not indicated, beyond a brief statement that they (it is not clear if this refers to all) were found on a hill where some Moslems had begun to build a mosque. Nothing is said of their relationship (or lack of it) to any ancient site, and the archaeological standard revealed is no higher than that of Azais and Chambard. The position of the hill Addi Gelemo could have been given by a grid reference.

The literary material is well dealt with; what appears in this volume is interesting and well edited. It includes (i) a *Dersana Ura'el* or Homily in honour of Uriel, which describes a flight made by the archangel through Ethiopia, and details his itinerary with a number of interesting topographical allusions; (ii) some extracts from the first copy to be made of a chronicle at Amba Geshen already known to Cohen in 1910-11, but to which the priests have hitherto refused access; the part copied deals with the reigns of Sayfa Ar'ed, Dawit, and Zar'a Ya'qob, and it is claimed to date from the latter's reign. The volume ends with a survey of publications in Amharic in 1954-55, and reviews.

Though the handling of archaeological matters both in the field and in report needs attention, the *Annales d'Éthiopie* are to be warmly welcomed, and we hope to see them appear regularly. This is an excellent opportunity for publishing new documentary material for Ethiopian history, and we look forward to seeing many more annotated texts. The *Annales* are all the more to be appreciated in that they are an Ethiopian venture. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Geschichte der Erforschung der nilotischen Sprachen. By Oswin Köhler. Berlin (Reimer), 1955. Pp. 84, map

172 This essay was dedicated to the great scholar of African languages, Dr. Dietrich Westermann, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Disclaiming any intention to criticize, the author gives us a plain history of the patient build-up of grammars and dictionaries and the lively and rather disappointing attempts to relate the languages of the Upper Nile basin to other African groups. A map shows the localities in which 66 of these dialects are spoken and the bibliography of 299 entries proves the thoroughness with which Dr. Köhler has performed his task. 'Nilotic' languages fall into two main groups: the East Nilotic which distinguish grammatical gender and the West which do not. Just before the First World War, three attempts were made to annex them both to other groups. Leo Reinisch wished to include them in his complex of 'Hamito-Semitic' languages and indeed, in his old age, ventured the opinion that the West Nilotic were an original form of Hamito-Semitic and were distinguished from these by the lack of gender 'not principally but only in degree.' Carl Meinhof in his *Sprachen der Hamiten* rejected Reinisch's fusion of Hamitic and Semitic and was content to annex only the East Nilotic to the former family. Westermann, after a study of the Sudanic languages, included the West Nilotic in these. Later, an Italian scholar, Conti Rossini, doubted whether the foreign influence which had modified East Nilotic was 'Hamitic' at all. Again, in 1935, Westermann moderated his views and regarded the whole Nilotic family as a quite independent unit, connected with a Negro substratum with both Bantu and Sudanic. Dr. Köhler gives due credit to J. H. Driberg and A. N. Tucker for their contributions to the subject. He follows Conti Rossini in scrapping the term 'Hamitic' for the foreign influence on East Nilotic, subdivides that section by separating Bari-Masai from Suk-Nandi and calling the latter 'South Nilotic.' In a penultimate paragraph, Köhler remarks that 'from the scientific standpoint, the expression and term "Nilotic" could not be exclusively formulated for a linguistic region and that still a great number of detailed researches and comparative work was necessary before an approach to this aim could be possible.' In sum, as the result of a century's work, we 'know less and less about more and more.' G. W. MURRAY

AMERICA

The Coast Salish of British Columbia. By Homer G. Barnett. Univ. of Oregon Monographs, Studies in Anthropology, No. 4. Eugene (U. of Oregon), 1955. Pp. xiv, 320, illus. Price \$5

173 This monograph covers the groups of American Indians living on the Strait of Georgia which separates Vancouver Island from the mainland of British Columbia. They and the Nootka of the west coast of the Island are the southern neighbours of the more widely known Kwakiutl. The Salish linguistic stock also covers various Interior Salish languages and the Coast Salish themselves may be conveniently divided into the Strait of Georgia, Fraser River, Puget Sound, and Olympia Peninsula or West Coast groups. This is the first full-scale ethnography of the Strait of Georgia peoples.

The fieldwork on which the work is based was done in 1935 and 1936, and the monograph was written in 1939. It does not, therefore, refer to any of the Salish data which appeared in the 15 years from 1939 to 1955 when it was published. Since, however, this is not a comparative work, and little or none of the recent material has dealt with Strait of Georgia groups, the delay in publication does not detract from the monograph's value.

If there is any form of presentation unique to anthropology, it is the ethnographical monograph, and in reading *The Coast Salish of British Columbia* one becomes fully aware of the reasons why the form is so generally decried by the non-anthropologist. The problem imposed by the attempt to set down descriptive details concerning all the aspects of a people's life is complicated by the fact that the materials are seldom capable of isolation. The choice of where to record any one set of observations is therefore often an arbitrary one. The problem is further complicated in the present instance because the region covered, although showing over-all similarity, is one in which there is marked local variation. This nature of the data must

be retained and Barnett's usual solution has been to present first a general picture of any one topic followed by a description of it for each of the twelve groups for which he has information. Anyone wishing to learn about masks, for instance, will find the major accounts in seven different sections under the heading 'The Life Cycle: Adolescence.' To understand such an arrangement one must also know that masks in this area, unlike those of the Kwakiutl, are used in social ceremonial, not in religious ritual. This brings out clearly what is seldom understood by the non-anthropologist: the ethnographical monograph is not an easy introduction to an area. Nor is it intended to be. The more one already knows the more one learns from such a presentation.

In order that the raw material contained in an ethnography may be fully prepared for use in theoretical studies it should also undergo comparative treatment. There is a quite understandable demand at the present time for comparisons with neighbouring regions to be incorporated into the monograph either by way of generalization or footnote. In some regions this is possible. In others, for which a great deal of detail is available, covering a number of years, adequate comparison constitutes a study in itself. There is then no satisfactory way of telescoping the two treatments. Comparative reference to a few obvious sources only serves to mislead the reader. The author of the present volume is, therefore, to be congratulated for not succumbing to the temptation to throw in a few poor notes with the implication that they give comparative detail.

Ethnographies do not now appear very often even in anthropological literature. Nothing, however, can really replace them, despite the values inherent in other types of presentation, and the Americanist will be pleased to add this excellent example to his too scanty list. MARIAN W. SMITH

ASIA

An Introduction to Social Anthropology. By D. N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan. Bombay and Calcutta (Asia Publ. House), 1956. Pp. xii, 304. Price Rs. 12.8.

174

In this book Professor Majumdar and T. N. Madan, a junior member of the Anthropology Department of Lucknow University, have set out to provide students with a general textbook of anthropology specifically adjusted to the Indian field. There has long been a need for such a book, for most textbooks of this kind rely for their examples almost exclusively on American, African and Pacific data, and the Indian student looks in vain for any familiar landmarks.

Today Indian anthropology is sufficiently far advanced to furnish data for the illustration of many of the standard categories of social and cultural phenomena. The authors therefore encounter no difficulty in demonstrating the different types of marriage and kinship systems, totemistic groups, youth associations, and groupings based on rank and caste by quoting examples from Indian ethnographical literature. In doing this they provide also an introduction to the ethnographical pattern of India. Considerations of cost or space may have prevented them from referring to their sources in the form of footnotes, but this is unfortunate, for the bibliographical references at the end of the chapters do not enable the reader to trace any particular statement to its source.

Perhaps it is due to the double authorship that certain inaccuracies have crept into some of the ethnographical descriptions and the interpretation of ethnographical data. Thus it is hardly correct to describe the Toda system of two endogamous sections as 'dual organization' (pp. 58, 121), for the basic principle of the classic dual organization of Melanesia and Australia is the exogamy of the two moieties. On p. 119 the Baigas, described as 'an offshoot of the Gond group' are listed among the tribes among whom no clan organization has been found. Both statements are incorrect, for the Baigas are certainly not a sub-tribe of the Gonds and Elwin has described the exogamous units of *garh* and *goti*, which correspond to the clans of many other tribal groups. Another slip is the statement that the Konyak, Ao and Sema Nagas all call the men's dormitory 'morung.' This is an Assamese term applied to the men's houses of all hill tribes; the Konyak term is *ban*, and the Ao term *arichu*, while among the Semas the 'morung' is, according to Hutton, 'practically non-existent.' Similarly it is hardly correct to speak sweepingly of the 'strongly monarchist inclinations' of the Nagas and other Assam tribes. Only two of the Naga tribes, the Konyaka and the Semas, have autocratic chiefs, while all the other Naga tribes are organized on entirely democratic lines, and so are the majority of other Assam tribes, such as Mishmis, Abors, Apa Tanis, Miris and Daflas.

There are also some inaccurate quotations, such as the statement on p. 256 according to which I am alleged to have referred to Mongoloid (misspelt 'Mogoloid') elements in Munda languages; as 'Mongoloid' relates to a racial category and 'Munda' to a linguistic group I have never made such a suggestion although I did refer to 'a slight Mongoloid element among some of the tribes speaking Munda languages' (Presidential Address, 37th Indian Science Congress, 1950, p. 9).

However, these minor flaws do not greatly detract from the merit of the book as a first attempt at a systematic correlation of the data dispersed over the growing anthropological literature on India. Particularly valuable is the chapter on 'Tribal India: Past, Present and Future,' which contains a balanced appreciation of the various approaches to the problem of tribal welfare and development. The authors favour a liberal policy towards the aborigines and emphasize the value of such institutions as the youth dormitories, which have often come under attack from the more puritanical Indian reformers. It is refreshing to see that two anthropologists of high professional standing reject the plea for rapid complete assimilation of the aborigines to Hindu ways, and advocate instead 'trans-culturative borrowing' (p. 281), suggesting, for instance, that 'rather than foist child marriage upon the tribal folk, Hindus should adopt the tribal practice of marrying late.'

The purview of the book is confined to the tribal cultures of

India, and no mention is made of the work among advanced Indian communities undertaken in recent years by such well-known anthropologists as Srinivas, Dube, Gough, Marriott, Lewis, Singer and others. This restriction is undoubtedly intentional, and a discussion of the problems raised by the extension of anthropological enquiries to the caste societies of rural India might well have upset the balance of the book. It is basically an introduction to the tribal cultures of India, and as such it will be welcomed by students of anthropology both inside and outside India.

C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF

Report of the Seminar on Casteism and Removal of Untouchability, Delhi, September 26—October 2, 1955.

175

Bombay (Indian Conference of Social Work), Pp. 286, x.

This report refers to a 'seminar' organized by the Indian Conference on Social Work to suggest concrete measures to make the removal of untouchability a reality and to 'combat the ubiquitous menace of casteism,' a scope which, as Dr. Srinivas, who directed the discussions, pointed out, includes practically the whole field of social activity in India.

The questions posed for discussion were, briefly, whether the continuance of caste was desirable; whether it was justified on the grounds of religion; whether it was harmful to democracy; whether the castes outside the pale of Hindu society ought to have political protection; and, if so, by what means. The conference lasted for a week, and was attended by some three dozen delegates and half a dozen observers representing schools of sociology and welfare organizations from most parts of India. The most voluminous of several appendices contains a statement on measures already taken for the welfare of backward classes by the Governments of 11 states or provinces of India.

The views expressed in the discussions recorded are many and various, but it may be doubted whether any but the trained anthropologists and a psychologist or two really appreciated the true nature of the problem and the formidable difficulties involved in the jettison of a system on which the whole of Hindu society has developed during at least the past millennium. Dr. M. N. Srinivas's own contribution, that of Dr. Smt. Irawati Karve and that of the psychologist Dr. Pandharinath Prabhu are probably the most important. Dr. Prabhu recognizes the fact that the problems of caste in general and of untouchability in particular are quite separable. A number of practical remedies for untouchability were suggested which could at least be tried, and a number of shrewd opinions were expressed as to the dangers of excessive protection for the untouchable classes. The British Government, of course, comes in for its expected meed of opprobrium and is accused of having deliberately encouraged caste-consciousness in pursuance of a policy of divide and rule.

It is to be regretted that the conference should have given currency to the ugly and quite unnecessary term 'casteism' copied no doubt from the equally uncouth 'raceism' sometimes used by Americans.

The discussions reported are indicative of a widespread feeling among Indian intelligentsia that the caste system should be mended if not ended, though, as Dr. Srinivas in his summary has pointed out, while everyone says that he wishes caste to go 'actions are more or less at complete variance with professed beliefs.'

J. H. HUTTON

Esquisse d'une Ethnographie navale des Peuples annamites.

By Pierre Paris. 2nd ed. Publications van het Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde en het Maritiem Museum 'Prinz Hendrik,' No. 3, Rotterdam, 1955. Pp. 86, 227 plates, 8 figs. 2 maps, 2 tables.

This valuable survey of the water craft of Annam was first published in 1942 and was reviewed in MAN by the late J. Hornell (1948, 122). The bulk of the stocks were destroyed by fire. It is now reissued by the Prinz Hendrik Maritime Museum with some alterations prepared by the author before his death and additional notes by the editor, Dr. Noteboom. Mr. Hornell's high opinion of its value is fully shared by the present reviewer.

A section on the centre-board sailing raft, which is steered by manipulation of the centre-boards, has become of even more interest since the previous notice appeared on account of Herr Heyerdahl's notable voyage. In other respects too this essay is relevant to diffusionist as well as to technological studies.

Mr. Hornell criticized the quality of the plates. Probably the same blocks were used again, for the plates are still small and not always clear; it would have been preferable if possible to dispense with some and increase the size of others. There are two excellent distribution maps.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

OCEANIA

Asmat: Art from Southwest New Guinea. By H. C. van Renselaar.

177 Foreword by R. A. M. Bergman, photographs by R. L. Mellema. Roy. Trop. Inst., No. CXXI, Dept. of Cultural and Physical Anthropol., No. 55. Amsterdam (Sigfried), 1956. Pp. 24, 51 plates, 2 text figs., 1 map

The purpose of this booklet is to document ethnographically and visually some of the art objects of the Asmat Papuans of south-west Dutch New Guinea. The author briefly introduces the layman to Asmat society, economy, and technology. Five rituals involving ceremonial objects are then described and interpreted. Photographs of half a hundred pieces in the Tropical Museum and Th. P. P. van Emden collections are accompanied by a detailed map and instructive catalogue. A bibliography is unfortunately not included.

There has been all too little publication of the art of this important area since the appearance of H. W. Fischer's cursory 'Ethnographica aus Süd- und Südwest-Neu-Guinea' (*Nova Guinea*, Vol. VII, 1923, pp. 37-162), although Wirz, Fuhrmann, Chauvet, Firth, Wingert, and Tischner *inter alia* reproduce isolated examples. The present contribution is noteworthy, therefore, first for the inclusion of new ethnographical data about a little-known people; secondly, for the quality of its photographs which are excellent.

The connexion between ethnography and artistic photographs in this volume nudges one's thinking in the direction of the difficult problem of the interpretation of primitive art. Mr. van Renselaar is careful to describe his approach as functional and contextual. One is inclined to feel, however, that he, like many anthropologists, identifies the results of this method of analysis with the meaning of the work of art. Of course, no one can sensibly deny the necessity of understanding the role of an art in a culture and its relation to culturally accepted values. But a truly searching analysis for meaning would seem to entail a deeper, more qualitative approach to the art (cf. M. Schapiro on 'Style' in *Anthropology Today*, 1953, p. 287.) For instance, one may examine Mr. van Renselaar's excellent descriptions of two Asmat ceremonies, the *bis* rite and the *emaketsjem* ritual. Both practices involve carved soul ships for the commemoration and 'expulsion' (or possibly the shooing-away) of the dead. The *bis* rite corresponds fairly precisely with the coastal (*Bisman*) art area, and the *emaketsjem* with the interior or *Sirao* art region. *Bisman* art is characterized by attenuated forms, continuous zigzags and a relatively high density of figures. The interior style centring around the Lorentz river is a cruder, more piecemeal art with a tendency to isolate or suspend its forms. A comparison of the two ceremonies suggests that the *bis* rite is more ritually extended than that of the *emaketsjem* and stresses continuity and a rhythmic building-up of activity. The contrasting inland practices seem to favour discontinuous elements and a rather brutal lack of sequence or integration. One immediately realizes that the coincidence of qualities between each art and its accompanying ceremony is in no way a final, universal or exhaustive analysis. It is, however, an avenue of interpretation that is more nearly adequate to the artistic qualities both of the ritual and of the sculptures and, at the same time, a more open, animated and explicable handling of the data than an ethnographically terminated explanation.

DOUGLAS F. FRASER

De Kunst van Nieuw-Guinea. By S. Kooijman. The Hague (Servire), n.d. Pp. 134. Price 8.90 guilders

178 This is a general survey of New Guinea art, based chiefly on an examination of objects in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden. The dust jacket states that the author spent 'considerable time' in New Guinea and informs his account with first-hand knowledge, but there is no mention of this qualification in the text.

Whereas Linton *et al.*, *Arts of the South Seas*, divides the area into six stylistic provinces, Dr. Kooijman, by further distinctions within

Dutch New Guinea, distinguishes nine. His book consists of an introduction and nine chapters, each devoted to one of these areas. His method of exposition is to give a sketch of the social background in each case and then to describe the characteristics of the style. There is a fairly full bibliography (though it omits, for instance, the works of Meyer and Partington & Heape), divided by area, and a good index. The illustrations comprise 23 photographic plates and 13 drawings.

The cultures producing the objects considered have for the most part been long overwhelmed by foreign influences, and we cannot expect the social place of the artifacts to be minutely elucidated; but even with this reservation it is often not clear what connexion is supposed to be made between the author's ethnographical sketch and the objects described. More importantly, the analyses of particular pieces or styles are rather pedestrian and uninformative. For example, the author states that a prominent nose is 'the' characteristic of Sepik art, but he disappointingly makes no attempt at interpretation. He tells us nothing about the conceptual connexion between artifacts and the spirits of the ancestors, about the correspondence of the two main representations of the nose with the two facial types actually observable, nor about the possible relation of the beak-like nose to the existence of a soul bird in Sepik belief. Even his account of the figure stools, analysed 15 years ago by Söderström, is unsatisfying.

The trouble seems to be that the author really has nothing to say about New Guinea aesthetics. He nowhere makes a stylistic analysis such as Fraser has made of Mundugamor sculpture, or elucidates the aesthetic mechanics of an art form as Leach has so intriguingly done in his article on the Trobriand shield. (Neither of these articles, incidentally, is mentioned in Dr. Kooijman's text or included in the bibliography.)

Given this, one may expect from such a book as this simply good illustrations with a representative range of stylistic variation, but in fact even these are disappointing. The 23 plates compare unfavourably with the 68 photographic representations of New Guinea artifacts in *Arts of the South Seas*, and the blotchy drawings are pretty useless for any purpose. The make-up of the book is shoddy, but in all fairness it is inexpensive as well.

Not a very good book, but for the sake of the objects represented (which are unfamiliar to those who have not been to Leiden), its bibliography, and its general outline of an exciting art area, it is worth having for the library. For an aesthetic introduction to New Guinea art, stick to *Arts of the South Seas*. Happily there is still hope that an ethnographer from the newly investigated highlands will bring us some true insight into New Guinea art.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

Work and Life on Raroia. By Bengt Danielsson. London (Allen & Unwin), 1956. Pp. 244, 7 plates, 4 maps. Price £1 5s.

179 This study of the economic life of Raroia, one of the more remote Tuamotuan atolls, was made during two visits of a total duration of 21 months, including the whole of 1950. Since the population numbers only a little over a hundred and is concentrated in one village the author was able to record accurately all activities during this period.

The first part consists of a summary of the Tuamotuan environment, of the history of contact and of what is known of the culture before it broke down during the nineteenth century. This is mostly a compilation, but is useful since the literature of the Tuamotus is scanty and some of the sources, such as official reports, local newspaper files and unpublished manuscripts, are not easily accessible.

The remainder of the book provides a record and analysis of the economic activities. The most striking fact to emerge is the extent

to which Raroia is caught up in world economy. The old subsistence economy is wholly abandoned. Fishing and turtle-catching still have some importance, but very little food is grown. No taro has been planted since 1903. Resources in land and labour are almost entirely directed to the production of copra for export, and food is imported. The food supply must always have been difficult. The author shows that coconut palms were formerly not plentiful, largely owing to the practices of cutting them down in warfare and after the owners' death. Nevertheless the modern diet is less well balanced. The change in the basic economy has had many secondary consequences: mosquitoes, which breed in deserted taro trenches and empty coconut shells, have become a pest; fish traps are abandoned because, following the breakdown of chiefly authority and tabu, the people no longer trust one another enough to co-operate freely;

for the same reasons some birds, formerly important for food, are nearly exterminated. Land is inequitably distributed and titles are confused. One individual supplements his income from copra by selling ice cubes.

The author seems to have overlooked nothing that went on in the community. Both his recording of facts and his statistical analyses of them are thorough, and the latter demonstrate significant points which would not otherwise be obvious. His book is a valuable addition to the literature of the Tuamotus, of acculturation and of simple, but not primitive, economic systems. There are refreshing footnotes on pages 16 and 18. In the first the author puts his view that '... the scientific value of an anthropological study depends on how it is made, be it diffusionistic or functional.' In the second he attacks anthropological gobbledygook. B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

Complementary Filiation and Double Unilineal Descent. Cf.

MAN, 1957, 59

180 SIR,—I think that Dr. Leach has clarified a number of important concepts. There is, however, one particular in which both Dr. Leach and Professor Fortes (*cf. Amer. Anthropol.* 1953, pp. 17-39) appear to be imprecise. It is the relation between complementary filiation and double unilineal descent. The problem arises in discussing societies which are predominantly patrilineal but in which persons recognize attachments to other kin. Strictly, 'complementary filiation' refers to maternal parentage, but in an extended sense may be used to describe ties with any kin outside the patrilineage. There may be a tie with an individual or with another unilineal group. 'Double unilineal descent' is a term commonly used in anthropology when two unilineal groups are recognized, matrilineal and patrilineal. We do not seem to have terms to describe the relationship of a person with his mother's patrilineage, or with his father's matrilineage.

It is particularly in Leach's discussion of the Lakher that the difficulty appears. The Lakher pay bride price to the lineages of the wife and the wife's mother's brother; the wife's mother's brother's mother's brother's lineage may also receive some payment. There is no real evidence of matrilineality even here, as the payments seem to be made to patrilineages. Therefore, the Lakher seem to recognize ties with the mother's patrilineage, and possibly to a series of patrilineages, but they do not have double unilineal descent.

It is certainly necessary to distinguish those unilineal descent systems in which complementary filiation creates 'a complex scheme of individuation' from those in which there are ties with other unilineal groups. The latter is not uncommon, and we need further analysis of the economic, political, and other factors involved. Australian National University, Canberra

PAULA BROWN

Rock Paintings of South Africa. Cf. MAN, 1957, 106

181 SIR,—Mr. James Walton's review of my book *Rock Paintings of the Drakensberg* made some useful suggestions which will be borne in mind for the future. But his passing references to the complex problem of the age of the paintings may be in some respects misleading because necessarily too brief.

Mr. Walton's and the late J. F. Schofield's work cannot be said to have 'demonstrated' that the majority of the rock paintings of South Africa belong to the last 400 years. This may be so but it is far from being demonstrated. Mr. Walton's argument (which is possibly true of Basutoland, the area he has chiefly studied) has been that some of the elements in the paintings can be linked with the Bantu, but such paintings form a small percentage of the whole. I agree with him about the age of the shaded polychromes for other reasons than his which I have given elsewhere but these paintings are confined to the central mountain massif and are not in the majority even there. Schofield rebutted some of the Abbé Breuil's arguments for an age of some thousands of years but his weightiest reason for considering many paintings to be not more than three or four centuries old was based on the rapid rate of exfoliation of

granite. Only something like 10 per cent. of the rock paintings of South Africa are on granite, the large majority being on cave sandstone. This stone, as the late Professor C. van Riet Lowe showed, can be extremely durable.

Our attitude in this matter should be one of cautious open-mindedness pending some C 14 dates. There is no physical reason why some of the paintings should not be as old as the (presumably) Mesolithic art of Eastern Spain; but there is no reason at present to suppose so.

Johannesburg

ALEX R. WILLCOX

Rock Gongs and Rock Slides. Cf. MAN, 1956, 23, 73; 1957, 32-34, 96, 142

182 SIR,—I am obliged to Mr. Bernard Fagg for clearing up the outstanding and very material point in regard to the limitation of the Pembrey 'sliding' to Good Friday. In view of his evidence I would now agree that the custom may well have originated in a magical ritual, doubtless a fertility ritual similar to the Breton example to which he referred. If of such an origin it may well be of considerable antiquity since a fairly long period would probably be necessary to allow for the true character of the rite to be forgotten and for its degeneration into a mere children's game.

At the same time, I would not agree that it is necessarily pre-Christian (still less prehistoric). In my opinion it is often too readily assumed that folk customs of a magical character must have originated in pre-Christian times. Such assumptions overlook the fact that the efficacy of magic was a firmly held article of popular belief throughout medieval and down to quite modern times. In such circumstances there seems no reason to deny the possibility of the invention of specific magical rituals in the Christian period. The only way in which the pre-Christian origin of any specific folk custom could be proved is by the production of reliable literary evidence, and so far as British customs, at any rate, are concerned such evidence is not available. The most that can be said is that there is a reasonable probability that some customs are survivals from pre-Christian times; for example, those exhibiting traces of a former human or animal sacrifice.

Neither the Breton nor the Welsh 'slidings' appear to carry any features necessarily pointing to a pre-Christian origin and I feel that the only safe verdict on this point is one of 'not proven.'

Bristol

R. D. GREENAWAY

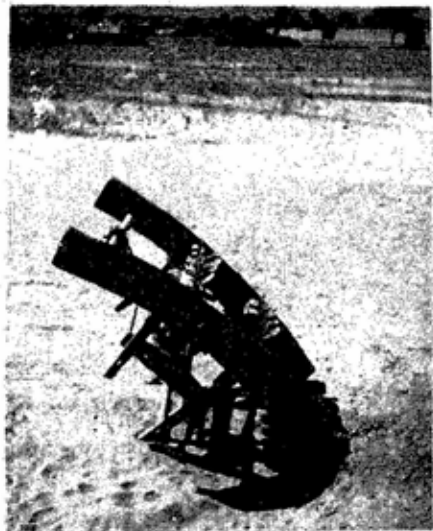
Note

It may not be inappropriate in this connexion to record in an anthropological publication the sudden growth of a magical cult among British motorists a few months ago. This cult, a magical extension of scientific knowledge, involved the hanging of a small piece of metal chain from the rear of a car as a fetish against travel sickness (sometimes attributed to static electricity). For a time the fetish enjoyed a widespread fame, but the results were disappointing, and its power is now in decline, perhaps because insufficient attention had been paid to the need for activating primitive 'medicines' by the correct incantations.—Ed.

(a)



(b, c)



(e)



(d)



(f)



TOOLS AND CRAFTS IN SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA

(a) Nail plough; (b, c) Threshing sledges; (d) Wooden winnowing fork; (e) Oxen drawing a threshing sledge;
(f) Handwoven sacks for grain

TOOLS AND CRAFTS IN SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA*

by

P. H. T. BECKETT

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183 The following brief notes are based on observations made during the summer of 1950 in Kerman and its surrounding villages on the high plateau of Central Persia.

Ease of communication between towns, and between town and villages, has increased greatly during the last twenty to thirty years. For example, what used to be a journey of three weeks by camel from Kerman to the south coast at Bandar Abbas may now be completed in one day by car, and in less than two days by lorry. Similarly most settlements now lie within a reasonable distance of a village served by some form of local motor transport, however ramshackle. One result of the change has been that the products of many traditional crafts are being displaced in the towns by imports from abroad, or by factory-made imitations of hand tools or clothing of Western pattern. The craftsmen in the villages are meeting increasing competition from the towns, where their competitors are able to concentrate on narrower ranges of products, and may have the advantage of powered tools.

The aim of this paper therefore is to put on record the form of a few implements, and the products of one or two village craftsmen, before the traditional patterns have been completely displaced. The local carpet industry, which employs nearly one-tenth of the population in the Kerman area, is not discussed here, nor the design and construction of the vital *qanat* irrigation works which have already been described elsewhere.¹

Agricultural Implements

The plough (Plate La) is a simple nail plough, with a narrow iron-shod blade. The pattern is obviously quite different from the two-stilt and single-stilt crookards reported from Khuzistan (Persia) and Homs (Syria) respectively.² It is drawn by a pair of cattle or less commonly donkeys. Mixed yokes of ox and donkey, and camel and donkey, were seen but are not usual. The plough forms the shallow coarsely cloddy tilth that is considered desirable, but does not kill the deep-rooted perennial weeds. The fact that this type of plough has been used for a very long time does not necessarily signify that it is the best pattern for local conditions. Indeed, recent experiments on similar soils in Afghanistan³ suggest that a seedbed prepared by a mouldboard plough may lead to greater yields of wheat and sugar-beet than that produced by a nail plough. However, the greater draught required by the mouldboard plough may delay its general application until tractors are more widely used than at present.

Most of the agricultural land is flat or, where sloping, is terraced,⁴ so that the possibility of water erosion is not an argument against the use of a plough. Wind erosion is sometimes severe, so that cultivators should not prepare too fine a seed bed.

* With Plate L and seven text figures

For digging irrigation channels, and preparing plots too small to be ploughed, or on which complete inversion of the topsoil is considered necessary, a long-handled shovel is used, similar to that common in central Wales. Unlike areas in the south-west (Shiraz for example⁵) one does not commonly see the cultivators round Kerman preparing their fields for cultivation by digging.

Grain is reaped with a sickle to leave a low stubble. Ear and straw are carried to a prepared threshing-floor of sun-dried earth and stacked in a heap 2-3 feet high and more than 6 feet in diameter. Then while a ring of peasants stand round the heap with forks the threshing sledge (Plate Lb, c, e) is drawn round and round the edge of the heap by a yoke of cattle. The two forms of sledge differ only in their rollers, which in one case are studded with steel blades 1-2 inches wide and 3-4 inches deep, and in the other provide the axles for a number of toothed steel discs. In both cases the sledge is some 40 inches long and is drawn upon the rollers. It is weighed down by stones, or by as many children as can balance themselves on the seat and framework, so that the steel blades or rollers break open the ears and release the grain. Meanwhile the peasants keep turning the broken straw in its path, to allow the grain to fall through the straw onto the ground. As the harvest is threshed the threshed straw is pulled outside the circle and unthreshed grain pulled outwards from the heap, so that by the end of the operation the heap of unthreshed grain has given place to a circle of mixed grain and chaff surrounded by a ring of straw.

Threshing sledges of the same general type appear to be in use as far north as those parts of Turkish Kurdistan to the east and south of Lake Van.⁶

The straw is packed into tight bundles in coarse hemp netting and carried off for winter fodder and litter. Winnowing of the grain and chaff waits upon the afternoon wind from the mountains. The winnowing fork (Plate Ld) is made of 8 curved wooden tines locked together at one end, and pointed at the other. A cross-piece about 9 inches from the joined ends is tied to each tine individually and to the extreme end of the handle, which is also lashed to the two centre tines and to the junction of all the tines.

The winnowed grain is finally cleaned by sieves, coarse and fine meshed. The sieves are 2-3 inches deep and 30-35 inches wide. The mesh is made of leather thongs or an unidentified vegetable fibre. The clean grain is bagged in sacks of finely woven hair or fibre (Plate Lf) occasionally having a simple woven decoration of groups of parallel lines. On the seams of each sack are two loops of braided rope by which sacks are slung in pairs across the quilted saddle on a donkey. The mouths of the sacks are frequently decorated with braided rope. Lengths of cord, some 6 inches long, attached to the sack on opposite sides and about 6 inches from the mouth may be used to tie up the sack.

Division of grain between landowner and peasants is by weight, using a simple balance consisting of two reinforced wooden boxes (12 inches square and 9 inches deep) supported by cords from opposite ends of a 3-foot pole, suspended from a freely moving handle at the mid-point. More sophisticated forms of balance were also used in the area, and both a steelyard and a steel balance pivoted on steel knife edges were seen in the Kerman bazaar.

Agricultural practices have been discussed elsewhere.⁷ However, the use of mud pillars, linked by light poles, to support vines (fig. 1) is worthy of comment and provides



FIG. 1. VINE SUPPORTS MADE OF MUD PILLARS AND LINKING POLES

one of many examples of the way in which the scarcity and cost of heavy timber has led to the use of alternatives (cf. a different practice near Tehran⁸).

Domestic Architecture

The basic units of houses or farm buildings are the square room with a round or elliptical dome (fig. 2), or the rectangular room with two or more domes supported on an arch or arches across the centre (fig. 3). The round dome is built inwards from the corners and requires no support during its construction, whereas the arches of the elliptical dome must be built on a wooden former. Though the walls of most peasant houses are broad enough to support

the thrust of the dome, the better-class houses, more lightly constructed, must be built with a few thin tie-beams across the base of the dome. Building material is brick on the plains, usually sun-dried mud and straw, 9 inches square and 2-3 inches deep, but occasionally of fire-baked brick in upper-class homes. In the mountains the walls are made of stones, packed with mud cement. In both cases the domes are made of brick, with mud cement, and plastered with a mortar containing chopped straw. The rooms may be lighted by arched windows through the walls, round windows in the apex of the dome, or by small arched windows in the side of the dome. Fig. 2 also shows the usual style of dress of the peasants and artisans, which is European except for the skull caps, woollen in the photograph but more commonly of felt. The shapeless dwelling complex in the left background is more typical of a mountain village than of a village on the plains. Fig. 3 also shows a pair of carpet looms.

The poorest peasant families appear to live in groups in tangled complexes of a dozen or more rooms, one room to each family or their plough beasts, with the rooms interconnected by arches in their common walls. Among the more prosperous peasants and small landowners owning separate houses, there are two main types of arrangement of rooms, each liable to be obscured by outbuildings and lean-tos. The simpler and smaller type has a high rectangular main living and working room with main house doors at one or both ends. The sleeping and store rooms, and kitchen, are arranged on both sides of the living room, and opening into it. Commonly the men's rooms are all on one side and the women's rooms on the other side of the living room. Frequently one house door opens onto a yard facing the road or track, and the other door opens onto a garden, or possibly onto a paved platform overlooking a garden. In the other common type of house all the rooms open inwards onto a raised path or platform surrounding a square court of which they may form all sides or only



FIG. 2. HOUSE-BUILDING IN SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA



FIG. 3. A HOUSE INTERIOR WITH CARPET LOOMS

one. The court is cultivated as a flower garden, and is usually freshened by a permanent or intermittent stream running across it. In many cases the main gate opens into an ante-room with a second, inner gate onto the court. (For illustrations of such houses see my paper 'Waters of Persia,' *Geogr. Mag.*, Vol. XXIV, 1951, p. 230.)

Village Craftsmen

An itinerant tinsmith visited the periodic open-air market at Jupar, near Kerman, to patch and replate brass and copper vessels. His plating material appeared to be a soft solder, applied with a white fluxing mineral (thought to be borax on account of its green flame on heating in alcohol) onto the burnished and heated surface. Solder applied in this way frequently flakes off cooking utensils and is said to be the cause of occurrences of lead poisoning.

The tinsmith first set up a small charcoal furnace in a hole about 12 inches deep by 12 inches wide. The long metal nozzle of his bellows was forced into the earth some 12 inches from the hole to enter the hole at its bottom. Part of the spoil from the hole was puddled with water and used to plaster the sides of the hole, and burning charcoal was then heaped on a few stones at the bottom. Next he prepared a second hole some 12 inches wide by 9 inches deep at the foot of a small tree. To burnish a pot to be replated he packed it into the second hole with gravel and filled it with a mixture of gravel, sand and ash. Then holding onto the tree with both hands, the tinsmith rotated the filling rapidly with his feet. The method seemed to be very efficacious.

The Blacksmith. There is no local source of iron, and the raw material of nearly all tools was said to be scrap steel bought in the bazaar at Kerman. The blacksmith in Jupar showed very great skill in tempering steel for different purposes. As a demonstration he converted a broken file into a penknife, first shaping the red-hot metal into the blade, and then cutting out on the red-hot blade the lines for a brass inlay. The smith then reheated the metal to redness and quenched it in *roughan* or liquid animal oil. The brass inlay was melted onto the blade with flux and then ground off level. On the same occasion he made a file from a broken lorry spring, cutting teeth on the red-hot spring with a cold blade and then reheating and plunging the file into cold water.

The blacksmith's forge was a relatively simple affair of mud brick and steel bars, ventilated by a crude leather bellows operated by an assistant. The fire-bars, spaced about 1 inch apart, were supported on a rectangular box of plastered clay bricks, about 6 inches high, 18-24 inches long and 12-15 inches wide. The *tuyère* from the bellows entered the box in the middle of one side. Burning charcoal on the grate was retained by walls of clay brick 6 inches high on one short side, and falling from 6 inches to nothing in height on the two long sides. The bellows were a tapering leather tube, about 18 inches long, and 6 inches in diameter at the broadest end. The thin end was sealed on to the outer end of the *tuyère*. The broad end was open and along the lips of the open end of the bellows were fixed two thin wooden bars, which the assistant held, one

in each hand. On the in-stroke the bars were held together to close the mouth of the bag, and on the out-stroke they were held apart.

Tools being made, or in stock, included pliers, hand saws, files, blacksmith's trimming knives, carpet knives, plastering knives, sickles, adzes, shovels, picks, chain, door latches, nails, horseshoes. The pliers and files were close copies of Western patterns. Fig. 4 shows a hand saw, a pruning saw and the blacksmith's hoof-paring knife.

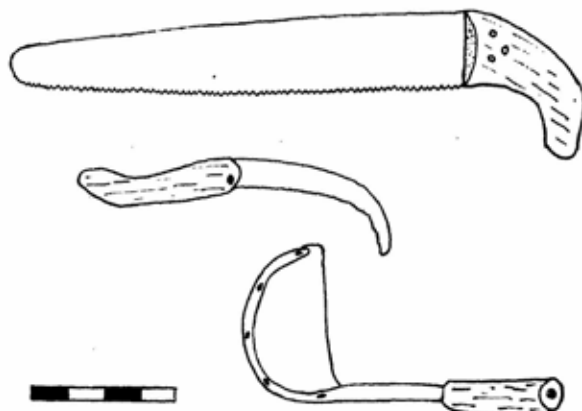


FIG. 4. A HAND SAW, PRUNING SAW, AND HOOF-PARING KNIFE

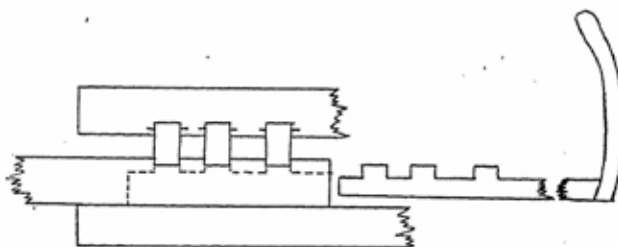


FIG. 5. DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION OF WOODEN LOCK

The Carpenter. Carpenters make simple furniture, the frames of carpet looms, and also wooden locks (fig. 5) which are worthy of note. Basically the lock is a cylindrical box, 12 inches long and 5-6 inches in diameter. A rectangular channel 2-3 inches deep and 3-4 inches wide runs through the length of the box. The latch is some 18-24 inches in length, and slides in the channel. Three or more wooden wards, corresponding to holes in the latch, are pivoted on the roof of the lock to swing in a direction perpendicular to it, and may either drop into the holes in the

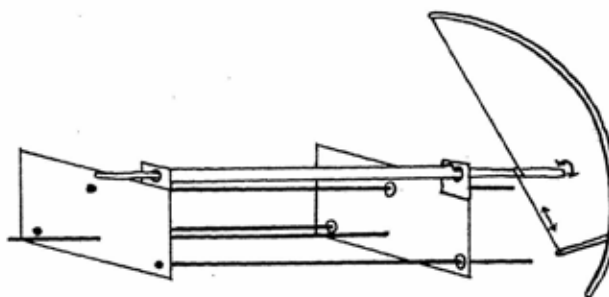


FIG. 6. PORTABLE LATHE, SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA

latch and lock it, or else be raised by a key into cavities in the roof of the lock to allow the latch to slide freely.

The key is a long wooden peg, with projections corresponding to the wards. It is pushed along a groove on the underside of the latch and then raised so that its projections raise the wards and allow the latch and key to be drawn back together.

The lock is normally built into the thickness of a wall with brick and plaster, so that the long tongue of the latch

engages with the edge of the door. A small hole in the wall allows the holder of a key to put his arm through to unlock the door.

Although no lathes were seen in the villages, this certainly does not prove that none were used, and indeed a band of wandering *Luti* (gypsies) were seen using the portable lathe shown in fig. 6, of which the two end plates, supporting simple loops to hold the object to be turned, could be spaced at any required distance. The spindle being shaped was rotated by a bow with wetted cord, of which the tightness was controlled by a hinged handle.

The spinning wheel (fig. 7) is partly constructed of pegs turned on such a lathe, and partly of flat bars. The drum of the driving wheel is constructed of hemp and leather thongs, held tight by the tension of the bars.



FIG. 7. SPINNING WHEEL, SOUTH CENTRAL PERSIA

Notes

¹ P. H. T. Beckett, 'Qandts round Kerman,' *Roy. Cent. Asian J.*, Vol. XL, 1953, p. 47.

² A. Muir, 'Notes on the Soils of Syria,' *J. Soil Sci.*, Vol. II, p. 182 and Plates III and V.

³ G. F. Hauser, 'Comparison of the Afghan plough and tillage practices with modern implements and methods,' *Emp. J. Exp. Agric.*, Vol. LXXXIX, 1955, p. 75.

⁴ A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, O.U.P., 1953, p. 359.

⁵ A. Heinicke, *Sci. Mon.* (New York), Vol. XL, 1935, pp. 116-121.

⁶ J. Cooke, Unpublished lecture on a zoological expedition to Turkey, 1956.

⁷ P. H. T. Beckett, 'Agriculture in Central Persia,' *Tropical Agriculture*, Vol. XXXIV, 1957, p. 9.

⁸ B. A. Keen, *The Agricultural Development of the Middle East*, H.M.S.O., 1946, Plate Vb.

ON THE MAKING OF A CHITUMWA

A NORTHERN RHODESIAN PROTECTIVE AMULET*

by

J. H. CHAPLIN

Livingstone

184 An amulet in the form of a parcel of medicines sewn into a cloth is a common preventative against witchcraft in Central Africa. In Northern Rhodesia it is known as *mukano* by the Bemba; *muru wa mboma* by the Lozi¹; and *chitumwa* among the Nyanja-speaking tribes of the Eastern Province. Writing of Southern Rhodesia, Gelfand² gives the Shona name as *zango*, but adds that it is known as *dumwa* in the east and north-eastern districts. It is the purpose of this note to set out the method of making a *chitumwa* as undertaken by a native doctor from the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, a Nsenga by tribe. His spellings of vernacular names have been retained and his own words, in quotation marks, will be used as far

* With a text figure

as possible especially when describing the functions of the ingredients. The medicines are listed in the order in which they were used, and the letters in italic type refer to the positions in which they were placed, as shown on the accompanying diagram (fig. 1).

In this connexion the word medicine will not be confined to its restricted meaning of a substance capable of curing bodily infirmities. The African viewpoint allows of materials chosen for their influences derived from the characteristics of their origins. Also there is no marked distinction between sickness of the body and disruptions in everyday life. The difference is one of degree, not of kind. The body of the individual is in close contact with all the non-physical aspects of his surroundings as well as being in

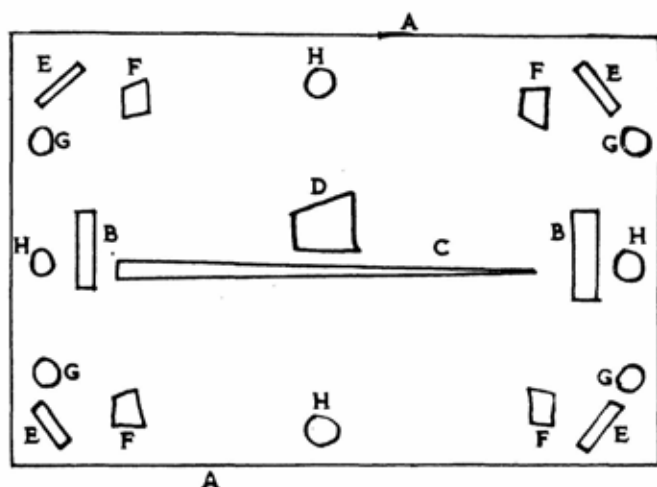


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF 'CHITUMWA'

See text for key

sympathy with the well-being of the group to which he belongs.

Ntetezezi ya njovu. A. (The dried nerve from an elephant tusk.) A piece 3.5×3.0 centimetres was cut and this formed the foundation upon which everything else was placed. Another piece of the same size was put on top to sandwich the contents to complete the work. The function is, 'to be making the witch to shake very much.' The tusk and its nerve are dangerous things. Ila hunters send away the young men, and medicines must be chewed while the nerve is being removed and buried; the Kaonde, a neighbouring tribe, has the same custom.³

Palije kanthu and cikarawamba. These are both trees. The word tree is frequently used by Africans speaking English to describe anything larger than a food plant; this is probably because the word bush is commonly used in Rhodesia to describe all land that is not cultivated or occupied. Root bark and leaves of these trees had been dried and powdered then mixed with grease. For the greatest effect lion fat should be used, but this not being available at the time, vaseline was substituted. A layer of the mixture was spread on the nerve, and everything else used in the *chitumwa* was first dipped into it.

Had lion fat been used it would have had an added strengthening effect. The function of the trees was not fully explained, but the same doctor on another occasion said that a piece of the first root placed under the tongue before talking to a woman would make a man irresistible. The second tree is both a protection against witchcraft and also 'helps you to understand good things.'

Nkhwazi. B. (Scales from the foot of the Fish-eagle (*Haliaeetus vocifer*)). The work of these is described in some detail: (1) 'The leg of eagle is very important indeed because this leg cannot stopping to catch something' [The main function is to enable the user to catch, or remember, dreams]; (2) 'This eagle can see very far what is happen' [It can help you to understand dreams]; (3) 'Eagles can see fish of other birds in the water clearly' [You can interpret the dreams of others].

Tsoni or manyazi. C. A single thick hair or spine of this creature was used. It was said to be 'very small and shy like a fat rat.' The second name means 'shyness.' This is a hedgehog (*Aethichinus* Sp.). Gelfand⁴ describing a Shona medicine against witchcraft refers to the hair of a small animal called *shoni* being used. In the Union of South Africa, the Bavenda call the hedgehog *thoni*.⁵ 'The work of this is to be hiding you from all danger and enemies; it is costing very much, perhaps ten shillings just for one hair, or even fifteen.'

Cikaramanya. D. A fragment of hardened gum from a tree of this name said to grow only in Nyasaland. The tree is thought to cry and the substance is found beneath it. The price of the piece used, weighing not more than one gramme, would be from £1 to 15 shillings. 'It will cause an enemy coming to your house to cry very much and also your house changes like it is a waterfall and he can't see it and his anger leaves him.'

Chinwemve. E. A small piece of the root of this tree was cut into four. The name means happiness and its purpose is to make other people like you.

Mukhaka. F. The doctor described this animal as being 'like a tortoise that rolls up, living only in the Mchinga Mountains.' It is the pangolin (*Manis* Sp.) which has a widespread use in southern Africa. A Shona doctor burns the scales and rubs the ash into small cuts in his patient's arm to increase the power of the *zango*.⁶ In Sukumaland, Tanganyika, the scales are used in medicines to ensure invisibility, owing to the animal's shyness.⁷ In South Africa it is reported that, 'Witchdoctors have been known to pay sixpence each for the scales for use in their mysterious medicinal compounds.'⁸ This price is very low as the piece of scale used in this *chitumwa* (1.0×1.5 centimetres) was said to have cost 10 shillings although I have seen a complete scale offered at a 'first price' of 5 shillings. 'The work for this is all very important, (1) An enemy coming to your house will forget his anger; (2) You can be very much liked or anyway people will tell you the reason why they do not like you; (3) You will learn about rumours and bad words said about you behind your back; (4) If you suddenly feel in your heart that something you are going to do is not all right, this is *Mukhaka* talking to you for warning.'

Mikanda (Beads, Black G, White H). Few objects of medicinal or ritual use are without beads, which provide decoration at the same time as they add to the value of the object. I can give no information concerning their function in the *chitumwa*; white beads are used in offerings to the ancestors and are also used to protect pregnant women and young children. Black beads are also used in offerings.

Mfumbata. Over all these objects when laid in place there was sprinkled the crushed leaves and stem of this small plant, in all no more than 5 centimetres high with very tightly curved leaves like young bracken. It is very powerful: (1) It makes you so girls come quickly to you; (2) If you go inside a house with this and you are not knocking, then the man inside cannot see you unless he has special medicines; (3) If witchcraft is coming then the *chitumwa*

with this tree inside will go away and make the man to stop at the door, even keeping him there all night.'

The second piece of nerve was now set on top, and the sides filled in with further small pieces. A piece of new calico had the medicated grease spread on it and the complete nerve parcel set on it. While the doctor held the cloth, two small cuts were made on the doctor's right wrist by the patient, and a pair between the eyes. The powder of the two trees was then rubbed in. The cutter should be the doctor's wife; she may not hold the cloth at all as it will prolong her next menstrual period. If the cutter is the client then he in turn holds the cloth and is cut in the same way with an additional pair between the shoulders. For him this ensures warnings of danger, while if he touches the forehead pair with his fingers when talking to a woman she will agree to his advances.

The parcel is then sewn tightly. One end has two rows of black stitching, the other end a single row of white stitches and the remaining side, a row of red stitches. If the *chitumwa* is to be carried in the pocket it is now complete and a doctor with a good reputation could ask, and receive, £4 to £5 for it. For binding round the arm tapes must be attached, usually decorated with coloured beads.

Among other ingredients which could be employed, if available, are these: the dirt from an old pounding stick, 'this is for making a strong voice to call out'; the tail hairs of a hyæna, helped by a lion's hair, 'will also increase the voice'; dust from a woman's footprint, 'to stop the witchcraft from moving'; maize dust that falls over the sides of grinding stones, 'which stops him from killing you'; the ear of the hyæna, 'which helps you to hear the voice of the *chitumwa* very well.'

It will have been noticed that powers have been ascribed to the medicines besides that of protection against witchcraft. There are love medicines and friendship medicines. This is no place to describe the very wide use of love medicines; but it is worth noting that friendship medicines are very much in demand in towns, where the African is faced with the bewildering unpredictability of people of another culture; probably few domestic servants are without some such protection. Medicines particularly for this purpose generally include something that has belonged to the person whose friendship is desired, cloth, hair or the like.⁹

The action of the *chitumwa* and the situation it is designed to counteract can best be described in the doctor's own words: 'When you are sleeping you are putting *chitumwa* inside the pillow and when witchcraft is coming the power of the *chitumwa* is talking, very high just like a boy, and very loud. Then you are waking and throwing the *chitumwa* very hard on the ground and there is coming like a great fire and you open the door and see there the witch naked and standing without moving. Then if you dislike him too much you are putting *chitumwa* into *mphako* (anus)

and much blood will come from the stomach and in two days or even one day he will die. But if you are liking him just a bit, then only you are beating him, this you must do because he cannot go away until you are beating. To come inside your house the witchcraft is being naked always and he pushes back and behind against the door and pushing the door up and up from the hinges. Then he is getting inside and cutting your neck to take to play with other witchcraft. When he is late coming back he is not putting on properly and you see men with hard necks, even in my village there are people with very big throats and they are the ones who are loosing their heads for playing like this.'

This account is fairly straightforward. Short additional notes are that witches cannot work in moonlight, that a light in a house will also keep them away, and even cigarette smoke should not be encountered when out walking in the dark. To cause the death of a witch by thrusting a pointed stick through the anus was customary among many tribes in Central Africa, and has not entirely died out even now, or at least the dead body of a person suspected of being a witch may be treated in this way.

One further point came out in the doctor's conversation. This is that wizards can travel great distances with the aid of either birds or hyænas. To do this they require seminal fluid and either cause an emission in a sleeping man, or obtain it from some woman with whom the man has had sexual intercourse. This idea of requiring a fuel is doubtless one of the innovations which contact with town life is bringing about in concepts of magic and witchcraft. This contact is certainly not decreasing its influence; congregating in towns gives rise to even more opportunities for conflict and situations not properly understood than are found in the villages. Revenge and bewilderment create demands which it is one of the functions of witchcraft to meet.¹⁰

Notes

¹ *Mboma* is the Silozi word for a python and the Barotse version of this amulet should properly be made from the python's skin.

² M. Gelfand, *Medicine and Magic of the Mashona*, Capetown, 1956, p. 155.

³ E. Smith and A. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, Vol. I, London, 1920, p. 168. F. H. Melland, *In Witch-bound Africa*, London, 1923, p. 259.

⁴ Gelfand, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁵ A. Roberts, *The Mammals of South Africa*, Johannesburg, 1951, p. 38.

⁶ Gelfand, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁷ H. Cory in *Africa*, Vol. XIX, 1949, p. 17.

⁸ Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 227. The Sindebele name is given as *Inkake*; the Sotho name as *Kgaga*.

⁹ P. C. G. Adams, 'Disease concepts among Africans in the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia,' *Human Problems in Central Africa*, Vol. X, 1950, p. 43.

¹⁰ M. G. Marwick, 'The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs,' *Africa*, Vol. XXII, 1952, pp. 120-135, 215-233.

SHORTER NOTES

II Conference on History and Archaeology in Africa, 16-18 July, 1957. *A report by D. H. Jones, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

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The second conference on History and Archaeology in Africa was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, from 16 to 18 July. Over a hundred members attended and a truly international atmosphere was created by the presence of representatives from metropolitan France, Belgium, Portugal and America, as well as of scholars working in almost every territory in tropical Africa. Teachers from the African University Colleges had provided the backbone of the first conference. These colleges were again well represented, together with the new University of Elizabethville. Reports on work in progress since the last conference were submitted by most members and by a number of other interested scholars who were unable to attend, and these papers, which were circulated in advance, provided the basis for a series of lively discussions in which a large number of speakers took part.

It is probably in the field of archaeology, and particularly of the archaeology of the East African coast, that progress has been most marked. Reports from Nigeria and Ghana, too, reveal a rapidly accumulating body of material for study, especially of pottery types, but archaeological speakers from both East and West Africa emphasized their great difficulty in dating finds, and it is clearly too early to anticipate the emergence of even a broad chronological framework.

The conference was unanimous that the historian of Africa south of the Sahara, a continent virtually without written history, cannot afford to neglect oral tradition. At least where the traditions have been preserved through the institutions of more or less highly organized states, Buganda and Dagomba for example, they may be said to constitute oral documents, the reliability of which can be assessed by the traditional methods of historical criticism. They can, at worst, provide archaeologists with hypotheses on which to work, and they can sometimes help him in dating his finds.

At the same time, many speakers deplored the incautious use of oral traditional material, divorced from its social context, as favouring the emergence of historical myths and sometimes misleading subsequent workers.

The very wide range of the discussions on the proto-historic period, which embraced the possibilities and limitations of glottochronology, dendrochronology and the carbon-14 process, as aids to approximate dating, and the possible value to the historian of the study of the distribution of blood groups and abnormal haemoglobin, underlined the vital need in these studies for the close co-operation of scholars in many different disciplines. Reports of the progress of the Benin and Yoruba history schemes, to quote only two examples, suggest that this need is now much better appreciated than formerly by workers in the field.

The first conference concerned itself almost exclusively with the advancement of our knowledge of pre-European Africa. On this occasion, one whole morning was devoted to nineteenth-century history. About 30 of the papers submitted dealt with work on this period, most of it by scholars with personal experience of Africa. While primarily concerned with orthodox historical sources and techniques, most of these scholars are clearly trying to present their subject in a new light. They are taking the first steps in writing the history of the African peoples themselves, rather than the history of British, French or Belgian colonial

policy and colonial administration. While not neglecting the public records of the colonial powers, the material from which the conventional type of colonial history has usually been exclusively written, these scholars are casting widely for any kind of source material which will help them to establish for their studies that 'firm base in Africa,' the importance of which was stressed by Dr. R. A. Oliver, the chairman of the conference.

Successive speakers drew attention to the value of missionary archives, of commercial and private papers, of contemporary newspapers, of the reports and record books of local administrative officers, and of vernacular manuscripts of many kinds. Record repositories staffed by trained archivists now exist in most of the African territories, and the conference took a keen interest in the reports of progress made in them in the assembling and ordering of all these classes of documents, many of which, of course, still remain in private hands. It should be emphasized that this discussion, like all the others, took place in a plenary session of the conference. In Africa, there is no wall dividing the orthodox historian from the archaeologist and the student of oral tradition. Indeed the view was expressed that the nineteenth century might yet turn out to be the period for which oral tradition will be most useful. Traditions going back over the last 150 years are to be found all over Africa and their accuracy can often be readily checked from European documents. Most members must have shared the conviction expressed by Dr. Oliver that, interesting and important as the study of earlier periods is, African history will be able to stand as an academic discipline on the basis of the nineteenth century alone.

The large number of papers submitted from them underlined the growing importance of the young African University Colleges as centres of historical and archaeological research. Another session of the conference was devoted to the teaching of African history, particularly in these African colleges. A most lively discussion, in which history teachers from the African colleges took the leading part, again revealed a large measure of agreement.

The view was generally expressed that while the history of Europe and the expansion of Europe overseas cannot be neglected, the attempt must be made to teach the history of Africa, however difficult this may prove in practice. The present climate of African nationalism, in which so much inaccurate mythological history is beginning to gain currency, makes it an urgent need. It was emphasized that such a course must be devoted to truly African history, looked at, so to speak, from inside Africa, and not merely to the expansion of Europe in that continent. The influence of the Islamic Middle East, for example, has been at least as great as that of Europe in creating the contemporary situation, right across the Sudanese belt of Africa, and this fact must not be obscured by the teacher's approach.

While it was admitted that the almost complete absence of suitable textbooks does present great difficulties in the teaching of African history for University examinations, it was stressed that the teaching of the subject in African colleges can provide the stimulus for the production of such books. It was further pointed out, that for 'honours' students at least, the need, in the absence of textbooks, to go back to original contemporary sources has a positive educative value.

A number of committees, which met during the course of the conference, were responsible for the drafting of the resolutions, which were adopted in the concluding session, and are subjoined. It is intended to publish a full report of the proceedings of the conference as soon as possible.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT AND RESOLUTIONS

The Conference expressed its warm appreciation of the initiative of the School of Oriental and African Studies in arranging this second Conference on African history and archaeology, fulfilling a need not met in any other way.

The Conference was primarily concerned with the possibility of establishing the outlines of the history of Africa since the Stone Age. It was more than ever impressed by the results and further possibilities of co-operation between archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists concerned with all the different parts of the continent south of the Sahara, and their relations with other parts of the world. The Conference has set up a panel to explore the practicability of publishing an international journal on African history.

The Conference passed the following resolutions:—

1. The Conference expresses its delight in the project sponsored by the Colonial Social Science Research Council for a co-operative history of East Africa, and considers that similar projects should be sponsored by governments in other parts of Africa, with the ultimate aim of covering the continent south of the Sahara. The Conference suggests that Ruanda-Urundi, for instance, would be a favourable area for a second experiment on these lines.

2. The Conference welcomes the project of an archaeological expedition to the Nile-Chad region, and considers that such an expedition should be undertaken internationally, because of its unique importance as an area of contact and diffusion for the whole of west and central Africa. The Conference suggests that such an expedition would be best sponsored by the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa/Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara.

3. The Conference congratulates the government of Ghana on the opening of a National Museum, and looks forward to its becoming an internationally recognized centre of research in conjunction with the University College of Ghana.

4. The Conference expresses gratitude for archaeological posts so far created in Uganda and Tanganyika, but regrets that there is no archaeological officer as yet in Somaliland, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Sierra Leone or Gambia. The Conference would also like to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the crucial importance of the Aden Protectorate for any increasing knowledge of archaeology or history in East Africa.

5. Much as the Conference welcomes the appointment of individual officers in Uganda and Tanganyika, it considers that in the larger territories it is essential that the officer be in charge of an adequately staffed and equipped department, including full museum facilities. In territories where a museum already exists the Conference considers that the department of antiquities should be closely associated with it, and preferably housed in it. The Conference particularly welcomes the example set by the government of Nigeria during the last few years.

6. The Conference welcomes the likelihood that new antiquities legislation will soon be made operative in a number of territories, but expresses the view that it will only become effective when antiquities departments are adequately staffed and equipped.

7. The Conference regrets that Her Majesty's Government has not yet seen its way to implement the decision to establish a British School of History and Archaeology in East Africa.

8. The Conference would like to stress the urgent need for

training historians for fieldwork in Africa in concert with archaeologists and anthropologists.

Horniman Museum Lectures, Autumn, 1957

The following are among the lectures of anthropological interest to be given at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23, at 3.30 p.m. on Saturdays: 19 October, 'Samoan Craftsmen at Work and Play' (with colour film), by G. B. Milner, Esq.; 26 October, 'Nepalese Folksongs and Dances' (with films and records), by Dr. A. A. Bake; 2 November, 'Agriculture in China Today' (with colour film), by John Hill, Esq., M.P.; 9 November, 'Witchcraft in England', by Miss C. Hole; 16 November, 'The Art of Ancient Peru', by Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell; 23 November, 'Borneo—Longhouses and Jungle' (with colour film), by Guy Arnold, Esq.; 7 December, 'Folk Music of Rumania' (with films and records), by A. L. Lloyd, Esq.; 14 December, 'Socotra: The Island of Dragon's Blood' (with film), by D. Botting, Esq.

Gwerin: A half-yearly Journal of Folk Life.* By Sir Robert Hyde, K.B.E., M.V.O., Chairman of the British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute

'Gwerin' is Welsh for 'folk' but the Editor hopes that, although the inspiration for this journal comes from Wales, on its pages the problems of folk life in Scotland, Ireland, Man, England and Wales will be adequately discussed. This intention is carried out in the first number in which are included articles on A Straw Rope Granary in Cork; Hebridean Traditions, and Rake and Scythe Handle-Making in Bedfordshire and Suffolk. Articles are illustrated by line drawings and photographs and the journal is well produced. 'Gwerin' should prove a valuable addition to the work and study of the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans.

* Oxford (Blackwell), 1956 onwards. Annual subscription 12s.

Scottish Studies.† By Sir Robert Hyde, K.B.E., M.V.O., Chairman of the British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute

This new periodical is the first corporate venture into print of the School of Scottish Studies founded by the Senatus of Edinburgh University. With a wide programme of scientific investigation into such matters as The Study of Place-Names; Social Anthropology; Folk Culture; Folklore and Material Culture, the School should find in this new journal a valuable help in recording for the benefit of a wider public, as well as for itself, the results of its studies. Articles on Cultural Relations in the North Sea Area; The Plough in Scotland; The Classification of Gaelic Folk-Song, well illustrated and carefully documented, make a welcome addition to folk-lore literature. The School is to be commended for its enterprise.

† Published twice a year for the School of Scottish Studies. Edinburgh (Oliver & Boyd), 1956 onwards. Annual subscription £1.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Essays in Sociology and Social Philosophy: Vol. I, On the Diversity of Morals. Pp. xiv, 329. Vol. II, Reason and Unreason in Society. Pp. 328. By Morris Ginsberg. London (Heinemann), 1956. Price £1 1s. and 5s.

There should be a warm welcome for these two volumes of collections of Professor Ginsberg's papers. The second, *Reason and*

Unreason in Society, was first published in 1947 and is here reprinted. The first compiles a number of papers and lectures written between 1932 and 1954. In all cases the date is given, but not always the source or occasion. It would sometimes be interesting to know these; but none of the essays is very technical and none is merely popular. Whether Professor Ginsberg is talking to his professional colleagues or to a general audience, he speaks as a wise man talking about

things that matter to him, and showing other reasonable men what he is trying to do.

Running throughout the papers is a twofold interest, in social science and in social morality. (I say 'social morality' rather than 'social philosophy' since there is not much philosophical discussion of theoretical concepts other than moral concepts in these papers.) That is to say, Professor Ginsberg is prepared both to pursue factual analysis, especially in the comparative study of institutions, and to defend a particular view of morality. In a lesser thinker this double concern might cause preconceptions about social morality to affect the social analysis, but in Professor Ginsberg's case it means that he can show ways in which the social scientist can help the social moralist and the social moralist help the social scientist. This is because he holds that although moral judgments finally depend on convictions about values which are not derivable simply from judgments about facts, at the same time how people understand facts may be directly relevant to their judgments of value, as is shown in kinds of ideological thinking where distortions in one can encourage distortions in the other. 'Distortions' of course may be said to beg the question, in claiming that there is a right proportion in these matters. Professor Ginsberg believes firmly that there is, and he defends this, both on the strength of empirical sociological evidence, and on a reasoned moral philosophy. On the empirical side, he claims that the evidence for a fundamental diversity of moral values among different peoples is not so great as 'ethical relativists' have suggested, when due account is taken of differences of factual belief. Here his treatment of Westermarck is interesting and illuminating. (Contemporary 'emotive' moralists would do well to consider Westermarck; his views of how emotions such as indignation may become impersonalized, echoing Adam Smith's notion of the 'imaginary spectator,' is a far more sophisticated form of an 'emotive' theory than some of those now canvassed.)

In his own moral philosophy, Professor Ginsberg, like Hobhouse before him, holds a position which transposes a main trend of the Aristotelian and idealist tradition onto a more realist basis. Moral judgment is concerned with the discernment of rational ends, and rational ends are those which make for the development of interdependent communities in which individuals may realize their potentialities in harmony with one another. The notion of Reason here appears to mean (a) the impersonalizing of emotional reactions, so that a sense of justice can be developed; (b) a growth in range and imagination as to the people to whom obligations extend; and (c) the quest for harmony and consistency. Ginsberg, like the idealists, believes that this last is not only the characteristic of logical reason in theoretical matters, but can also be taken as a criterion of a moral ideal. While broadly agreeing with him that reason can permeate moral judgments in all these ways—and also agreeing that it is important to say so in these days—I wonder whether he does not too readily talk in consequence of moral judgments as 'cognitive.' To defend 'rationality' in morals, what is needed is not so much an assimilation of moral judgments to other kinds of theoretical judgments as an examination of what it is to be reasonable in different kinds of context.

Professor Ginsberg's interest in the notion of development in society is naturally connected with this view of rational morality. Here his attitude to the notion of 'social evolution' is interesting, and suggests that this is a notion which needs more elucidation. He notes that it is out of favour in some quarters at present, largely because it has been associated with a notion of societies as conforming to a unilinear sequence of changes, or with an idea of inevitable progress. But he thinks that the notion of evolution can be divested of both these associations and still prove serviceable in the study of societies. This is where, I think, more elucidation is needed. Evolution presumably means a process of change from a simpler to a more complex state, where the process does not depend on the intentions of individuals. Sometimes when Ginsberg speaks of social evolution, he says he means that the development of societies can be guided towards rational ideals; this is then surely a deliberate, and not just a natural process. Sometimes, although 'inevitable progress' is repudiated, he seems to suggest that these rational ideals, as making for harmony, are grounded in the nature of social development. This is not just an argument that societies lacking these ideals will be

likely to perish through natural selection—in W. H. Auden's words, 'We must love one another or die.' It is rather a belief that people find satisfaction through the discovery and achievement of harmonious adjustments. But—and this is perhaps the most controversial and also the most deep-seated part of his view of social evolution—people may be brought to find this satisfaction not only in harmony with members of their own 'in-groups' but also in the end in a world-wide society, so that we may speak of the development of the unity of humanity. This is clearly a point at which moral faith is most likely to colour the interpretation of empirical fact. Is this an ideal to strive for, or a law of development? Ginsberg obviously hopes that it may be both; but he is well aware of the distinction, and quietly, without begging the question, exhorts sociologists to think about how far their study of societies gives empirical support to a notion of the development of the unity of mankind.

I have not commented on the more specialized themes with which Professor Ginsberg deals, such as the notion of national character, eugenics, and the comparative method in sociological studies. I have concentrated on his central and recurrent theme. Professor Ginsberg does his sociology with an eye on big problems, perhaps on the biggest of all problems. It may not be fashionable to do this; but we can only be grateful to someone who has had the courage to do it with so much quiet wisdom.

DOROTHY EMMET

Personal Character and Cultural Milieu. Edited by Douglas G. Haring. 3rd. ed. New York (Syracuse U.P.), 1956. Pp. xi, 834. illus. Price \$7.50

190 This volume is designed to serve a particular purpose. It is in the American tradition of 'readings,' which give large bodies of students an opportunity to obtain ready access to many of the papers which are prescribed texts for their course. Any student who reads it in conjunction with Kluckhohn and Murray's *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture* will have a very thorough introduction to the Culture and Personality school of anthropology; and if his appetite is not blunted by such gargantuan *hors d'œuvres* he may be tempted to go on to read some of the monographs by their many distinguished contributors. In the case of British students, this can hardly fail to widen the scope of their reading, if only because none of the teachers of anthropology in British universities is represented here.

Besides their utilitarian purpose these volumes provide rewarding casual reading for those who wish to keep in touch with the concepts of this school of thought; and this function is heightened by their inclusion of a proportion of original articles. This edition is ornamented by a striking and well illustrated essay by Margaret Mead on 'Photography in Field Research'; and it contains three hitherto unpublished reports from recent field studies.

Professor Haring's own bias is quite explicit. He is not so revolutionary as to break away from the general American acceptance of dynamic psychology as the theoretical basis for cross-cultural personality studies; but he does qualify his adherence with an insistence that generalizations should be so framed as to be capable of experimental verification. He also declares his personal belief in the importance of including historical factors in any explanatory scheme, and exemplifies this thesis with an analysis of the history of the Japanese police state, and of the related vicissitudes of Japanese national character. It is perhaps no coincidence that he has chosen to include Geoffrey Gorer's essay on the role of the police in modifying the English ego-ideals—certainly these two papers in conjunction make particularly interesting reading.

Although its price is likely to deter most private purchasers in this country, this is a book which deserves a place in the library of every department of social anthropology.

G. M. CARSTAIRS

Culture and Mental Disorders. By Ralph Linton. Edited by G. Devereux. Springfield, Illinois (Thomas) (U.K. agents, Blackwell Sci. Publ.), 1956. Pp. 146. Price £1 14s.

191 This book covers in small space a very wide range of material and ideas. It reflects the late Dr. Linton's long interest in psychology and psychiatry and arises from a series of lectures given on the relation of these disciplines to anthropology. Because

of the author's sudden death these lectures have been edited by a former student, Dr. Devereux. The first half gives a now familiar account of concepts such as status, role and basic personality type. It adds little to his previous writings except to develop some psycho-analytical implications especially influenced by Dr. Devereux. The second half breaks newer ground for Dr. Linton in the discussion of interrelations of culture and mental disorder, and necessarily reflects the general inadequacy of present knowledge. His treatment of aetiology and incidence is the least satisfactory. For example, he fails to make clear the cardinal limitation of hospital-admissions data: that they do not necessarily reflect in any way the actual rate of occurrence of mental disorders in a population. It is pointless to compare hospital data, as he seems to do, for 'certified lunatics' in England and Wales and in certain African territories as though the comparison were meaningful. A minimum requirement for such comparisons is approximately equal access of the populations at risk to hospital facilities. Recent systematic field studies on Hutterite (Drs. Eaton and Weil) and Formosan populations (Dr. Lin) give higher figures for the prevalence of psychoses in their communities than those suggested by much previous speculation and travellers' tales. Also confusing is the failure, later in the discussion, to distinguish prevalence and incidence data—always of great importance in interpreting hospital population figures. The discussion of aetiology is at times unnecessarily speculative and illustrates a constant failing of the book: that of stressing caution because of inadequate knowledge and then going on to ignore this advice. But perhaps this is unfair carping in the face of such masterly synthesis.

The discussion of cultural influences on the expression and recognition of mental disorders is especially informative and stimulating. For example, the author's citing of Tooth's observation that hospitalization and separation from supporting kin groups in West Africa may have drastic influences on the course of some psychotic illnesses; and the drawing of a clear distinction between hysterical and psychotic states when discussing toleration or social utilization of mental disorders by the community. This is a sphere in which one feels more sure of connexions between culture and mental disorder and in which Dr. Linton's call for more work could very profitably be answered.

GEORGE W. BROWN

Man, Culture and Society. By Harry L. Shapiro and others. New York (O.U.P.) 1956. Pp. xiii, 380. Price £2 5s.

192 This introduction to anthropology seems to have been rather tolerantly edited, for its 16 chapters, by as many authors, vary widely in style and object. Lienhardt's contribution on Religion, for example, is a discourse on theory; Benedict's essay on the Growth of Culture is a loose collection of examples rather naively presented; while Movius's account of the Old Stone Age is virtually a concentrated catalogue. In general, the chapters on topics of social anthropology are the most rounded and satisfactory, and Lévi-Strauss's essay on the Family in particular gives a brilliantly lucid introduction to the study of exogamy, polygamy and allied questions. But the sections on physical anthropology, technology and ethnology contain many simple judgments and assumptions, which ignore whole territories of debate. For instance, Crossman in Chapter VI adopts an evolutionary view of New World civilization, with no mention of any alternative theory; Spier (p. 238) accepts without argument that the New World loom is an

independent invention, and Shapiro (p. 11) that the Australopithecines are earlier than the Pithecanthropines; while Benedict (p. 190) dates the arch to 3000 B.C. in Babylonia, and Spier to 4000 B.C. or earlier in Sumer, neither probably being right. Childe gives some important new speculations on the megalithic question (p. 109), but much of the book has a conventional sound. Brew, for example, who mis-spells Lydia (p. 136) in his essay on metallurgy makes no mention of early Indian wootz steel. From all this the general reader would get an authoritative introduction to a few special topics, but an incomplete and deceptively simple idea of the range and methods of the subject as a whole.

W. C. BRICE

Man in the Beginning. By William Howells. London (Bell), 1956. Pp. 384. Price 18s. 6d.

193 At a time when so many problems are still under judgment, few anthropologists would have the courage to attempt a short popular account of the physical and cultural history of mankind from the earliest times until the Iron Age. But Professor Howells has both undertaken and achieved this, and his book can be read as a gentle introduction to the whole study, unencumbered with footnotes or references. In cases of dispute, the author tends to take an orthodox stand, though he is not noticeably partisan except on the questions of Polynesian origins and the sources of the higher American civilizations. Heyerdahl's views on the first issue and Geldern's on the second are hardly mentioned; but elsewhere the implications of a new decipherment of the Minoan Linear Script B are accepted without question. Some problems are perhaps left more open than they need be in view of what is now known. For instance, the differences between Negritos and Negrillos should make a common origin impossible (p. 159); the common features of Ainu and Australian blood-grouping, to say nothing of new doubts about Polynesia, would argue against a late white intrusion into southern Asia (p. 166); what we know of South-East Asian chronology would tend to make the Neolithic there derivative rather than independent (p. 194); and recent clues from South-West Asia, including the results of sickle-cell investigation, have surely shed some light on links between Africa and Melanesia (p. 217). The style of the book is oddly conversational, and in his desire to avoid technical language it may be that Professor Howells has strayed too far in the other direction; and that his forced colloquialisms and heavy humour will try the patience rather than stimulate the enthusiasm of the sort of reader who might take up the book in the first place.

W. C. BRICE

The Past in Pieces. By P. E. Cleator. London (Allen & Unwin), 1957. Pp. 180, 23 plates. Price £1 1s.

194 This is an introduction to archaeology for intelligent beginners, and consists of chapters describing the history of archaeological exploration and its results in most of the principal areas in which it has been carried on—Egypt, Mesopotamia, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Cambodia, Troy, Crete, Roman London, Petra, Pompeii, Peru and Yucatan. A final chapter discusses the controversy about Asiatic influences in Middle America. A notable omission is Ras Shamra. In spite of a few slips, such as 'Sicilian' for 'Cilician' (p. 113), the book is well and clearly written, and the illustrations are admirable.

RAGLAN

AFRICA

The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe. By I. Clyde Mitchell. Manchester (U.P.), 1956. Pp. xviii, 235. Price £1 10s.

195 In this book on the Yao village Professor Mitchell has given us a very illuminating analysis of the interaction between the social structure and the political system of a central Bantu people. Although the study is primarily focused on intra-village relationships, these are examined in the wider setting of the Yao chiefdoms and of the intricate and continuous process of segmentation and fission within villages. Readers will be reminded of Pro-

fessor Mitchell's previous publications on the Yao, notably his section on 'the Yao of Southern Nyasaland' in *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*; his contribution to the article in *Africa* (Vol. XIX) on 'The Village Headman in British Central Africa' (with M. Gluckman and J. A. Barnes); and 'The Political Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland' in *African Studies*, Vol. VIII. He handles the historical and administrative aspects of the Yao political system, with which the book opens, with the clarity born of earlier analyses of the material, and is thus able to focus, from Chapter IV onwards, on the role of the village headman as the

dominant personality in village social structure, and at the same time the essential link with the political organization of the Yao.

There are two fundamental aspects of Yao social organization which will interest general readers and those concerned with administration: the composition of the village population and the religious affiliation of individuals and groups. The distinction between original inhabitants (with the 'first settlers' rights and duties), the invaders, and the subsequent immigrants, as well as the lingering stigma of slave descent, might perhaps have been given more attention in the analysis of group rivalries, though they are mentioned in several contexts, especially in the three types of village headman described in Chapter III. The part played by the siting of mosques in central villages, and the identification of certain Moslem sects with particular chiefdoms is of great importance in buttressing the authority of the chief and village headman, as is also in another context the role of the chief in the ancestor cult connected with rain-making.

Professor Mitchell brings out very clearly the relation between the rank of a headman and the 'permanence' of his village. The majority of Yao villages are in a constant state of flux, splitting off segments, acquiring other segments from elsewhere, in addition to the inevitable moving of a village site because the surrounding cultivable ground is exhausted. It is, however, the important village headmen who succeed in retaining the identity of their villages, and the highest degree of segmentation and fission and the ultimate disappearance of the village occurs at the lowest levels of the social system.

The unity of a village is nevertheless constantly stressed as desirable in the Yao value system, and is emphasized in the instructions given to a new headman on his accession to that position. He is told not to be unfair and take sides, and particularly 'not to pay too much attention to his wives who may have quarrelled with his sisters.' This conflict between a man's wives and his sisters, whether he was a headman or the senior male head of a matrilineage was one of the major causes of tension in Yao villages. Professor Mitchell points out that the principle of uxoricidal marriage is in conflict with the principle of male leadership of the lineage. A headman is said 'to bind the village.' Yet when he shows partiality the village is likely to break up, for, if he supports his own children, his sisters and their children are likely to leave the village; and if he supports his matrilineal kin, his children may move off to their mother's village. In this dilemma for the village headman, the practice of cross-cousin marriage can prove to be a partial solution.

These, and many other points raised in the detailed analysis of social and political relationships, are common to other matrilineal peoples in Nyasaland. When a full study of the Cewa for example is undertaken, many similarities will be found, and the lines of analysis laid down in this book will prove to be illuminating and suggestive.

The tables and diagrams are invaluable in following and clarifying the analysis.

MARGARET READ

The Bantu of North Kavirondo, Vol. II, Economic Life. By Gunter Wagner, edited by L. P. Mair. London (O.U.P. for the Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1956. Pp. 184. Price £1 16s.

This is the second part of the late Gunter Wagner's account of the Logoli and Vugusu of Kenya. The first part, published in 1949, dealt with kinship, the family, magic, religion, *rites de passage*, initiation and marriage. Dr. Wagner died in 1952 and this volume has been edited from material left by him as part of the total body of material on economics which he was preparing for publication. It consists of chapters on technological processes, food production and diet, all of which are bald but adequate ethnographical accounts of these matters; and of chapters on property and exchange and trade. That on property is the fullest and most valuable, and forms the heart of the book. It deals with rights in land, cattle, food and small stock.

We are given, in considerable detail, an account of the various rights in land, who exercises them and how they are transferred and inherited. We are told the occasions on which cattle are exchanged and between whom the exchanges are made. A list of court cases ends this section. In spite of these cases, however, it seems that the material is based on texts rather than on actual case histories. We are

given the rules but all too rarely the behaviour of people who follow or disobey them. On pp. 57 and 124, for example, details of actual cases would have answered the problems that Wagner logically adduced from a study of the formal rules. We want to know what happens, rather than read an uncertain account of what ought to happen or what would probably happen in certain situations.

References are made frequently to the earlier volume, but the approach here is one of listing the rights over property, rather than of considering the various social relationships in which these rights play a part; consequently it is often difficult to fit this somewhat arid, although extremely detailed, account into its social context. The inheritance and exchange of cattle must be seen, as Wagner says, over several generations, when the 'principle of reciprocity' operates; to see them in their true perspective they must be set against the wider background of the proliferation and interrelationships of clans and lineages. To have done this would have made these rather confusing lists of rules more comprehensible.

However, Wagner was concerned to give a straightforward account of certain technological processes and of rules affecting property, rather than a sociological analysis of rights in property. He succeeded in doing this, and to expect more is perhaps unfair, especially in these circumstances of publication. We are grateful for such detail of ethnographical description, and editor and publisher are to be thanked for making it available.

JOHN MIDDLETON

Les Sculptures de l'Afrique noire. By Denise Paulme. *L'Œil du Connaissable*. Paris (Presses Univ. de France), 1956. Pp. 129, 32 plates (8 in colour), 26 line drawings and 2 maps. Price 1,200 francs

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Mme Paulme-Schaeffner, who is in charge of the Department of Negro Africa at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, has produced here a useful review of Negro sculpture. She begins with two introductory chapters, the first of which—inevitably, in a French book—describes the 'discovery' of Negro art by the French *avant-garde* without any reference to the earlier collections at Ulm and the British Museum made in the seventeenth century by Weickmann and in the 1860s by Franks.

The core of the book, however, is formed by six chapters on the regions and styles of African Negro art, illustrated by two maps, one of the political regions and the tribes therein, and one of the vegetation zones. These maps recall those used in Mrs. Trowell's *Classical African Sculpture*, but Mme Paulme-Schaeffner's tribal map, although rather badly designed, is fuller of information. The text makes it clear that this book is in no way a plagiarism of the other, despite a few similarities. The author aims to introduce the reader to Negro art primarily from the ethnographical point of view, which she does well, with many interesting passages, whether quotations from early travellers (pp. 9, 18, 21) or myths on the origins of masks (p. 79). This factual, informative approach may annoy those who like to consider African art as an exquisite entity on its own, but this book, free from pretensions to be an 'art book' provides a welcome and necessary counterpoise to this unrealistic assessment of tribal art apart from its environment and cultural background. Neither in the text nor in the selection of illustrations does one have to complain of an undue weighting of French African art compared to that from other regions. Generally speaking, the text is sufficiently comprehensive and accurate to obviate the need for correction or complaint of omission; but on p. 18, the account of *cire perdue* casting, though generally correct, seems to be partly based on the rather specialized techniques of the Ashanti and Baule in which a crucible filled with scraps of metal is luted on to the mould, the wax is burnt out (the gases escaping through the porous investment) and then the whole is inverted so that the mould is filled with the molten metal. It is more usual for the mould to be filled with molten metal than with metal scraps, and this seems certainly to have been the practice in Ife and Benin. The Ife heads are naturalistic in the faces only rather than in the heads as wholes (p. 70). In speaking of the cranial hole on the Ife heads (p. 71) the author says that all the heads have it; in fact Head No. 4 does not, and the sculptor, Leon Underwood (*Bronzes of West Africa*, London, 1949, p. 61), has demonstrated the practical function of these

holes, which the author considers a useless survival from Greek terra-cotta heads. Most of the terra-cotta heads of life, where complete, have no such hole.

The illustrations are good for a book of this size and price: the drawing of a Baga mask seen by a Baga is of great interest, and I was glad to see photographs of masks in use (Plates III-VII, XXII and cover) and of a Bamileke hut with its carved door frame and houseposts (Plate XVII). On the other hand the eight colour plates are not so satisfactory, and there is quite a bit of confusion in the cross-

references to Plates XVI, 1, 4 on pp. 76-8 and the actual masks illustrated on Plate XVI, 1, 2, neither of which is Ibo, or Ibibio, or Janus-headed. It looks as though two plate figures have been withdrawn without the corresponding corrections in the text.

These few corrections apart, this is a good book, well worth the price. There are very few misprints, and the quality of the paper is quite good. In the absence of a similar book in English, it is worth having as an ethnographical introduction to African art.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

AMERICA

Treasures of Mexican Art. By Sigvald Linné. Stockholm (Nordisk Rotogravyr), 1956. Pp. 131. Price 33 Sw. Kr.

198 The Mexican Exhibition of 1953 in the Tate Gallery was a notable event, and it is pleasant to be reminded of some of the fine pre-Columbian things in it by the beautiful series of plates in this book. These were selected from the exhibition when it was in Stockholm and include at least one object which did not come to London; conversely, some of the fine Aztec mosaics from the British Museum were too fragile to send to Sweden, but the bulk of the exhibits, generously lent by museums and private collectors in Mexico, were the same in both places. The book is published by the Swedish-Mexican Exhibition Committee, and our best thanks are due to them for producing this edition in English.

With some few exceptions the plates are grouped under the headings of the cultures to which they belong—Olmec, Zapotec, and so on. Each of these sections has a page of introduction by Professor Linné, who also contributes a short general introduction to Ancient Mexico. Anything written by an archaeologist who knows Mexico as well as Professor Linné deserves serious consideration, but he does put forward a few surprising opinions. One is that it was not until the Toltecs were expelled from Tula in the second half of the twelfth century that they carried Toltec influences to Chichén Itzá. Such Maya specialists as Thompson and Ruppert give this date as the end of the Toltec Period there, and put its beginning quite two centuries earlier. Again, he adopts (p. 120) the view that all the sites of the Maya Classic Period were in Guatemala and the adjacent areas, which has been outmoded by the identification of numerous Classic buildings in Northern Yucatan.

To present an impression of the whole field of Mexican archaeology within the brief compass of the introduction was no mean feat, and certain distortions and obscurities in it must be ascribed partly to extreme compression and partly to the translation. This is not altogether happy, and one who knows Professor Linné may perhaps be permitted to suggest that he could have done it better himself. For example, to say that the 'Archaic' culture (a term which most archaeologists now reserve for something different) was the *hotbed* of the most advanced cultures does not give a just impression of what the author must have wished to convey. The same may perhaps be true of some of the paragraph (pp. 15f.) on radio-carbon. With all its limitations, it is surely unfair to say that the method does not facilitate the establishment of a cultural timetable, and I do not know what is meant by 'To make the whole agree, development has been divided into "constructive" and "shaping" periods.' On p. 58 'Old State' should read 'Old Empire.' A few misprints were noted: 'Olmek' for 'Olmec'; 'sex centuries' for 'six centuries'; 'The immigrants' for 'Then immigrants' (all on p. 13); 'sparse codices' for 'sparse codices' (p. 15).

These minor criticisms are made in a constructive spirit in order to improve an attractive book, in case, as may well be, a new edition is required. It also deserves something better than a paper cover.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Excavations at Chupicuaro, Guanajuato, Mexico. By Muriel Noel Porter. Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. N.S. Vol. XLVI, Part 5. Philadelphia, 1956. Pp. 515-637. Price \$1.75.

199 An interesting clue to the understanding of New World developments is the now recognized fact that the older the cultures under consideration, the more similar they seem to have

been. The majority of Americanists believe that the first clearly defined period, the Formative, was composed of one widespread culture which extended from Mesoamerica to the Andean region, including the intervening areas. This publication deals with a manifestation of the Formative of west Mexico, an area of which little was known until the work at Chupicuaro was done. Fortunately, the excavations were made just in time, because the completion a little later of the Solis Dam, across the Lerma River, created a huge artificial lake causing Chupicuaro to become submerged. (It is gratifying to learn that the authorities constructing the dam provided twenty local workmen to ensure that the archaeological work was completed in time.)

The results of this archaeological investigation make a twofold contribution to the history of this area. First of all, it has yielded an enormous amount of material, mainly from graves, which is well illustrated and expertly discussed in this paper. Secondly, Chupicuaro reveals evidence of the transition from the Formative to the Classic period, a change during which the fundamental pattern of Mesoamerica became firmly entrenched. The author has greatly clarified the chronology of this area, and no longer will it drift about as something vaguely Formative or sometimes 'Tarascan.'

Muriel Porter has made an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of this particular area of pre-Columbian North America and students will find her summary and general discussion at the end of her paper particularly useful. There are some very pertinent notes in the Appendix by Dr. Howel Williams who made a petrographic study of the Sherd Material from Chupicuaro.

D. H. CARPENTER

Archaeological Evidence of Pre-Spanish Visits to the Galápagos Islands. By Thor Heyerdahl and Arne Skjölsvold. Mem. Soc. Amer. Archaeol. 12. Menasha, Wis., 1956. Pp. vi, 71.

200 Hr. Heyerdahl spent two months in the Galápagos Islands in 1953, taking with him two archaeologists, Hr. Skjölsvold the junior author, and Dr. Erik K. Reed who is well known for his work in the Southwest of the U.S.A. He gave a preliminary account of his results at the XXXI International Congress of Americanists in São Paulo in 1954, when he announced that the expedition had found Peruvian potsherds of pre-Columbian types on the Islands, and showed some examples. This memoir is the full report of the expedition.

Some of us who were at São Paulo recognized that samples of black ware, decorated with raised dots in pressed relief, were identical with the Peruvian type described in the Virú Valley excavation reports as San Juan Molded, and Dr. Clifford Evans, who had participated in the Virú Project, hazarded the opinion that certain plain wares could be matched in Peru. The whole collection was subsequently taken to Washington, where Evans made direct comparisons with Virú material, with the result that no fewer than four plain and four decorated Peruvian types were identified. Less satisfactory comparisons with Ecuadorian and post-Conquest aboriginal wares have also been made, but this is at least partly due to the fact that these are not so well known. Most of the sherds found are small, but there is every reason to accept the identifications, and together they provide an impressive body of evidence. Apart from the sherds, the only artifacts are of stone foreign to the islands, namely a few flakes and a scraper of flint or chert, an obsidian scraper, and a perforated disc of chalky stone, perhaps a net sinker.

The evidence is interpreted as showing a series of visits over a

considerable period of time, but no continuous residence. Owing to lack of soil and water, there are few places where more than a short visit would be possible, and the deposits containing sherds were all thin and disturbed. Sites were found on three islands, Santiago, Santa Cruz and Floreana, and one of these, rather an extensive group at James Bay on Santiago, yielded sherds covering a considerable range in time, but not in superposition. The interesting historical account of the Islands shows that settlement has always been sparse and short-lived up till quite recently, and it is suggested in the report that the attraction of the area in pre-Columbian times was the fishing.

Most of the identifiable sherds belong to the Chimú or the Inca Period, but some are of Coast Tiahuanaco types, including a polychrome which is described as brick-coloured, with the exterior sometimes painted with red and orange areas separated by a black line, although the coloured frontispiece only shows black and red. Some of the plain wares could belong to even older periods, the Mochica and the Gallinazo, but there is no positive evidence that they did and the authors wisely do not press the point.

On their return from the Galápagos, the members of the expedition carried out some most interesting experiments in balsa navigation. Señor Emilio Estrada enabled them to make a small sailing balsa and accompanied them when they set sail in the Gulf of Guayaquil with no steering aids but six centre boards of the type illustrated in old drawings and found in pre-Columbian graves in Peru. On the original voyage of the *Kon-Tiki* their use was not understood, but now it was found that the raft could easily be manoeuvred, as well as any normal boat, by raising and lowering them alternately fore and aft and manipulating the sail.

The result of the expedition is highly to Heyerdahl's credit. He has proved that balsas can be sailed in any direction, and has shown beyond reasonable doubt that they reached the Galápagos Islands repeatedly in pre-Columbian times. He has since gone on to try his luck in Easter Island, and will doubtless explore other islands also.

The sort of archaeological evidence that he has found in the Galápagos is what we need in order to form a sound opinion about his wider theories.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

The Negro Family in British Guiana. By R. T. Smith. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1955. Pp. xvi, 282. Price £1 8s.

Dr. Smith has produced an excellent study in Caribbean sociology. His descriptive material is vivid and interesting. On the theoretical side he is perhaps slightly at fault in attempting to analyse material against a frame of reference which was evolved for the analysis of somewhat different material. But this is a minor criticism compared with the value of Dr. Smith's work as a whole.

British Guiana, the largest of the British West Indian colonies, has been almost entirely neglected in the sociological sense. Dr. Smith has remedied this defect in an admirable way. The structure and composition of Guianese village life are analysed in a way which brings home to the reader the extremely fruitful field that the West Indies represent for the anthropologist. West Indian society, while partly within the orbit of West European tradition, is also partly influenced by traditional African forms. The whole is subject to the influence of Asiatic cultures, chiefly Indian and Chinese. The attempt to assess the relative importance of these different cultural streams on contemporary Caribbean society has not yet been made. But Dr. Smith's analysis of the status systems in British Guiana is a considerable advance in this field.

Because of the dominance of European influence it has been assumed until recently that the marital and familial pattern in the West Indies was essentially a deviation from the European model. This book demonstrates conclusively that this is a view which, in the face of the evidence from British Guiana, can no longer be held.

It is to be hoped that the lead given by Dr. Smith will be followed by other anthropologists.

F. HENRIQUES

ASIA

From the Tablets of Sumer: Twenty-Five Firsts in Man's Recorded History. By S. N. Kramer. Indian Hills, Colorado (Falcon's Wing Press), 1956. Pp. xxv, 293. Price \$5

I remember, years ago, how a distinguished English Sumerian scholar, the author of a valuable Sumerian Grammar and Reading Book, humorously complained to me that the Sumerians did not observe the rules laid down in his Sumerian Grammar.

Sumerian is a very difficult and obscure language, and its relation to other families of languages is still shrouded in mystery. But much progress in Sumerian studies has been made in recent years, and Professor Kramer has been one of the foremost contributors to such progress. He has laboured indefatigably in the discovery, decipherment, and translation of new Sumerian tablets. He has already published a useful collection of Sumerian myths under the title of *Sumerian Mythology* (1944), and the present volume represents the results of his most recent discoveries in this field.

While Sumerian studies are primarily the domain of cuneiform specialists, the material relating to what is perhaps the earliest known civilization is of great interest to anthropologists. The laws, religion, and social customs of this remarkable people are at least as well worthy of study as the customs of 'primitive' peoples in Africa or Melanesia. The civilization of Sumer is of special significance because it underlies the more developed civilization of Babylon and Assyria.

It may be objected that it is a waste of time for anthropologists to occupy themselves with cultures that are no longer living, and with which it is no longer possible to establish direct living contact. But this is surely an unnecessary limitation of the field of anthropological studies. Although it is fashionable to decry Frazer's work, yet, along with A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, it represents a great fund of anthropological material which has been largely drawn from ancient literary material, such as this Sumerian material, now made available for anthropologists by the labours of such scholars as Professor Kramer.

But the intrinsic human interest of the material here set out should recommend this book to the ordinary reader. As the book is clearly not intended for specialists, it is questionable whether the large number of hand-copies of fragments of Sumerian tablets, in addition to many photographic reproductions, really add to the value of the book for the non-specialists, while for specialists they have no value as sources to work from.

S. H. HOOKE

Expedition Tortoise. By P. Rambach, R. Jahan and F. Hébert-Stevens. London (Thames & Hudson), 1957. Pp. 328. Price £1 10s.

This is a lighthearted story of a party of French architectural students who bought an old car and started off to see the world. After various adventures they arrived at Luxor, where they met M. de Lubicz, who had been studying the temple of Karnak for 10 years, and decided that each part of it represented a part of a man's body.

In Syria they separated, and some of them found their way to Southern India, where their first task was to record the carvings, frescoes and other remains of the capital of the Chalukya dynasty, which ruled the Deccan from the fifth to the eighth centuries. This was at Badami, near Bijapur, and having sent their photographs and drawings to Paris, they obtained temporary work as architects in Bombay till they received a grant from the Musée Guimet for further recording of the cities of this dynasty, to do which they spent some months in what is now a remote village.

They next accompanied a Danish ethnologist, Jacobsen, who had come out to study the Todas and other hill tribes of the Nilgiris, attended some of their ceremonies and planned and measured their houses. The party then went on to Travancore, where they studied the customs of a very shy forest tribe called the Kanis.

They then returned to archaeology, and spent six months in a Hindu monastery at Bhubaneswar in Orissa, studying the

numerous deserted temples dating from the eighth century on. In the course of their travels they had many adventures and encounters, and have produced a very readable book. **RAGLAN**

Grüne Steppen—weiße Jurten. By Verena Winter. Aarau (Sauerländer), 1951. Pp. 267, text figs.

204 Records of present-day life in Mongolia are so rare that this candid account, though not specially written for anthropologists, is of considerable interest. The long journey to Maimaichen, suburb of Ulan Bator (Urga), where the author's husband was employed as an engineer, was very difficult. But in their new home the Swiss couple and their three little daughters settled quite happily. Danger, such as sand- and snowstorms, the encounters with a bear, mad dogs, obstinate horses, etc., were successfully overcome. The Tartar housekeeper, the Chinese groom, Chinese merchants, Russian refugees and some German specialists are vividly sketched. The celebration of 'Nardom,' the annual meeting of the nomads, a night spent in a yurt, visits to various temples around the Outer Mongolian capital, the short summer in a solitary high valley, and the monotonous steppe are unpretentiously yet effectively described.

From the beginning the Mongols, especially the Lamas, were not disposed to be friendly to foreigners. The tension grew. The old government was overthrown and many Mongols were shot or exiled. The Europeans were treated so maliciously by the more revolutionary régime that they had to leave one after the other. A hazardous journey in an old lorry across the Gobi desert and through Pass Kalgan above, with felicitous escapes from wolves and robbers, took the little family to China. Herr F. Hoffmann's excellent drawings help us to visualize the singular setting. **E. ETTlinger**

Rural Profiles. Edited by D. N. Majumdar. Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh (Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society), 1955. Pp. xv, 125. Price 15s.

205 This book is a collection of 11 essays, seven of which deal with particular villages, the remainder being more general in their scope.

Apart from the fact that the emphasis is upon villages there is no connecting theme and no discussion of the various contributions in the Introduction. The work is a by-product of the Cornell-Lucknow Research Project and is conceived of as a contribution to Applied Social Science which is described as having 'a great deal of charm to the researcher because it deals with life processes.' The most rewarding essays are those by N. S. Reddy and Dr. S. C. Dube. Reddy discusses the position of a local caste group of Lohars (blacksmiths) in an East Uttar Pradesh village and shows how, despite appearances, recent changes in the way of land reform and, more generally, contact with the cities have not improved the position of this servant caste. The members of the dominant caste in the area, the Thakurs, are able to exploit the old *jajmani* system or disregard it as serves their best interest. The Lohar on the other hand are bound by simple economic pressure to defend a system of servitude of which they nevertheless recognize the disadvantages. However it is still questionable whether these disadvantages are considered to be economic ones. In this paper, as in that by Hopper on 'Seasonal Labour Cycles in Uttar Pradesh,' one would be grateful for some account of what the traditional wages of the *jajmani* system mean in terms of subsistence. If a Lohar receives 40 seers (about 80 lbs.) of grain per year from a Thakur of one yoke's cultivation (about 15 bighas or just under 12 acres) and slightly more from lower caste *jajmans*, one must know what the total received means in terms of daily food and surplus for him and his family before one can assess the validity of the statement frequently made (not by Mr. Reddy) that servant castes are dissatisfied with the old system. Might one also, at this point, criticize a general tendency not to put the English equivalents of Indian weights and measures. The ones I have given can only be approximate since the equivalents vary from one part of the country to another.

Dr. Dube's contribution contains more details of his fieldwork in the Telugu-speaking districts of Hyderabad and supplements that already published in *Indian Village* (reviewed in *MAN*, 1955, 96). Dr. Dube is a thorough worker and has an eye for local peculiarities

of the caste system although he modestly and provokingly does not attempt to account for them. In the present essay for instance, we are told that the Shaivite Tammadi Brahmins are 'ranked' lower than certain non-Brahman castes because they do not have rigid rules of ritual purity. They function only as temple priests in the shrines of Shiva but, although they are supposed to refrain from meat and liquor, as a group they are not very strict about it. This raises interesting questions not raised in *Indian Village* where there was only one Brahman family in the village of Shamirpet. Who, for instance, does the 'ranking'? In a village where only one Brahman caste is represented it is relatively simple to establish, by general consensus, the local hierarchy but here there would appear to be two hierarchies based upon the opposition of the Vaishnava and Shaivite sects. A third group of Brahmins is mentioned, the Smarta Brahmins, who worship Shiva and Vishnu and to whom is apparently accorded a pre-eminence over the other Brahman groups, but the problem still remains: in what sense do those who attend temples served by the Tammadi regard them as inferior to the Brahmins of a quite different sect? A possible clue is contained in the statement that the Smarta Brahmins have the traditional right to function as priests for most of the Hindu castes of this region. We may suspect that an understanding of the problem mentioned might lie in a distinction between the two structural positions of Brahman as traditional server and Brahman as sect priest, even though any given group of Brahmins may function as both. A second point of interest is that in Dube's district the Brahmins who function in the *jajmani* system—the Smarta—are superior to those who only serve in temples—the Tammadi, who even among Shaivite Brahmins are inferior to the serving Jangam also. This is a reversal of the general Brahmanic idea that those Brahmins who serve others are inferior to those who do not. Thirdly, one would like to know to what extent the apparent meat-eating emphasis among the Shaivites of this area acts as a counter-balance to the vegetarian emphasis or, to put the same question in a different way, what is the relation between the vegetarian Shaivite Brahmins, the Aradhya, who serve the higher non-Brahman Shaivites, and the Jangam Brahmins who are only slightly more strict than the Tammadi and who serve the lower Shaivite castes? Again what is the relation between both and the Tammadi? Both Tammadi and Jangam are, according to Dr. Dube, ranked lower than certain non-Brahman castes. While we may not agree with Dr. Dube that an understanding of these difficulties is to be sought in 'myth and tradition' we cannot but be grateful that his work is of a quality high enough to raise them.

Other ethnographical contributors to this volume are the editor in conjunction with research assistants and E. Eames who offer essays on Polyandry, Population and Economic Structure and Inter-Caste relations. B. Ryan, with two assistant authors, laments the economic necessity of changing a 'jungle oriented community' in Ceylon on account of its 'rich and satisfying group structures.'

Apart from Merrill R. Goodall on 'The Cornell-Lucknow Evaluation Studies of the Community Development Programme' and B. N. Puri on 'Some Aspects of Village Economy in Ancient India' there remain two contributions which are significant in their different ways. The first is by Professor Max Rallis on 'Methodological Problems in Social Research' who may, perhaps, be allowed to speak for himself: 'A better understanding than presently available is required in basic methodological aspects such as inherent in the process of designing the research investigation: the problem of deductive and inductive analysis; the flexibility of the research question and its influence on the level of proof; amount and appropriateness of context... rapport, verification and sampling of response... All of these are presently under study by the Cornell Methodology Project. This attempt of sketching some of the connected questions within the framework of today's developmental stage of social science research is only a beginning.' The second essay is by Professor Srinivas on 'Village Studies and their Significance' and it is a very necessary and forceful restatement of the position that he has consistently adopted on the absolute priority over action programmes and community projects of detached and thorough research based upon training at the academic level.

The editor expresses a hope in his Preface that this volume will

be followed by others. If the series must continue one hopes that subsequent volumes will be more solidly and securely bound and that more care will be taken in the proof-reading.

D. F. POCOCK

Fabric of Chinese Society: A Study of the Social Life of a Chinese County Seat. By Morton H. Fried. London (Atlantic Press) (U.K. agents, Thames & Hudson), 1956. Pp. xiv, 248. Price £1 1s.

This book is a reprint of the American edition of 1953. Many professional and amateur sinologists in this country are already familiar with it, but, since it is clear that Dr. Fried aims at an audience wider than that composed of Chinese specialists, the English edition should bring him a larger circle of readers. Anthropologists who try to study complex civilizations should put themselves in this circle. They will appreciate Dr. Fried's contribution to our slender knowledge of urban society in China.

The sub-title of the book, however, is a little misleading because Dr. Fried tries to deal with more than the society of the county seat of Ch'u Hsien in Anhwei; he devotes one of his seven chapters to rural questions and at a number of points he deals with the relations between town and country. In a rather short book (of some 70,000 words) he covers, therefore, a structurally heterogeneous field and in doing so falls considerably short of the comprehensiveness which is implied in his classifying the book as a 'community study.' In reality, what Dr. Fried has done is to take a central theme—the importance of non-kinship elements in the structure of a small town and its relations with its rural neighbourhood—and to bring forward only such evidence as bears directly on this theme. In my opinion he is right in his method and wrong in his classification.

Dr. Fried begins by arguing that in a 'civil society' there is an important area of relations which are neither those of kinship nor those 'clearly included within the network of political or economic relations which are associated with the workings of the State.' This area he calls 'extra-familial' and 'non-kin.' He outlines the family and kinship institutions of his 'community' and demonstrates that they cover only a limited range of social activity. In economic, political, legal and religious life people are forced to associate with non-kinsmen, while the ties so created cannot be understood apart from class relations and the personal links of friendship and what the Chinese call *kan-ch'ing*. Put in this way, and well set out in the framework of Ch'u Hsien, the thesis is hardly likely to be questioned.

Indeed, one would say that it is rather obvious if it were not that some Westerners still need to be told that Chinese society is not based largely on the 'family.'

But the contrast between the ties binding kin and those binding non-kin can be too strongly put. A kinship system in a differentiated and mobile society must allow the development of special voluntary ties between kinsmen and bring the implications of the class hierarchy to bear upon the dealings of relative with relative. On Dr. Fried's own showing friendship and *kan-ch'ing* are sometimes established between kinsmen in Ch'u Hsien, while we may well conclude that it is the weak state of kinship in this area which has allowed Dr. Fried to segregate kinship from voluntary ties as clearly as he has done. If he had studied other parts of central China or the south-east, where large local communities are agnatically constructed, he would no doubt have found that friendship and *kan-ch'ing*, or other personal ties equivalent to them, are often means of singling out particular relatives from a large range. And just as kinsmen may be 'friends' so may they stand in relations of economic and political dominance to one another. The power developed by the strong over the weak within localized lineages in south-eastern China was 'kin-based'; the phenomena of class differentiation and protection-seeking described for Ch'u Hsien would need to be described in a Chinese community in which all men are agnates. The value of Dr. Fried's study, therefore, seems to me to lie more in its analysis of urban social relations in China than in the study (if I may so put it) of non-kinship.

MAURICE FREEDMAN

Calendar of Philippine Documents in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. Edited by Paul S. Lietz. Chicago (Newberry Library), 1956. Pp. xvi, 259. Price \$6

Though the majority of the documents here listed and summarized are of more importance to the historian than to the anthropologist, a substantial number are concerned, from some point of view, with native peoples. A descriptive catalogue of this kind is a valuable tool. In addition there is a short-title list of transcripts of Philippine documents in Spanish archives, which would have been more useful if the abbreviations denoting the various institutions had been explained. It is of little help to know merely that a document exists in ARH. The puzzle can be partly but not wholly solved by reference to the introduction, where some of the archives are mentioned.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

'Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia.' Cf. MAN, 1957, 139

208 SIR,—Though an author inevitably invites criticism when he submits his work for review, he may be more than a little chagrined when the criticism stems from pique rather than from genuine intellectual dissent. Thus, despite the awkwardness of trans-continental controversy, I cannot refrain from commenting on Dr. David Miller's review of my *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia*.

How, short of the 'pique hypothesis,' is one to understand the charge that both the title of the book and its presentation 'believe' my assertion that Kiryat Yedidim is not necessarily a representative kibbutz, when the reader is warned on its first page that the book is a description of but one kibbutz, when the differential features of Kiryat Yedidim and its Federation are enumerated, when the rest of the book (except for documentary materials) explicitly presents the data collected in the one kibbutz in which fieldwork was conducted? (I am content to leave the matter of the title to the competent hands of a Hebrew grammarian.)

How else, moreover, is one to explain Dr. Miller's devoting one paragraph each to a criticism of the use of the term 'social structure,' and to the comparisons which are drawn between the *shetl* and the kibbutz, when the term is used (in reference to the kibbutz) only three or four times in the entire book, when the comparisons are made only *en passant*, and when neither the one nor the other is essential to either the substantive or the theoretical structure of the

book? (I am prepared, of course, to defend both the term and the comparisons, but their defence is not germane to the present argument. I would only ask Dr. Miller if he is then suggesting that a viable community, such as the kibbutz, with its system of formal statutes and their accompanying pattern of prescribed roles, exists in a state of social chaos? Or, if the founders of the kibbutz, despite their immediate derivation from the *shetl*, arrived in Palestine as cultural *tabulae rasae*?)

But these matters, as Dr. Miller says, are of 'lesser detail.' Other matters, however, are not of lesser detail and it is they which first suggested the 'pique hypothesis.' First, I am appalled by Dr. Miller's willingness to impugn publicly a scholar's scientific *bona fides* without bothering to adduce anything remotely similar to evidence. Thus, he summarily assigns kibbutz to the genre of 'doctrinaire literature,' alleging that the book is written in a 'tone of value judgment.' Instead of offering serious evidence for this most serious and insulting charge, he triumphantly (I assume that that is the intended force of his exclamation mark) rests his case on a reference to a controversy in 'the Israeli Press' (I would not have thought that the *Jerusalem Post* is 'the Israeli Press') concerning the book's ultimate evaluation of the kibbutz. Leaving aside the propriety of appealing to the public press in what purports to be a scholarly review, I hardly know how to refute such 'evidence.' I can only point out what any observer of the contemporary Israeli scene already knows—that the Israeli is political man *par excellence*, and that almost no

work dealing with a controversial social movement could hope to transcend political controversy. At the same time, it would seem to me that Dr. Miller has hoisted himself on his own *pétard*. For if the book is written in a tone of value judgment, these judgments must be obscure indeed for the participants in the above-mentioned controversy to have arrived at conflicting opinions about the nature of these judgments. The 'evidence' used by Dr. Miller to support his charge would, on the contrary, seem to be its most powerful refutation.

I am, if anything, even more appalled by Dr. Miller's cavalier technique of imputing reasons to me for my selection of this particular *kibbutz* for study, and then proceeding to criticize these putative reasons. Had he, instead of giving free rein to his free associations, attempted to ascertain the real reasons for my selection of Kiryat Yedidim, he would have saved some valuable space for genuine criticism, and this journal would have been saved from printing one of the gravest of scholarly sins—the false imputation of motives. It so happens that my motive for selecting this *kibbutz* was not even remotely similar to Dr. Miller's imputation.

I should like to turn very briefly from Dr. Miller's polemical, to two of his more scholarly criticisms. These are primarily of a methodological nature. (a) Dr. Miller writes that 'the author prefers to treat his material instead of letting it speak for itself.' Does Dr. Miller then wish us to understand that he would apply Ranke's outmoded principle of historiography—to write history *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*—to social anthropology? Surely he cannot be unaware of the elementary methodological principle that facts can never speak for themselves, that, on the contrary, they must always be ordered ('treated') by the scientist if they are 'to speak' at all. Perhaps, then, what Dr. Miller means is that he does not like the way this author 'treats' the facts. That is most certainly his prerogative. But is it then too much to expect him to have indicated the grounds for his discomfort and to have suggested an alternative 'treatment'? Unfortunately this expectation is nowhere satisfied. (b) When Dr. Miller suggests a technique that could have obviated the need for 'much comment on the discrepancies between the values of the *kibbutz*,' I am again somewhat bewildered, because in the entire book I can find no comment, let alone 'much comment,' on such discrepancies. Perhaps, though, I am doing him an injustice. Perhaps the expression, 'between the values of the *kibbutz*,' is elliptical for 'between the values of the *kibbutz*, as expressed in its official ideology, and the behaviour of its members.' If so, Dr. Miller's suggested technique—to present the official ideology, the members' 'actual beliefs,' and their 'indirect informal interviews' (the latter, incidentally, to be presented 'factually,' as if there were some other way for them to be presented)—is surely misplaced. For, as any reader of Chapter 7 can confirm, this is exactly what I have done. I do not, to be sure, distinguish 'actual beliefs' from 'indirect informal interviews' (I assume that Dr. Miller, in his apparent fondness for ellipsis, really intended 'data derived from indirect . . .') since I am not sure how one can obtain information about 'actual beliefs' except through a variety of research techniques, including the use of such interviews. On the other hand, this battery of techniques would most certainly include—and, in this case, it did include—the anthropologist's most powerful technique: direct observation of 'actual' behaviour. This technique is strangely missing from Dr. Miller's methodological prescriptions. Perhaps, however, it is not so strange after all. Perhaps my fondness for the 'pique hypothesis' distorted my perception of Dr. Miller's review. Perhaps Dr. Miller's review is to be characterized, not so much by the presence of pique, as by the absence of data based on the grubby observation of actual behaviour.

Department of Anthropology,
University of Washington, Seattle

MELFORD E. SPIRO,
Professor of Anthropology

'Sinhalese Social Organization.' Cf. MAN, 1957, 137

209 SIR.—In a review of my book *Sinhalese Social Organization*, Mr. Nur Yalman maintains that my illustrative quotations are 'from almost any relevant authority without regard to his period or reliability.' In a book dealing with the period 1591-1815, Queyroz (1687)—to give one of the authorities singled out by the reviewer—is cited in connexion with

information on the militia in wars against the Portuguese, on which subject Queyroz is an undisputed authority. The statement that my authorities 'all have their say, pell-mell, together, as if they were referring to the eternal verities which never change' is therefore a malicious travesty of the facts. Where historical evidence indicated changes, I have repeatedly pointed them out, e.g. changes in caste precedence between Knox (1681) and Davy (1821) on p. 176. The contention that the chapters on kinship have been 'put together from present-day contemporary [sic] evidence' is palpably false.

The difficulty felt by the reviewer in reconciling the fact that the country was 'united under one canopy' (in consequence *inter alia* of a common language and religion) with the relative autonomy of provinces remote from the capital is due to obtuseness on his part. Even in our own time the degree of political control in the Vanni is not the same as that in Colombo.

Space does not permit me to controvert all the fatuous statements in this graceless review, avowedly penned under the delusion that the book was 'addressed to a panel of hostile demons all waiting for openings to throw the work into the flames.' Comments on an alleged 'confusion of periods'—a confusion which exists only in the reviewer's mind—is followed by the advice: 'when sociologists turn to history or anthropology, they ought to learn the rules of the game.' In the game of book-reviewing there is one cardinal rule which our academic tyros must learn: distortion and misrepresentation of an author's work is tantamount to cheating. Apparently a brief sojourn in the field, besides making the anthropological novice an authority on Ceylon, also confers on him the right to flout professional ethics in order to discredit the work of others.

University of Ceylon,
Peradeniya

RALPH PIERIS
Head of the Dept. of Sociology

Some Biological Aspects of Jewish Ritual. Cf. MAN, 1957, 83

210 SIR.—Sir Ernest Kennaway's account of some biological aspects of Jewish ritual that appeared in the May, 1957, issue of MAN was certainly interesting, though the facts are known to most of us. What is new, however, is the concept of a Jewish race! Thus he writes near the end of the paper:

'This comparative immunity [low incidence of cancer of the cervix] is the more remarkable because Jewish women have been especially exposed to factors which in other races, etc.' Here have I been teaching for years that there is no Jewish race (and I have many authorities to support me), only a Jewish ideology followed by Black Jews (Negroes) in Timbuctu, by Nordic Jews in Poland, by Celtic Jews in Europe, by Alpine Jews in the Mediterranean, by Hamitic Jews in Africa, by Semitic Jews in Asia, by Hindu Jews in India and by Chinese Jews in China. Perhaps Sir Ernest Kennaway will give the criteria by which a Jew or a Jewish race can be recognized. To aid him in his endeavours a sojourn in Palestine would be helpful. One certainly feels sceptical of his present findings.

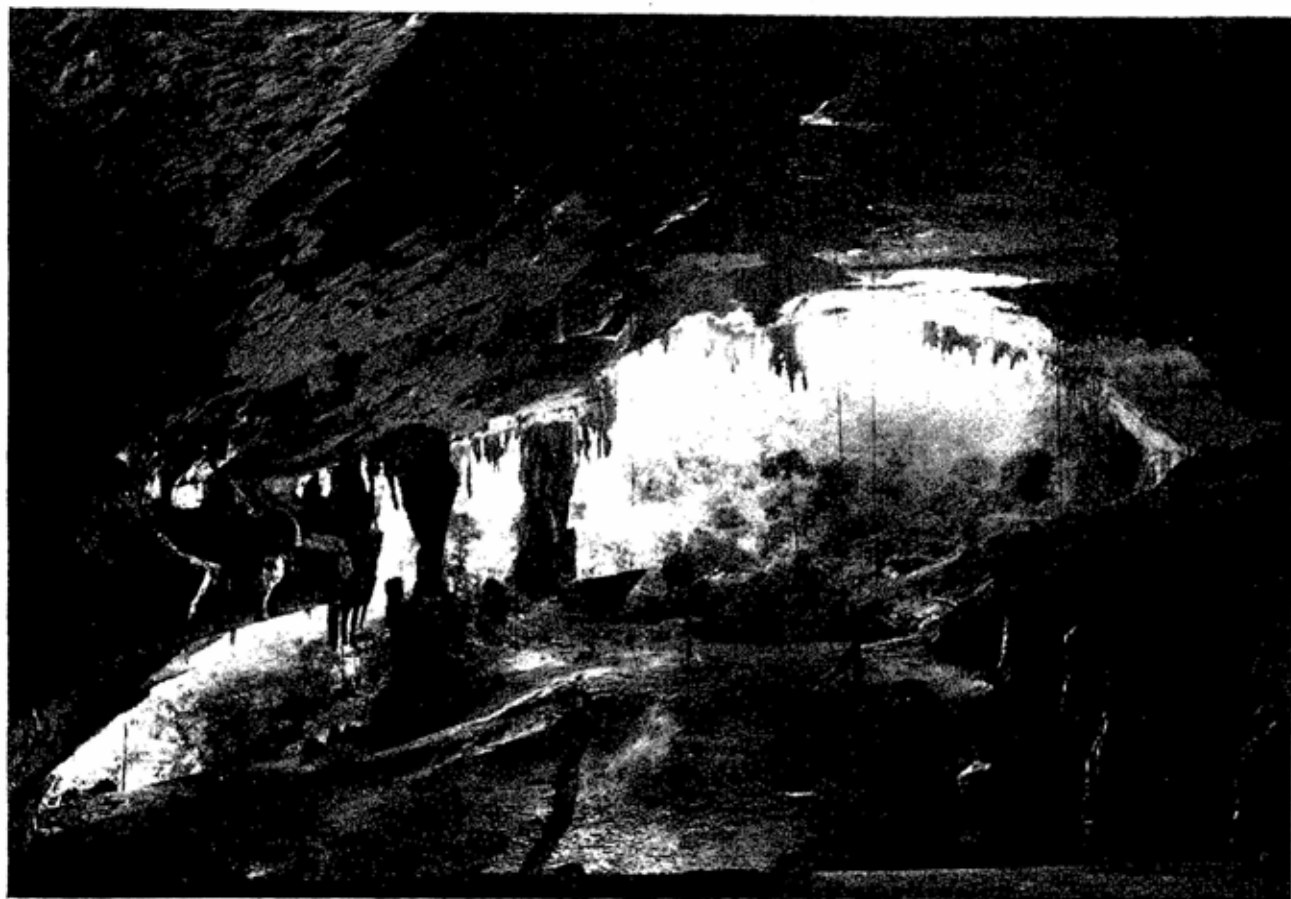
M. D. W. JEFFREYS

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

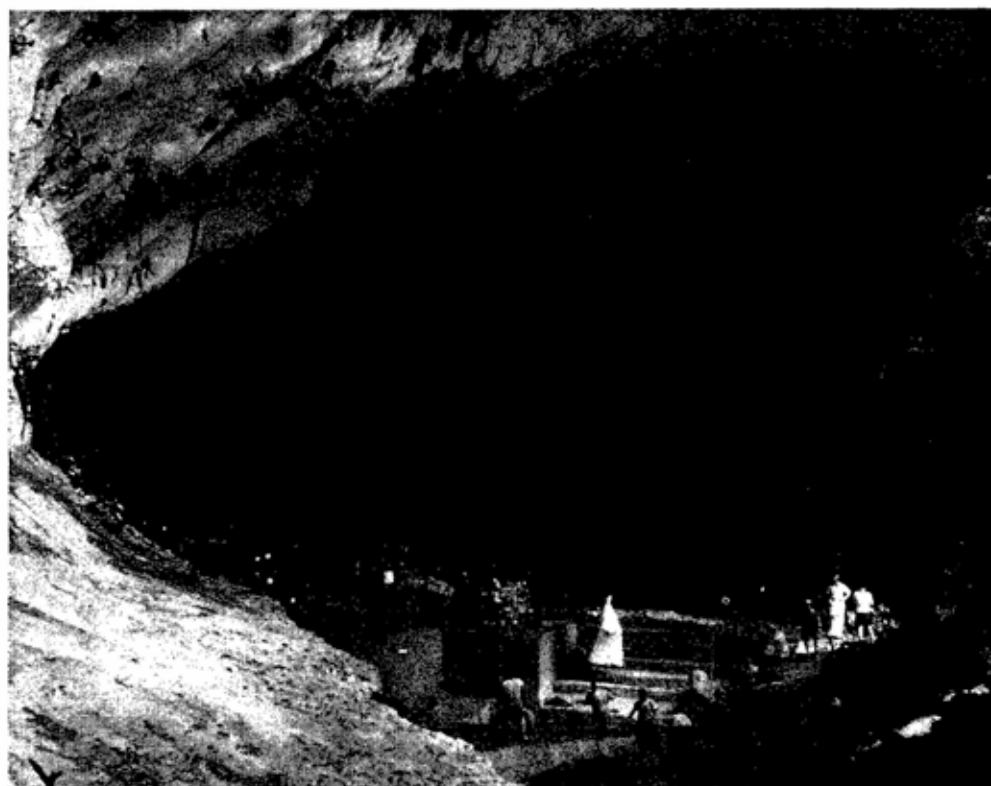
Note

Anthropologists who command mankind, or even other anthropologists, to abjure the regrettably convenient term 'race,' without keeping their tongues as firmly in their cheeks as King Canute did on a famous occasion, would perhaps be well advised to seek some more promising way of combating the errors and excesses of racialism. Is it really any worse to speak about 'races' than about 'laws' in anthropology? Both are well understood by anthropologists to be loose terms for real though not readily definable concepts, and we surely have more hope of persuading the man in the street that 'race' is a loose term and concept than that he must use it only *sensu stricto*. Is there not an important and valuable sense in which the 'British race,' for example, is a kind of four-dimensional continuum, a *métis* constantly changing and developing, to which the newest immigrant makes his contribution, the Magyar of today as the Norman of yesterday?

In the present case, it was surely clear to all readers that Sir Ernest Kennaway's argument was concerned with the Jews as a cultural and not as a biological entity—Ed.

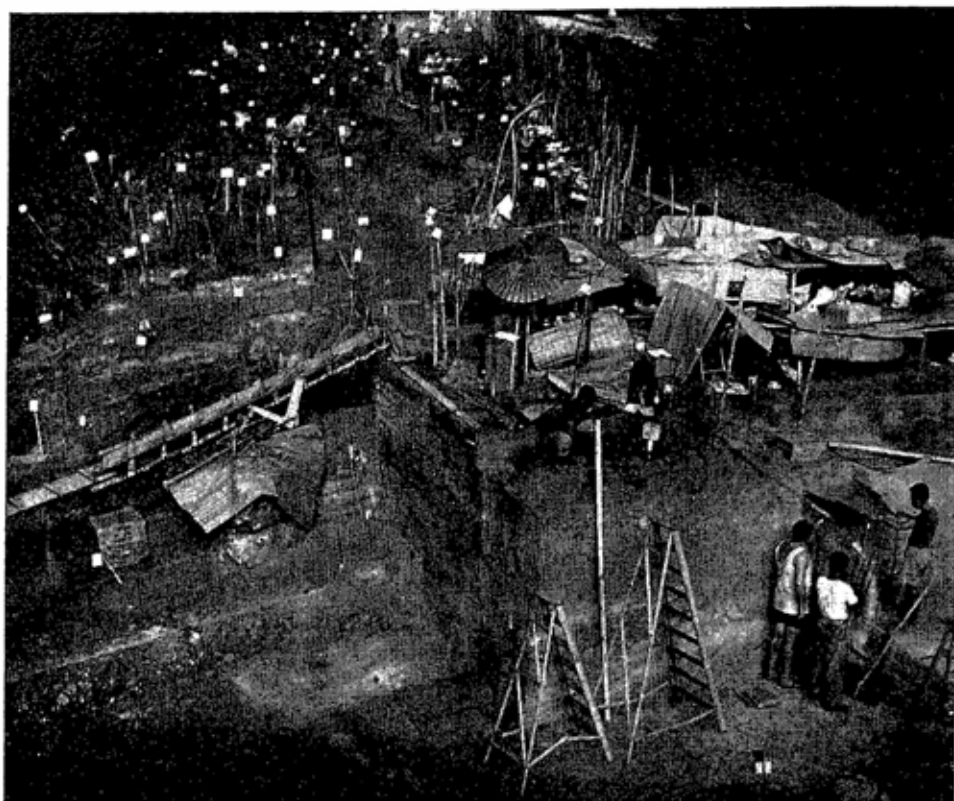


(a) View of the main mouth of the Great Cave at Niah, northern side, looking due westward out into the gorge. Before the excavation, which was in extreme right hand (northern) corner.



(b) View looking across the cave mouth from north side with 'habitation' in foreground, and 'cemetery' uphill to the left.

THE GREAT CAVE OF NIAH, BORNEO

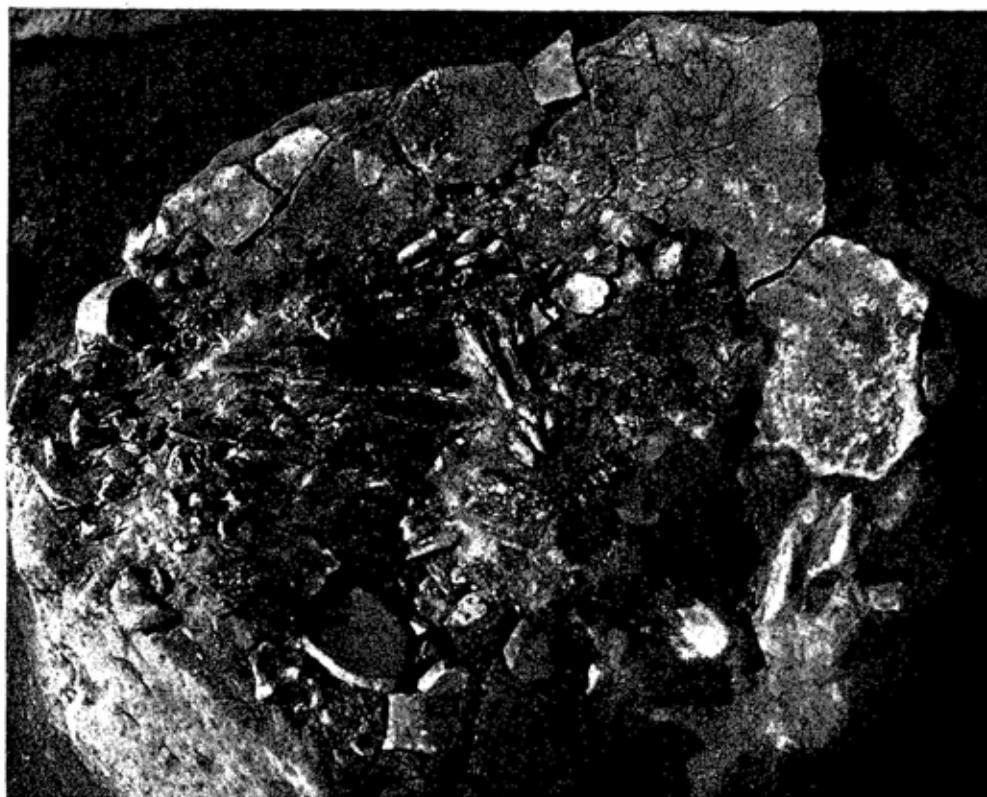


(a) View of excavation, looking up from habitation area towards cemetery. White flags indicate burials. Section in foreground (between ladders) is to depth of 108 inches. Parasols and screens are for protection against hot afternoon sun.



(b) Trial pit 108 inches depth in foreground. In background, Dr. van Veen taking auger tests to greater depth.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE GREAT CAVE, NIAH, BORNEO



(a) Secondary burial in earthenware urn (collapsed). Note damar gum applied to inside of urn (top centre). Charred bones on left. Associated bronze. In immediate subsurface layer.



(b) Spouted pot of local earthenware placed on body (not yet exposed). In immediate subsurface layer.

BURIALS IN THE GREAT CAVE, NIAH, BORNEO



(a) Part of typical extended burial, probably late neolithic. Leaf 'matting' around vertebræ.
At depth of 6-12 inches in cemetery. Associated pottery, beads, etc.



(b) Deeper 'contorted' burial, at edge of cemetery. No associated artifacts, but 'pillow'—from which skull has slipped—of ? rhinoceros femur.

INHUMATIONS IN THE GREAT CAVE, NIAH, BORNEO

THE GREAT CAVE OF NIAH

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON BORNEAN PREHISTORY*

by

TOM HARRISSON

Curator, Sarawak Museum

2II No systematic archaeology was undertaken in Borneo until 1949, when the Sarawak Museum began operations on a small scale.¹ Hitherto, the meagre information about stone-age sequences and early human activity in the island depended entirely on collections of stone tools and other objects not found *in situ*.² Misunderstandings readily arise from deductions based on such data, among people much on the move in recent centuries and carrying stone tools latterly as sacred talismans, of supposed thunderbolt origin.³

In the past decade we have gained extensive information by excavations at several related sites around Kuching in the Sarawak river delta⁴ and at Kota Batu in the State of Brunei⁵; but these are predominantly proto-historical Chinese and 'Indian' sites covering the T'ang (and perhaps earlier) on through the Sung dynasty into early Ming.

With the advice of Sir Wilfred le Gros Clark, F.R.S. (who visited us in the field), encouragement from Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald (in correspondence), and much active co-operation from Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie (lately Director of the Raffles Museum, Singapore), search for earlier material extended to a large group of small limestone caves (Bau Caves) in south-west Sarawak, of the type usually yielding evidence of fairly early (neolithic and mesolithic) man in Malaya and elsewhere in South-East Asia.⁶ But the results were somewhat inconclusive. Big shell middens and early earthenware sherds in bulk were located widely, but without a single satisfactory stone tool or other stratified evidence of importance.⁷

Meanwhile, in extensive inland journeys, I inspected many caves, without finding indications any better than at Bau except in one case: the isolated hill called Gunong Subis, an island of limestone set in the sub-coastal sandstone plain, 10 miles inland, near the Government station at Niah, 300 miles up the coast from Kuching, longitude 113° 47' E., latitude 3° 48' N. Here there are one large (c. 26 acres) and many smaller caves; the large one is generally referred to as Niah (Great) Cave (Plate Ma, b).

Niah Great Cave

This magnificent cathedral, some 800 feet wide and over 200 feet high in the main mouth, showed no superficial signs of ancient human activity; though there is daily and even drastic extraction of guano⁸ deposited by literally millions of bats and swiftlets (*Collocalia*) which live inside the cave, and seasonal extraction of the nests of the swiftlets as a major source of Birds' Nest Soup.⁹ Fortunately the cave mouth is unaffected by these latter-day human goings-on. It is also light, cool and usually perfectly dry. There are over a million swifts and bats in the cave which are highly

edible. If there ever were early cave men in Borneo, where better to live than here?

So, in October, 1954, again with my friend Michael Tweedie, and Mr. Hugh Gibb, a small reconnaissance expedition spent two weeks examining Niah, which is awkward (and therefore expensive) to get at. We did not find enough to justify a report, but at last did find unquestionable evidence of long-term human occupation, habitation and burial, with signs of distinct stratification.

Thus encouraged, in 1957 the Sarawak Museum, greatly assisted by equipment and transport from Brunei Shell Petroleum and Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. (Shell) and by Henry Waugh & Co., mounted a larger expedition, which first reached the cave on 27 February and left on 26 April. Tweedie and Gibb again generously helped during parts of this dig; and the latter filmed the whole process for B.B.C. Television.¹⁰

Although only a fraction of the excavation is complete, the results are now sufficiently substantial to require a preliminary report. From the previous total blank in Borneo, Niah now emerges with probably the most varied and wide-spanning neolithic, mesolithic and upper palaeolithic material found together in any one cave in South-East Asia; and with the further possibility that it also continues steadily deeper.

Habitation and Cemetery Sectors. Excavation has so far been confined to the northern side of the main mouth of the Great Cave (Plate Ma, b). This is the only direction in which there is quite easy access, by ladder, up the cliff face. It is relevant that here the present cave floor, as a whole, is over 100 feet above a deep gorge and stream, with precipitous approaches on all sides. This has prevented wild animals, particularly pig, deer and porcupine from getting into the cave and disturbing the deposit recently—a major cause of trouble in other Borneo caves. This may also have been in earlier times of advantage to primitive man, as protection. This part of the cave is not affected appreciably by the mighty population of swiftlets and bats inside. Tests over 1954–57 show that the deposit rate of guano here is negligible—no more than surface insects and breezes can remove.

There is no flowing water *inside* the cave, no leakage through or drip from the roof, in this sector. There has been nothing apparently to cause any sort of strictly geological deposit in this mouth, for thousands of years past at least. What we have been excavating, therefore, is a broadly human and related deposit, for at least the top 72 inches, except for small-scale accretions of limestone fallen from the roof. Any such limestone is easily detected by hydrochloric acid. It forms only a small, usually negligible, part of the deposit. Larger blocks of ceiling fall are not to be mistaken for sections of the original cave floor, owing to the different lines of deposition and micro-structure within

* With Plates M, N, O and P and two text figures. The publication of this paper, with its exceptional number of extra plates, has been generously assisted by a grant.

this limestone. In this, we are fortunate, because Shell geologists have lately made a detailed study of this formation and drilled to nearly 10,000 feet during oil-search nearby.

Thus, excavation at this point is both complicated and facilitated in that it deals with an exceptionally uniform, fine-grained material. The principal disadvantage is that this fineness demands fine excavation technique; much of the work has to be done with brushes, sometimes by gentle blowing, and always by patient Asians (mostly trained Malays imported from our delta sites). The principal advantage is that everything hard or substantial which does not bubble under hydrochloric acid is practically certain to be extraneous; and under the circumstances, most probably brought in by man. This makes it relatively easy to sort pieces of stone, for instance. Moreover, the limestone in this cave is normally so soft that it cannot be confused, in the hand, with any stone hard enough for human use. In Bau Caves⁷ the surrounding limestone is often harder.

Behind this habitation in the mouth, the cave slopes upwards and inwards, towards darkness. In this inner part, there is an extensive 'cemetery' of deliberate and careful burials. For present purposes, it is convenient to distinguish the outer mouth as 'habitation,' under more or less continuous occupation, and the uphill part behind as the 'cemetery'; there is, however, some overlap between the two in detail.

The depth of the human deposit decreases as we go uphill and inward. In the cemetery at about 150 feet from the outer mouth, it averages 18–30 inches. In the main habitation, the deposit of shell,¹¹ charcoal and bone (other than bat and swift) certainly continues below our present deepest trial (100 inches), to 150 inches (auger tests (Plate Nb), and studies by Shell palaeontologist Dr. F. van Veen, who gave much valued assistance on the spot).

Objects from the Main Habitation

The main habitation has been studied in layers, ranging in depths from 1 to 12 inches, as occasion required. Apart from shell¹¹ and bone, which occurred in large quantities, about 5,000 material specimens have so far been collected in this sector. The main enduring identifiable objects can be preliminarily classified as follows:

Artifacts

Earthenware—in bulk to 12 inches, only fortuitously below 24 inches; several types (*q.v.*).

Bone points and other bone tools—numerous, mostly rather deep.

Antlers—in middle layers; cut and scraped (a few).

Shell scrapers—a few, including some deep-down oyster blades.

Shell ornaments—usually opercula of a large land form; bored. A shell ring and several broken shell bangles (*Trichidna?*); mother-of-pearl; belt toggles.

Quartz pebbles—fire strikers (in every layer) and one fine quartz blade.

Stone pounders, rubbers, sharpeners, hammers, fire-stones and potstones.

Stone tools (and cores) of several main 'styles,' made from a wide variety of extraneous stones.

Food and other remains

Animal bone—usually charred, in bulk.

Shell—in great quantities.¹¹

Nuts—many, especially large 'candlenuts.'

Damar gum—tree gum (*Shorea sp.*) for light, fixative, and pottery 'glaze.'

Stone—quantities of stone and clays, unworked.

Hæmatite—rubble and powder.

Charcoal—throughout the deposit.

Charcoal—Carbon-14. Throughout the occupation deposit, charcoal occurs in pure form—and continues (according to auger tests) well below our present downward limit of 100 inches. Through the good offices of the Shell Company and the generous help and co-operation of Professor Hl. de Vries at the Physical Laboratory of the University of Groningen, Holland, two samples have now been analysed from about the middle of the main occupation, in the 'flake' layer. The upper limit of this runs at about 48 inches, the lower about 72 inches.

Professor de Vries (whom I have visited in Groningen to check various points) reports on carbon samples from approximately the upper and lower limits of this layer. The word 'approximately' has to be used here because absolute depth is not an absolute criterion in this cave. Until more of it has been excavated, it is very difficult—in this fine deposit—to correct depths from point to point exactly and give any mean validity. These two samples may for the moment be taken as primarily significant in that they were collected (by Mr. Tweedie) in the lower middle layers of the 1957 excavation, well above the present known downward lower limits of human habitation. Professor de Vries reports as follows:

GRO 1159: upper-middle limit—age $19,570 \pm 190$ (1957, Groningen) [17,613 B.C. \pm 190.—ED.].

GRO 1158: lower—age $32,630 \pm 700$ (1957, Groningen) [30,673 B.C. \pm 700.—ED.].

It is evident, whatever the margins of error, that this excavation is now well down into the Upper Palaeolithic. The Mesolithic has been well documented in Indochina and Malaya; the early Palaeolithic in Java and elsewhere. Niah may already fill a hitherto puzzling gap. Also, it gives, *in situ*, a succession from Upper Palaeolithic, continuously upward through Mesolithic into Neolithic and above.

This '40,000 plus years' depth is definitely below the downward limits of the 'flake-and-blade' material. The relatively slow aging with depth here may be due to the intervening 'sterile' layer (*cf.* next section).

Stratification in Main Occupation. Niah shows a series of phases, documented exceptionally well by artifacts. Out in the main occupation mouth, the metal ages are only slightly represented; by that time the cave was used chiefly for burials. But metal-age and late neolithic pottery are found scattered outward, overlapping the occupation.

Underlying late neolithic polished quadrangular tools

(or their fragments scattered more widely) come round axes which occur right out in the occupation, and are characteristic down to about 24 inches. Below round axes, pottery disappears. The characteristic artifact is now some sort of 'pebble tool,' edge-ground. Below this, starting about 42 inches, is a wide band, rich in struck flakes of many shapes, clearly all of quartzite, small and not re-worked after initial striking. These are associated with especially large numbers of bone points.

Below 72 inches there is an apparently barren layer of about 12 inches to 18 inches, which may perhaps represent a period of suddenly increasing humidity and accelerated or modified decomposition. The deposit is mostly a pinkish, fine powder, devoid of carbon. But it is *not* powdered limestone or phosphate; it has so far not responded to any positive tests.

Under this seemingly sterile layer, we re-encounter shell and bone (including bone points), as well as charcoal. At this depth the material becomes more weathered, friable and difficult to take up intact. So we have only done enough to make sure that there is something worth doing more thoroughly, with chemical and technical aids, later (*cf.* tool type (v) below).

Typology of Stone Tools. Five reasonably distinct types of stone tool can provisionally be distinguished at Niah. The present distinctions by type relate to actual stratification in the site. (The type numbers correspond with those of the text figures kindly drawn for me by Mr. H. J. Gowers of the British Museum.)

(i) **Quadrangular.** Smallish adzes or chisels, finely finished; always of a black (? basaltic) stone. Much like tools of the normal Malayan neolithic.⁶ No other quadrangulars have been recorded from Borneo, among the hundreds collected from native sources by Evans and myself^{2, 3}; but the smallest (fig. 1a) has an unusual flattened top forward, reminiscent of some gouges from North Borneo and Brunei Bay.

(ii) **Round.** Polished tools with fairly symmetrical cross-

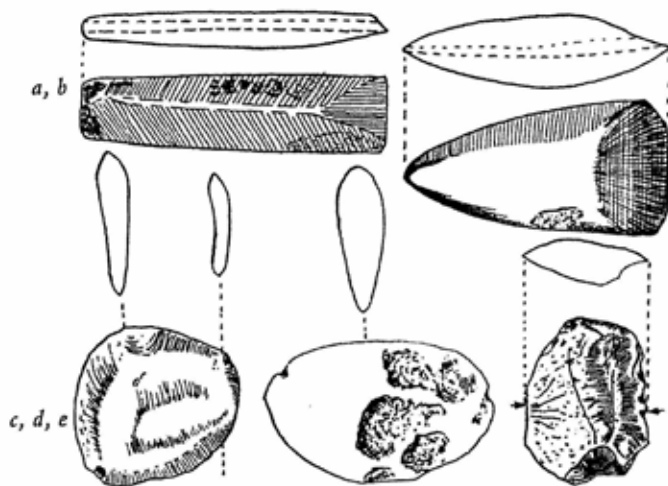


FIG. 1. STONE TOOLS FROM NIAH CAVES

(a) Type i; (b) Type ii; (c, d, e) Type iii a, b, c; see text.
Drawings by H. J. Gowers

section, tapering to the butt. Axes or adzes, ranging from the beautiful small one illustrated (fig. 1b), to one three times larger made from a roughly worked quartzite pebble. Never of the same stone as the quadrangulars.

Similar tools are known from Java and extensively in Melanesia, but not clearly from Borneo and not in intelligible sequence from Malaya. The occurrence of both quadrangular and round in separate layers of the same site is so far unique.

(iii) **Pebble Tools.** More numerous and much more variable in size and shape than the previous types. The largest is a massive thing, nearly 6 inches long, roughly circular. But one of the smallest (fig. 1c) is almost a perfect miniature of it, with the same unusual features: one end shaped by flaking towards a point, the other very carefully edge-ground, on both sides, in a semi-circle. These two and others are more or less symmetrically worked on both sides. Others again are definitely uniface; some of these are substantially re-worked struck flakes (fig. 1e).

There does not appear to be any distinct stratification of sub-types, as yet. These pebble tools are not nearly related to the 'Sumatran,' nor to the widely distributed 'Hoabinhian,' both of which I have examined in detail. The only close parallel may be a tool from the Japanese mesolithic, figured by Maringer,¹² which I have not examined.

(iv) **Flakes.** Struck flakes occur in large numbers below the pebble tools. 95 per cent. are one kind of quartzite, with much the same variety of shape and size as those illustrated (fig. 2). They show no *finesse*, re-working or other secondary features.

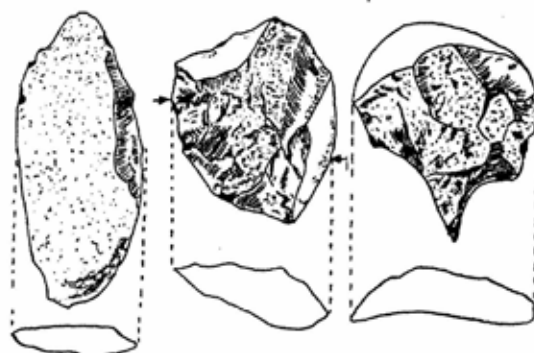


FIG. 2. STONE FLAKES FROM NIAH CAVES

Type iv; see text

No such tools have been found in South-East Asia in sequence before. By western analogy they have widely been regarded hereabouts as mesolithic; this seems doubtful from the Niah results, both by stratification and Carbon-14.

(v) **Chopper Tools.** The small amount of excavation so far undertaken below 72 inches has given us six large, clumsy stones of extraneous origin, smashed off (rather than properly struck) at one end, to give a roughly chisel or chopper effect.

These last tools (v) superficially do *not* appear to be

related to the Malayan *Tampan* first identified by Col-lings,¹³ with which I am well familiar. But they do seem distinctly to parallel some from the Soan of North-West India—including a pebble chopper illustrated by Dr. Kenneth Oakley¹⁴ from the Early Soan; and another in the British Museum of Natural History (No. G.D.E. 1178) from the Early Upper Soan, which has been compared in the hand with Niah specimens, in company with Dr. Oakley, to whom I am beholden on this account. These Soan forms show definite biface trimming; only one of the six so far obtained from Niah has this feature, the others being uniface. Soan tools date perhaps about 50,000–100,000 years back in India. There is no major inherent improbability in relating these (in time) to 'below the flake layer' and well under the c. 32,000-year level of our lower Carbon-14 sample from Niah in Borneo.

There are many chips and fragments from the working of extraneous stone. One finished tool, fitting none of the above categories, was found at 34 inches well out in the main occupation. It is 4 inches long, irregularly triangular in cross-section at the butt, where it is roughly flaked. The bottom side is ground flat and runs into a polished blade tip, which from the top side slopes down with a beaked effect.

Origins of Extraneous Stone. Apart from the black stone of the quadrangular tools and the flake quartzite, there is a remarkable variety of different stones used. As well as hard stone for tools, there are many well-used fire-strikers of quartz pebble, some of them with a jewel-like beauty of their own.

From the immediate vicinity, plenty of sandstone has been brought in for rubbers, pounders and mortars. From the bed of the Niah river, flat pieces of fairly hard shale have been imported, principally as sharpeners. Apart from these two softer stones, nothing is yet known of the point of origin for any one of the extraneous pieces found inside the cave. Existing geological evidence is little help. Energetic enquiries, travels up into the headwaters and elsewhere, by attached Shell geologists and Museum personnel, have so far failed to illuminate this problem. It can only be said, at this stage, that many hard stones have been brought in from far away; and that none can yet be shown to be easily available in the immediate vicinity.

The Cemetery Burials

As we come in, uphill, the whole emphasis becomes funerary. In an area 80 by 30 feet—still very incompletely studied—we have at least 70 primary (skeleton) or secondary (urns containing bones, etc.) deliberate human burials.

None of these cemetery burials belong to historical times. Smaller caves in the vicinity contain skeletons often exposed by recent disturbance, associated with ceramics and beads of sorts still in use among inland peoples. These probably represent Punan or related activity of the past few centuries.⁹ Such superficial remains (also common around Bau) are probably those of which Alfred Russel Wallace heard while he was in Sarawak in 1855; and which in 1864 caused T. H. Huxley to forward the recommendation that an expedition be sent to study them.¹⁵ No parallel remains occur in the cave mouth now under review.

The cemetery contains five fairly distinct types of burial. It would be quite unwise, at present, to separate them definitely by time or cultural association, pending fuller study—and in view of the wide variety of funerary practices carried out, even within one group, by Borneans up to the present day. We can only summarize, therefore, to date:

(i) *Urn burials.* Secondly, in massive, local, earthenware urns and pots (Plate Oa). In one of these a tiny (? ritual) knife was found; pieces of bronze in others. Small beads, usually stone or seeds, but some glass, in loose association with this and the next type.

(ii) *Extended burials.* Commonly laid out on coarse leaf 'matting' (Plate Pa) with a wooden pillow, and with earthenware associated; in two cases pieces of bronze near the mouth. The heads always point uphill into the cave, *except* in the case of one double burial, where feet overlap and one head points outwards, the other in and up, at 180°. Sea shells, cowries, a bored gypsum pendant, clay fishing weights (used as beads?), etc., in association.

(iii) *Hæmatite burials.* Either a mass of bones (one in a rough coffin of wood) or a small cluster. Brilliant magenta, coloured from extraneous iron ore. Associated objects include one quadrangular axe, matting and netting wrapped round the bone.

(iv) *Flexed burials.* In the cemetery only one so far, at the upper limit, almost in the dark. But this is characteristic of several others deeper in the *habitation* area. No associated objects. Evidently 'early' by layering, and—assuming the shallow burial which seems to have been usual here—perhaps mesolithic. Laid neatly on one side, arms and legs crossed and bent, in various ways; head usually pointing outward, not inward and uphill.

(v) *Contorted burials.* In one group, along the edge of the rock shelf margining both the cemetery and inner habitation are four burials, within 90 square feet, and deeper than any in the cemetery. These are distinguished by extraordinary positions—face down, head crushed into the chest, arms splayed out sideways or arms clutching head. The only associated object is the hip-bone (?) of a rhinoceros, as pillow for one (Plate Pb). It is very difficult to stratify at this point yet, but these could be earlier than (iv) above.

Of quadrangular, round and pebble tools recorded about the cemetery, only the first can fairly safely be regarded as deliberately associated with a burial. Struck flake and other crude, deeper-down tools, occurring below 42 inches in the habitation area, have not yet been recorded in the cemetery. Correspondingly, only burials of types (iv) and (v) have been found in the habitation area, in all cases on the inner, cemetery side of it.

Hæmatite Associations. The clusters of hæmatited bone provide a special puzzle. It has been usual to regard such funerary uses on the mainland as mesolithic. It is difficult to believe that this fully applies in Niah. Rather, the hæmatite seems to be associated with the more advanced people who used the cave, though it can hardly be acci-

dental that several of the pebble tools (including the largest, already described) are impregnated with hæmatite.

The most striking and frequent use of this vivid colour, however, is in decorating the most developed and remarkable kind of pottery at Niah. This 'three-colour ware' (which so far has no parallels elsewhere in Asia) is decorated with plain bands of vivid red, which are interspersed with (usually alternating) bands of black (from soot) and yellow (from clay). The black is often arranged in strips, lozenges and triangles, against the red background; while dynamic patterns, etched with bone points or punched with the end of a reed or bamboo mostly occur on the yellow. The execution of these pots, some of which are massive—and often associated with the later burials—is very varied, vivid and individualistic; no two pots are alike, and different parts of the same pot even may be treated quite differently.

The Cemetery as a Pottery. The three-colour ware was made at the inside edge of the cemetery, over 100 feet from the outer mouth, where it is almost windless. Such pot-making in caves has been postulated for the Malayan neolithic by Tweedie, on deductive grounds,⁶ but not, I think, previously proved in South-East Asia. At Niah, pieces of this ware, already coloured with hæmatite and decorated, occur unbaked in association with quantities of damar gum, very small shells (too small for food, e.g. *Corbicula*), knives and spatulae finely made from bone, scrapers and knives from the opercula of large snails. In three sections (K2-K4) sherds and these other objects form a dense accumulation, along with lumps of hæmatite, yellow clay, charcoal and wood ash.

Another striking feature in the three-colour ware and in some plain pottery at Niah is the way in which damar gum has been applied. It is commonplace, in Borneo today, for the Kelabits, Muruts and other peoples to apply damar to their pots outside, as a 'glaze'.¹⁶ But damar has also been applied *inside* on many of the Niah sherds, including one of the large earthenware urns used in secondary burial (Plate Oa).

Fuller excavation of the pot-making section involves problems of the utmost delicacy and has therefore been postponed. It is too soon to say what other sorts of pottery were actually made in the cave. At least six other fairly distinct types have been recognized to date:

- (i) Finely made, with an elaborate pattern applied by a beater, reminiscent of some Dongs' on types.
- (ii) Paddle beater designs, simple, geometrical, often 'herring-bone'—close to modern native pottery.¹⁶
- (iii) Cord-marked: a uniform, thin surface pattern applied by string wound round a stick.
- (iv) Mat pattern: applied fairly uniformly by pressure.
- (v) Net pattern: as (iv).
- (vi) Shell pattern: wavy lines deeply stamped with the edges of cockle shells (*Arca*).

Of the above, only one type (ii) can be paralleled in the rich Sarawak Museum collections, covering the last century. In general, the shapes are simpler and to western eyes less moving than some of the graceful pieces which

characterize the Malayan neolithic. But only two pieces (Plate O) have been found practically complete; much remains to be learned by reconstruction from sherds and further study. None are wheel-made.

Conclusion

Even at this stage of excavation at the Great Cave of Niah, it is possible to learn, in unusually simple form, more about the past than has hitherto been deducible from any cave in this part of the world previously. This is partly because caves had a low reputation as archaeological sites, especially for anything earlier than the Mesolithic, in tropical Asia; and especially in the Indies. As my friend Dr. von Koenigswald has put it recently, with the weight of his great authority and experience:¹⁷

'In Europe man was compelled by the cold of the Ice Age to seek shelter in caves, and so the archaeologist has little difficulty in finding a place where he can successfully dig. It is different in the tropics. Here the caves are the dwellings of bats, snakes and the great monitor lizards, and of course also of evil spirits. Hence they are not generally inhabited by men, and culture levels and skeletons are found only rarely.'

Fortunately (for me) for once von Koenigswald is wrong!

Notes

¹ See *Antiquity*, Vol. XCIX, 1951; and subsequent general reports in the *Sarawak Mus. J.* (1951-57).

² Principal papers of this type are: I. H. N. Evans, *MAN*, 1913, 86; H. D. Collings, *Sarawak Mus. J.*, Vol. V, 1949, Part 1, pp. 14-22; T. Harrison, *MAN*, 1951, 40 (and in general, R. Heine-Geldern, *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, 1951, pp. 129-67).

³ T. Harrison, *Sarawak Mus. J.*, Vol. V, 1951, Part 3, pp. 534-40. Most of the tools referred to are in the Sarawak Museum; but the Evans collection is at Cambridge and Singapore, and some from Hose at the British Museum.

⁴ *Trans. Oriental Ceramic Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1954, pp. 1-11, Plates I-V; also *Far Eastern Ceramic Bull.*, Vol. IV, 1952, Part 1, pp. 16ff.; and as at Note 1 above.

⁵ T. and B. Harrison, *Sarawak Mus. J.*, Vol. VII, 1956, pp. 283-319 (preliminary report on Kota Batu to date).

⁶ M. W. F. Tweedie, *Journ. Malayan Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, Vol. XXVI, 1953, Part 2, pp. 1-90 (the best survey of South-East Asian prehistory).

⁷ T. Harrison and M. W. F. Tweedie, *J. Polynesian Soc.*, Vol. LX, 1951, pp. 2f.

⁸ G. S. Wilford, *British Borneo Geological Survey, Annual Report*, 1951 (this survey of the cave's guano deposits was not concerned with—and did not notice—the non-guanoid areas which are of interest archaeologically).

⁹ T. Harrison and G. Jamuh, *Sarawak Mus. J.*, Vol. VII, 1956, pp. 453-62, for a general account of cave folklore which attributes present human knowledge of Niah to quite recent times, when nomadic Punans are supposed to have 'discovered' it—which may well be correct, as the excavation evidence also indicates this break.

¹⁰ B.B.C. Television showing, half-hour programme, 3 November 1957.

¹¹ Apart from shells, everything has been preserved from the habitation sector, and is now in the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, awaiting fuller study. Shell samples were kept from several layers and places, but bulk precluded preserving all. The rest—over 2,000,000—were sorted and counted by species for each sector and depth.

- ¹² John Maringer, *MAN*, 1957, 1, especially Plate Aa and fig. 1.
¹³ H. D. Collings, *Nature*, Vol. CXLII, 1938, p. 575, cf. also Tweedie, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 73.
¹⁴ K. P. Oakley, *Man the Tool-Maker*, London, British Museum (Natural History), 1956, 3rd ed., p. 47, fig. 20a.
¹⁵ T. H. Huxley, *Natural History Review*, Vol. IV, 1864, pp. 308, 472.
¹⁶ On techniques of primitive potmaking in Borneo, including

'paddle-beating' and damar 'glazing,' see symposium of papers by A. R. G. Morrison, I. H. N. Evans and myself in *Sarawak Mus. J.*, Vol. VI, 1955, Part 5, pp. 295-306, especially at p. 302.
¹⁷ G. H. R. von Koenigswald, *Meeting Prehistoric Man*, London, 1956, p. 28. He repeats this statement at p. 78, 'and [tropical] man had no interest in the damp caves inhabited by snakes, bats and evil spirits.'

MARRIAGE IN MODERN MAORI SOCIETY*

by

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212 Every society has what may be called its own ideology of marriage—a generally accepted constellation of ideals and expectations, attitudes and value judgments about marriage: how it should be contracted, the functions it should fulfil and the circumstances under which it may be terminated. The methods used for establishing a jural marriage, whether they involve written laws and documentary records or not, are normally designed to implement at least the major tenets of this ideology. Under conditions of accelerated social change, however, there may develop a divergence between the ideology of marriage on the one hand and the legal regulations governing the contracting and termination of marriage on the other.

Modern Maori marriage is an interesting example of the way in which the introduction of an alien ideology of marriage, and more especially of legal requirements embodied in parliamentary statutes, has affected the marriage pattern of a primitive people. The problem is to assess the extent to which modern Maori society accepts the European law as the criterion of validity in marriage and what place it accords to unions which are not in conformity with that law.

In pre-European Maori society, the one requirement which was essential to the validity of any marriage was the unanimous approval of the *whanau* of bride and groom, that is, of those kinsfolk on each side who, tracing descent from a recent progenitor, constituted one residential, economic and land-holding unit. The granting of such approval meant, in effect, the granting of community approval, for the inhabitants of each village community belonged, with the exception of slaves and some spouses, to one *hapu* (subtribe), which consisted of a series of *whanau* linked by descent from a common ancestor. There was more than one method of obtaining this approval. The preferred method was for the kinsfolk to take the initiative and arrange a *taumau*, a formal meeting of the two kin groups. The *taumau* often took place before the couple had met, and sometimes, especially in the case of those of *rangatira* (aristocratic) rank, while they were still

in infancy. It was the agreement reached at the *taumau* which established the jural union. Gifts and ceremonial visits might be exchanged, but usually only if the groups concerned were *rangatira* or belonged to different villages. They were not essential. If an agreement made at a *taumau* was not honoured the consequences were as serious as if the couple had begun to cohabit. If his kin failed to secure him a wife before he was of marriageable age, a man could make his own choice. He then asked his father and his kin to approach the girl's *whanau* for him through a *taumau*. Alternatively, he could take advantage of any public gathering at which both kin groups were present to make a public proposal, which had to be answered before the gathering broke up. The approval of kinsfolk was not, however, always obtained *before* a conjugal union was established. If opposition was feared, a couple frequently forced the issue by allowing themselves to be discovered sleeping together. They were parted only if the grounds for disapproval were exceptionally strong. If the union was permitted to continue, the tacit approval of the community made it as valid as those established by more conventional methods.¹

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 brought the Maori people under the jurisdiction of a form of government established by Europeans on the British model. The *full* requirements of the law with regard to the observance of marriage were not imposed upon the Maori people for 110 years. Up to 1908 Maoris might take advantage of the provisions of the Marriage Act or they were entitled to marry in accordance with English common law, that is, to be married by an episcopally ordained clergyman. 'Customary marriage' was also accepted as valid by the law but only for the purposes of succession to land and personal property. It was defined by the law as 'the contract of marriage created by consent merely without any formality of celebration.' Under the Native Land Act of 1909, marriages 'in accordance with Maori custom' were still recognized as sufficient for the purposes of succession, but for other purposes a marriage had to be celebrated either in the same manner as one between Europeans or in the presence of one of the Officiating Ministers registered under the Marriage Act of 1908, though it did not have to conform to any other of the conditions and formalities laid down by that Act. The

* With a table. This paper was prepared by Miss Metge, a Horniman Student of the Royal Anthropological Institute, for a seminar on marriage stability under Professor Raymond Firth, F.B.A., at the London School of Economics.

situation was radically altered, however, by the Maori Purposes Act, 1951, when 'the view was taken that the Maori race had reached a stage where special dispensations were no longer justifiable.' The Act repealed all such dispensations and since 1 April, 1952, all Maoris have been subject to the same marriage law as Europeans. For the purpose of succession, only 'customary marriages' contracted prior to that date are recognized. Moreover, if either party to such a union has ever been legally married without that legal marriage having been terminated by death or divorce, his (or her) property passes to the legal spouse.²

Customary marriage has survived up to the present day in New Zealand, but as a feature of the Maori pattern of marriage it is of minor and diminishing importance. Unfortunately, such marriages by their very nature defy statistical assessment. The fact that the number of Maori marriages per 1000 of population (i.e., the crude marriage rate) has been consistently below the European rate in all years for which records are available appears suggestive at first sight, but the divergence between the two rates is not a reliable measure of the incidence of 'customary marriage.'³ The lower rate of recorded Maori marriages is partly accounted for by the fact that all marriages between Maoris and Europeans are reckoned as European marriages, and partly by the extremely large proportion of the Maori population under 15 years of age.⁴ The issue is also confused by the fact that many conjugal unions which are referred to by the people as 'customary' or 'Maori marriages' are not accorded that status by the law because one of the spouses is a party to an undissolved legal marriage. The current insignificance of 'customary marriage' as a voluntary choice among alternatives can be gauged from the difficulty experienced by the interested observer in locating cases of conjugal unions in which neither spouse is legally married. In the course of two and a half years' fieldwork I learnt of only two such cases.

A further jural element, legal registration, has been added to the typical Maori marriage pattern. This modification of the traditional pattern has not been brought about solely by legal enactments, which up to 1951 permitted, if they did not encourage, the continuance of 'customary marriages.' Three other factors have combined to increase compliance with the law and to modify the traditional ideology until it exhibits a large degree of conformity with that of New Zealand society as a whole. These three factors are: the advent of Christianity, the introduction of European wedding customs and etiquette, and the increasing participation of the Maori in European social and economic life.

A religious ceremony was never an important part of Maori marriage observance. In pre-European times a few *karakia* (incantations) might be said by the priest when the bride arrived at her husband's home, but for most members of a Maori community the setting up of a conjugal relationship between a man and a woman was an occasion of little ceremonial. After the adoption of Christianity, however, a church ceremony became highly desirable both on religious grounds and for the sake of the prestige of the kin groups involved. Since 1909 a church wedding has

automatically meant the registration of the marriage, which then becomes valid according to the law and can be legally terminated only by that law.

The European customs of bridal attire and bridal attendants, the procession to and from the church, the wedding feast, speeches of good wishes and the ceremonial cutting of a wedding cake were enthusiastically adopted by the Maori, though not always in their entirety or in 'correct' detail. They were adopted into the Maori pattern, often undergoing considerable modification and being assigned new symbolic meanings. Today the newly married couple, returning in procession to the *marae*,⁵ are first challenged at the entrance as strangers and then welcomed into the community in their new roles as married persons. Speeches of good wishes and blessing are delivered on the *marae* in the traditional manner of Maori oratory before the feast. Food is served steaming hot from Maori earth ovens and none are turned away. The cutting and distribution of the cake has become the focus for a ceremony involving the recognition of tribal and subtribal groupings and the tracing of descent. The assimilation of these customs has helped to bring about a fundamental change in the pattern of Maori marriage because they are always associated with the establishment of a jural union in a religious ceremony or at a Registry Office. 'Customary marriage' was never thus formally celebrated.

As long as Maoris lived in their own village communities, the social and legal disabilities attaching to customary unions were not very meaningful to them. This form of marriage had the advantage of being as easily dissolved as contracted. Nowadays, a feeling of 'shame' *vis-à-vis* the Europeans with whom they come into constant contact operates to encourage Maoris to enter into legal marriage wherever possible.

The approval of kinsfolk remains a part of the ideal Maori marriage pattern, but it has been displaced as the basis for the validity of a marriage. A *taumau* normally precedes every legal marriage, although it is now the young couple who take the initiative and arranged matches no longer take place. The circle of kin concerned in a marriage has been narrowed: the *taumau* is attended only by the closest kin of the bride and groom—parents, siblings and perhaps parents' siblings and their offspring—and not necessarily by all of them. This decrease in the importance of kin in the establishment of marriage is linked with changes in the kinship structure of Maori society: *whanau* and *hapu* are no longer residential and economic units but their members are scattered widely over the whole of New Zealand. It has been accelerated by the fact that the New Zealand law has never recognized the significance of kin approval. Even in the case of 'customary marriage,' the only condition which it recognized as necessary was the mutual consent of the spouses. Nowadays it is possible for a couple to marry legally in the face of family disapproval if they are both over the age of 21 or if they obtain an order from the Magistrates' Court to marry while still minors. A marriage once legally established secures acceptance from kin, if not their blessing. A legal marriage is never repudiated by kin. This does not,

however, constitute a *major* break with tradition, for elopements were frequently successful as a method of forcing kin acceptance in pre-European Maori society.

By making it possible to establish a legal marriage in defiance of the views of kin and community, the law has increased the number of marriages which contravene traditional marriage prohibitions. The prohibitions which had the most force in pre-European society applied to marriage between kinsfolk within two generations from a common progenitor or belonging to different generational levels. Under modern conditions these objections are still raised by kinsfolk with regard to particular marriages but rarely with effect. Even marriages between first cousins are no longer uncommon.

It is in the sphere of divorce and remarriage far more than in the contracting of first marriages, that Maori custom still comes into conflict with the law, which requires legal marriages to be terminated in the Divorce Courts before either spouse may marry again. Divorce is available to Maoris on the same basis as it is to Europeans, but they make less use of it. According to the 1951 Census, 0.44 per cent. of the adult Maori population is composed of divorced persons, in comparison with 1.14 per cent. of the adult European population. This low divorce rate does not prove that Maori marriages are highly stable. The Maori as a whole regard marriage as inherently unstable: they are neither surprised nor shocked when a marriage breaks down. While the large majority of marriages involving Maoris, including 'customary marriages,' are never dissolved except by death, a significant majority do break up. This is illustrated by the following analysis of two samples based on material gathered during two and a half years' fieldwork. One sample is a rural community, the other an urban one comprising a group of persons of diverse tribal backgrounds living in an arbitrarily selected urban residential district.

TABLE I. ANALYSIS OF MARRIAGE IN A RURAL COMMUNITY AND IN AN URBAN DISTRICT

	Rural Sample	Urban Sample
<i>Legally married:</i>		
(a) First marriage.	76.0 per cent.	69.0 per cent.
(b) Second marriage after widowhood.	3.0 per cent.	3.5 per cent.
(c) Second marriage after divorce.	0	.9 per cent.
Widowed.	7.0 per cent.	6.1 per cent.
Separated from legal spouse without having contracted another union.	2.0 per cent.	4.4 per cent.
Divorced without having contracted another union.	0	.9 per cent.
Partner to a 'customary marriage' (both spouses legally free).	1.0 per cent.	1.8 per cent.
Partner to an 'illegal marriage' (one or both spouses legally married to someone else).	11.0 per cent.	9.0 per cent.
Not specified.	0	4.4 per cent.
Total number of persons.	170	114

There were only three persons in these two samples who had been divorced—two in the urban sample, one of whom had remarried, and one in the rural sample who was living in an unlegalized union. A fourth, in the rural sample, had

just instituted divorce proceedings. It is clear that only a small proportion of unsuccessful marriages between Maoris are dissolved in the Divorce Courts. The financial cost, the time and the trouble involved, and the publicity seem unnecessary from the Maori point of view. Formerly, the cost of divorce was too great for most Maoris, but that no longer obtains today. The modern Maori concept of marriage clearly shows its derivation from the pre-European ideology, which viewed marriage as a sensible arrangement between a man and a woman, based on mutual affection and economic and domestic co-operation, which ought to be terminated as soon as it ceased to function effectively. While it was preferably arranged by kin, who thus had an interest in its survival, in the last analysis its success depended upon a satisfactory personal relationship between husband and wife. Today, Maori couples whose first marriages break down do not as a rule solve their problem by divorce. They separate by mutual consent and often settle down with someone else in a union which is thus legally invalid. Those who institute divorce proceedings usually do so after the second union has been established long enough to appear to be successful and after the disadvantages of such a union have been experienced.

The attitude of Maori public opinion towards these unlegalized conjugal unions is ambivalent. By and large modern Maori society has come to accept the marriage laws as 'natural' and 'right.' Marriages are established in conformity with them whenever possible. There is no general criticism of the laws as unreasonable or opposed to Maori custom, but neither is there general agreement that such 'customary' unions are entirely reprehensible. It is clearly recognized that they are not legal, but on the other hand it is admitted that, if the Europeans had not introduced their laws, there would be no obstacle to their social recognition. The conflict, in the minds of the people, between acceptance of the legal ruling and adherence to the old ideology is reflected in the fact that these unions are commonly included, along with 'customary marriage' under the heading of 'Maori marriages.'⁶ They are accepted for practical purposes by Maori society, but not without reservations. This ambivalent attitude is neatly expressed in a phrase which is in vogue at least in Northland and which describes such unions as 'illegal marriages.'

It might be argued that such unions should fall within a sociological definition of marriage as an effective conjugal union between a man and a woman fulfilling the functions of husband and wife and socially accepted as such. It would, however, be an oversimplification to group all 'illegal marriages' under the one heading as socially accepted, for there is a whole series of subtle gradations in the degree of acceptance by Maori society. Moreover, the judgment passed on any one union varies from person to person according to their religious views, their relationship to the couple, the status and personality of the latter, the occasion and the identity of the questioner! Very few 'illegal marriages' are ratified at a formal meeting of kin. The existence of a prior legal marriage is acknowledged to be an effective bar to a second marriage and it is raised as

such at the *taumau* if one is called. Most persons contemplating a second 'illegal' union make no attempt to seek the blessing of their kin. Only three cases are known to me in which the kinsfolk have formally decided to set aside an undissolved legal marriage in favour of a second union which they desired. None were of recent date, and in at least two cases one side refused to agree. In cases such as these there is a clear understanding on the part of all concerned that the new union is illegal and that legal disabilities will attach to the couple. Such a union is never initiated by the public ceremonial and feasting which normally accompany the celebration of a legal marriage. Attempts are made to conceal the true situation, even when the union has the blessing of the families of the couple.

It does not necessarily follow that the rest of a Maori community or Maori society in general will treat a conjugal union sanctioned by kin at a *taumau* as any different from those not so ratified. In few Maori communities today are the inhabitants linked by the bonds of kinship and by descent from a common ancestor as completely as they were in pre-European times, and the economic co-operation and interdependence which was the basis of community life has been replaced by the commercial and competitive employment of the individual. Dispersed farm settlement, membership in a variety of clubs, varied political views and religious affiliation tend to divide the community and to prevent any unified reaction to a decision taken by a section of its members. On the one hand, this situation inhibits the community from taking effective action against those who transgress its norms, so that unions which are proscribed by Maori custom though not by the law survive to a possibly greater extent than formerly, while on the other the whole community is rarely unanimous in endorsing the approval given to an 'illegal marriage' by a group of kinsfolk. Sometimes it is not even generally known that the kinsfolk have agreed to the union, but even if it is known there is certain to be a section of the community who disapprove on religious or moral grounds.

Changing circumstances often cause the kinsfolk who originally agreed to the union to withdraw their sanction. In one case a kinsman who had once favoured such a union later rebuked the couple for 'living in sin' after he had quarrelled with them over land rights.

The majority of 'illegal marriages' fall into the category of tolerated unions which have never been formally approved by any group but are recognized informally and individually by members of the community to which they belong in the setting of day-to-day living. The writer could not distinguish any difference in attitudes or behaviour towards 'illegal marriages' which had been ratified at a *taumau* and those which had not. Distinctions are made, however, between those couples who have established a durable conjugal union after the failure of a legal one, those who have indulged in a series of liaisons, and those whose unions offend the Maori sense of propriety. (Marriage between close kinsfolk of different generations falls into the latter category.) In all cases the couple live together unmolested, rear their children and behave

outwardly like other married couples. The woman is addressed, at least to her face, by the surname of the man with whom she is living. Those in the last two categories, however, tend to keep to themselves and decline to take a leading part in community affairs. Often they do not participate at all. Nowadays, community censure of these two types of 'illegal marriages' is never expressed, as was not uncommon even 20 years ago, at a public gathering called for the purpose, but toleration of the presence of the couple in the community takes the form of ignoring their presence as much as possible and is contingent upon their good behaviour. While for practical purposes 'illegal marriages' are treated as equal to ordinary legal marriages, there is a latent feeling of disapproval towards them: should either or both parties to such a union become involved in a quarrel or should they offend in any way against the norms of the community, their illegal marital status is invariably remembered against them.

Summary. The major change in the pattern of Maori marriage has been with regard to the method of initiation. Whenever possible, a marriage is established in conformity with the law and surrounded with elaborate ceremonial. A legal marriage, more especially that celebrated in a church, is regarded as ideal. The sanction of kin is still sought for such marriages, but if withheld marriages can be established without it. The approval of kin is an important feature of the modern Maori ideal of marriage, but as in pre-European society practice frequently departs from the ideal.

In respect to the initiation of marriage the Maori ideology conforms today closely to that of European New Zealanders. The necessity for legal divorce before the establishment of a second marriage has not been so completely accepted. There is no universal agreement about the ideal method of dealing with marital failure. On the one hand, there is a tendency to accept the European view, which is correlated with the emphasis on the legal and ceremonial observance of marriage, while on the other, elements of the older ideology survive in a feeling that mutual consent or desertion should be sufficient basis for the termination of one union and the establishment of another. Attitudes to couples who enter into a second conjugal union while the first is still undissolved tend to vary according to individual cases and circumstances. While such unions as a group are not wholly condemned by Maori society, neither are they wholly accepted. They are, as it were, marginal to the field of marriage.

Notes

¹ See Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, Wellington, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 443ff.; Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington, 1949, pp. 363ff.; Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, London, 1929, pp. 110-17.

² For a summary of the New Zealand marriage laws with reference to the marriages of Maoris, see *The New Zealand Yearbook* 1951-52, Wellington, pp. 69ff.

³ Marriage rates per 1000 of population:

	European	Maori
1936	9.25	7.72
1945	10.14	5.29
1950	9.19	5.25

⁴Percentage of population under 15 years, 1951 Census: European: 28.89 per cent.; Maori: 46.38 per cent.

⁵The *marae* consists of an enclosed area of common land, usually with a meeting house built upon it, and it is the focus of community life and sentiment.

⁶The term 'Maori marriage' is used officially to refer to 'customary marriage,' which is a legal concept. It is also used popularly

to cover all unions not legally registered, that is 'customary marriages' and unions in which one or both spouses are legally married to someone else. Because 'customary marriages' are now so rare and are legally valid only if contracted before 1 April, 1952, the term 'Maori marriage' is associated in the minds of most Maoris with legal invalidity.

SHORTER NOTES

A Cave Painting, Rock Gong and Rock Slide in Yorubaland.

By P. Morton-Williams, Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, Ibadan, Nigeria. With two text figures

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The small Northern Yoruba town of Igbetti lies under the shelter of a great whale-like mass of black rock rising abruptly some 600 feet above the plain which it dominates. It is 14.5 miles inland from Lagos and 20 miles south-west of the ruins of Old Oyo, the ancient Yoruba metropolis. During the nineteenth century the Igbetti people removed to safety at the top of the rock, which is nearly two miles long and half a mile broad, coming down to rebuild their town at the foot of it only about 40 years ago, when they were satisfied that the threat of raids by the Fulani was ended.

At the far end of Igbetti Rock is a cave (fig. 1). A large rock gong, formed by an exfoliated slab of rock, can be seen in front of the cave; it has hammer marks near the right-hand upper corner. There is a rock slide nearby. Inside the cave, which rapidly becomes very low, there is the painting shown in fig. 2, at a place where the ceiling is about 20 inches above the floor. The sloping floor is of bare smooth rock, without deposits. The painting is done with some black pigment. As fragments of rock have flaked away in the middle of the painting, how the ribs of the design joined together cannot be seen.



FIG. 1. ENTRANCE TO IYA MAPO CAVE, IGBETTI

A large rock gong can be seen directly below it

The Chief and Elders (including cult heads) of Igbetti assert that this painting is as it has always been, and that it was never repainted. Their forefathers, the first Yoruba to settle at Igbetti, were puzzled by it, and soon after its discovery consulted a diviner who declared that it was put there by Ifa, the god of divination, and that the ribs represented the *odu* (the major signs in Ifa divination). They are emphatic that it was not, however, put there by Ifa priests at that time. A true association with Ifa is unlikely as the ribs on one side number 14 and on the other 15, while the number of principal *odu* is 16.

The rock gong, they said, is never used in town ritual, but children go to beat it and to slide on the rocks. These informants denied that there were any beliefs associated with this play. Nevertheless the following song has been sung by children at play there for at least three generations:

*Iya Mapo ko 'le ara f'ewe,
Iya Mapo ko koro ara fun wa.
Iya Mapo iwo l'o she yi fun wa
Iya Mapo iwo l'o f'eyi ke wa.
Tal'o l'ori-mi o?
Iya Mapo l'o l'ori-mi o!
Tal'o l'ese-mi o?
Iya Mapo l'o l'ese-mi o!
Okururu! Okererere!
Iya Mapo ni ng o wo fun un.*

'Iya Mapo built a fine house for children,
Iya Mapo built a fine cave for children.
Iya Mapo, you made this for us
Iya Mapo, you put this to shield us.
Who has my head?
Iya Mapo has my head!
Who has my feet?
Iya Mapo has my feet!
Okuru! Okere!
Iya Mapo, I slide down for her.'

(*Okuru*, used also to describe the motion of the spindle below the distaff, represents the sound of sliding down the rock quietly; *Okere*, a noisy clattering slide.)

Iya Mapo is the name of the principal spirit of the rock (there are three others): she is mother and guardian of the people, protecting them and giving them increase in children, wealth and prosperity. Her name, 'Mother Mapo,' is used all over Yorubaland as a euphemism for the vagina. She is also patroness of women potters and palm-oil-extractors. She is worshipped every year at Igbetti, the most important annual ceremony, but none of the ritual takes place at the cave; it is done at a shrine in Igbetti itself and at a small grove on the hillside above the original site of the town. The chief officiant in the cult, the *Aboke* (Hill Priest), said that the cave had never been used in ritual; it was known to be Iya Mapo's house because Ifa had so told their forefathers, but the proper place for sacrifice was where the rock was closest to the old town.

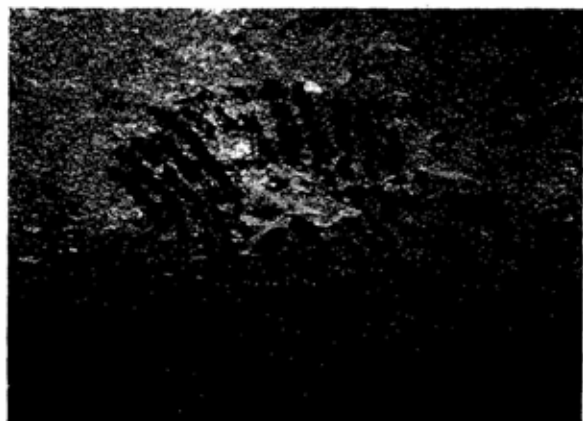


FIG. 2. PAINTING ON THE CEILING OF IYA MAPO CAVE
Dimensions front-to-back (top-to-bottom in the photograph) 16 inches, side-to-side 12 inches

Iya Mapo is grouped conceptually with the white gods who include earth spirits, other sacred hills, and creator gods.

The discovery of this particular association of cave painting, rock gong, and rock slide, brings us no closer to the origin of the complex. It is, however, of interest as including the most southerly cave-painting known in West Africa—the black pigment seems damp-resistant—and the only one known in Yorubaland, although there are caves and rock gongs close together at Old Oyo. And it is also of interest that the local people themselves group together the cave (Iya Mapo's house), the slide and the gong, and link them to a fertility goddess.

Horniman Museum Concerts, Autumn, 1957

The following are among the free 75-minute concerts of anthropological interest to be given at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23, at 7.45 p.m. on Wednesday evenings: 6 November, 'Calypsos, Folk Music and Dance,' by the Trinidad Steel Band; 13 November, 'Nigerian Talking-Drums, Songs and Dances' (Drums from the Museum Collections), by Mr. E. L. Laschikan and the Nigerian Cultural Committee; 20 November, 'Music and Folk Dances of India,' arranged by Mrs. S. Waran. Seats may be reserved at any of these concerts on application to the Curator, Dr. O. W. Samson.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

History of Religions. By E. O. James. London (E.U.P.), 1956. Pp. x, 237, 18 illus. Price 7s. 6d.

215 Professor James is too well known to need introduction. He has contributed this unpretentious little volume to a series known as the Teach Yourself Books, intended for those who want a general idea of subjects not their own, with a possibility of proceeding to more thorough knowledge. After a chapter on 'How Religion Began,' he surveys in turn the religious history of the Fertile Crescent, the religions of India, China and Japan, Zoroastrianism and Judaism, the classical cults of Greece and Rome, Christianity and Islam, and finally devotes a short but well filled final chapter to the question how the history of religion ought to be studied.

On the whole his work is excellent, clear and easy to read, but as little superficial as is reasonably possible in so short a compass. I note, as an almost random choice among many good points, his account of the transforming of Buddhism when it reached China (p. 90), his remarks on State Shinto and Sect Shinto (p. 113), his lucid explanation of who the Pharisees and Sadducees were (p. 132) and his admirable compression into some two pages (178-180) of the complicated history of the Gospels. On the other hand, a number of points need revision. On p. 13 and elsewhere, I think his use of 'Providence,' when speaking of the beliefs of early man, misleading, for it is a term belonging to an advanced stage of religious and philosophical thought. On p. 125 he seems to confuse Ptolemy I with Seleukos I, and on p. 141 he makes Hellen, mythical ancestor of the Hellenes, into a woman. On the same page and elsewhere, it is very strange to hear the Mycenaeans called non-Hellenic. On p. 146, 'Secret Societies, known as Mystery Religions' goes far beyond the evidence. On p. 152, Eleusinian *mystai* are said to have been instructed in 'mystic secret knowledge,' a quite unwarranted assumption. Artemis was not a Moon-goddess, any more than Diana (p. 161). In the phrase 'possessed by a *jinn*' on p. 191, the article would be better away since *jinn* is a collective noun.

The illustrations would be clearer if the paper were better. The printing is good, but the proof-reading has been very careless. Besides some minor flaws, such as 'work' for 'word' (p. 69, note 1), 'Pass' for 'Pars' (p. 122), 'Prochus' for 'Proclus' (p. 160), and wrong lettering under Fig. 6, I note the grotesque blunder 'descent' for 'dissent' on p. 187. Whether 'uncovered' on p. 160, line 17, is a mistake of the author or the printer I do not know; certainly the Flamen Dialis was required to wear his *apex* out of doors, see Aulus Gellius, X, 15, 16.

H. J. ROSE

Architecture, Nature and Magic. By W. R. Lethaby. London (Duckworth), 1956. Pp. 155. Price 16s.

216 These essays are a reprint of a series of articles first published in 1928, which were in turn developed from a book written in 1892, when Lethaby, a young architect, was greatly impressed by the theories of Tylor, Frazer, Cook and Jane Harrison. Lethaby contends that it is possible to see reflected in architecture certain ideas of very wide currency: the notions, for example, of the vault of heaven, the sky-supporting mountain, the

axis of the earth, the tree-pillar, and the gate of judgment. The evidence gives the appearance of having been rather haphazardly collected from various printed sources, and is sometimes presented with rather doubtful assumptions. It is to beg a host of questions, for instance, to suppose that the Lydian tumuli symbolized the same idea as did the ziggurats and pyramids. In general, however, the book is a lively presentation of certain problems of similarity which may be less familiar to architects than to ethnologists. But we may feel that Lethaby would have taken us nearer a solution of such problems if instead of ranging so widely he had considered, with a constant concern for chronology, the symbolism of the mediæval architecture he knew so closely.

W. C. BRICE

Les Néandertaliens. By Étienne Patte. Paris (Masson), 1955. Pp. 559. Price 5,000 francs

217 Here in the span of over 500 well printed pages, Professor Patte presents a detailed summary of Neandertal osteology. The author states in a short introduction 'Je n'ai pas voulu étudier un Néandertalien moyen; plus on étudie les Hommes, fossiles ou actuels, plus on s'aperçoit de l'irréalité des moyennes.' Thus it is that he has approached the subject in the classical manner taking as a *type* the famous skeleton of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, and then discussing the variation to be found amongst Neandertal Man as a group. This group he has defined in its more restricted sense, and he has mainly excluded consideration of the fossils from Steinheim and Palestine, though he does include those from Ehringsdorf. Professor Patte considers every part of the skeleton in turn, and almost every feature of interest on each bone: each page is packed with facts, measurements and references. Comparative material from modern man and other Hominoidea is included: sources are given throughout, and measurements quoted selectively.

The Neandertal sample is the largest of any group of fossil men, and it is a pity that in his avoidance of anything statistical, the author has not given any data on the sample size available for the study of any particular feature; while at the same time, as a result of his nineteenth-century approach, he has failed to give equal weight to the evidence from different fossils. Some things are noticeable by their absence—no doubt due to the need for economy (the price is very high already)—the book lacks an index and has only a few poor illustrations inconveniently placed at the back. But a bibliography of thirty pages makes up for a lot; and the detailed table of contents is a useful asset. Together, the textual descriptions and references will act as a complete guide to the osteology of the specialized European group of Neandertal Man and the various interpretations which have been placed upon it. This book, incidentally, does not contain any details of Neandertal dentition, which the author has covered in another paper ('Les Dents des Néandertaliens'), due shortly for publication in *Annales de Paléontologie*.

One point deserves mention. The author refers in the last section to the principles of Gerontomorphism and Pedomorphism, and writes 'Les Hormones ont pu jouer un grand rôle dans l'évolution, et en particulier, dans la formation du type Néandertalien.' He con-

tinues to review succinctly those characters of Neandertal Man which have been considered to fall under this heading. It must be pointed out here that hormones affect the rate and extent of ontogenetic development; they do not themselves control it. Their production and activity is of course genetically controlled. The point of interest in this connexion is that through the control of hormone activity, simple genetic modifications can evoke changes in the rate and extent of ontogenetic development to cause apparently complex phenotypic evolution.

A more valuable book might have resulted if the facts recorded had received a leavening of modern biological thought; but this scholarly compilation is by its factual content alone a most valuable addition to the literature of Neandertal Man. After 100 years, Professor Patte has summarized our knowledge of the species' osteology, and with this reference book in hand, the student of fossil man will be well equipped to assess the significance of related discoveries yet to be made.

BERNARD CAMPBELL

AFRICA

Chisungu: A Girl's Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. By Audrey I. Richards. London (Faber), 1956. Pp. 224. Price £2 2s.

218 Over a quarter of a century ago Dr. Richards had the good fortune to observe the dying *chisungu* ceremony at close quarters in a village and with participants she knew well. Previous studies, especially *Land, Labour and Diet*... and *Bemba Marriage and Modern Economic Conditions*, gave promise of the wealth of material here collected, and prepared the way for this analysis. An introductory chapter provides the cultural setting against which the ceremony is to be seen. There follows a day-by-day description of the ceremony. The next chapter opens with an account of current methods of interpreting ritual, and offers interpretations of *chisungu* in terms of most of them. An appendix gives the distribution of the ceremony and suggests that it is spread more widely than supposed. Another appendix lists the songs with translations and interpretations. The whole is well illustrated with photographs and line drawings of the *mbusa* emblems.

The expressed aim is to 'throw further light on the kinship structure and educational system of the Bemba and suggest hypotheses to be tested in the case of other puberty rites for girls... [and] add to the growing total of our ideas about the social function of ritual.' In the presentation of the descriptive material, it is rewarding to find the attitudes of onlookers and participants noted at every stage; and a clear distinction made between commonplace and authoritative native interpretations of the songs, rites, mimes and emblems.

The dedication of the book to the memory of Bronislaw Malinowski gives a clue to the general approach. Dr. Richards was struck by the multiplicity of ends the ceremony serves. One 'end' however she treats with caution: the cohesion of a particular group, pointing out that the assumption makes use of a circular argument. In listing the ends involved, she distinguishes between expressed purposes, primary and secondary; and purposes which the anthropologist deduces by indirect evidence. 'Functional' purposes are found by examining the relationship of the *chisungu* to other ways of enforcing sex, marriage and other tribal norms. The anthropologist can take note also of the pragmatic effects produced by the ceremony. But 'in a sense all the types of anthropological interpretations just listed can be described as pragmatic since they are based on the argument that people carry out religious rites because they fulfil some function for the individual, the society as a whole, or the groups of which it is composed; because, in short, they satisfy a need' (p. 120).

In this respect the author makes it plain that the ceremony, through its stress on the sex-fire-blood symbolic association, holds a key position among the ceremonial cycles of the Bemba, the other two being the economic rites and the rites of chieftainship. It is also an important mechanism in the maintenance of tribal values of all kinds, and this is seen in its non-assumption of motifs deriving from the modern situation of migrant labour which has such profound effects on marriage, a main focus of the *chisungu*. She draws attention convincingly to the relationship between the stress in the husband-wife tie in the ceremony, and the precarious nature of the marriage bond in a society where the husband lives as a stranger with affines away from the matrilineage in which he has property and other interests.

The main theme, which is well presented, is the many-faceted nature of ritual; the many possible modes of interpretation have, it is claimed, all got their place in a study of this kind. But the final

appeal to regard ritual not only as a means of creating or representing group ties, but also as a mode of satisfying individual emotional and intellectual needs, is a return to an older type of functionalism. The author might have brought this line forward by treating the abundant data on the symbolism of songs, objects and colours as systematically as she has treated the ritual representation of tribal values.

I. CUNNISON

Medicine and Magic of the Mashona. By Michael Gelfand. Cape Town (Juta), 1956. Pp. 266. Price £1 5s.

219 Fifteen years of medical work dealing with the Shona gave Dr. Gelfand the background for this book. Its main concern is with his professional counterparts in Shona society. But he begins with accounts of the spirits in Shonaland—tribal and family *mhondoro*, ancestral spirits, alien spirits, aggrieved spirits—and the various kinds of witches and sorcerers; for it is these that are held mainly responsible for disease. This early part is adequate in terms of the rest of the book, but is confusing because of the way in which material is presented, by sporadic examples from various parts of the country. This comment applies to the second half as well—the whole is of more value to ethnographers than to social anthropologists. The author's query about the spirits of unmarried persons (p. 42) is answered surely in Holleman's *Accommodation of the Spirit amongst some North-eastern Shona tribes* at pp. 27f. The writer in the second part of the book considers doctors and diviners, their equipment, their divining apparatus and their medicines. The most valuable part is probably the full account of the treatment given for different diseases. A long medical vocabulary is included; I should like to know the significance of the apparently English derivation of *chibokisi*, *kabokisi* and *fureza* for chicken pox, small pox and 'flu. He shows convincingly that African doctors treat not diseases but symptoms, a novel and significant point. It is obvious that the material in this section has been collected with great patience and care. I should have liked to see an account of the extent to which the medicines used are effective. A general criticism is that throughout not enough distinction is made between what is believed to happen and what actually happens: e.g. on pp. 60f. the reader wonders whether the statement on witch recognition is the result of observation or of direct or indirect information. Apart from this, certain naiveties bring the reader up with a jolt—on the origin of totemism, or on the destruction of ancestral faith and the decline of good behaviour. But the book as a whole is a workmanlike job and a tribute to the doctor's relationship with his practice.

I. CUNNISON

Les Hommes de la Danse. Photographs by Michel Huet, preface by Keita Fodeba. Lausanne (Editions Clairefontaine), 1954. Pp. 134, illus. in colour and monochrome. Price 2,500 Fr. francs

220 This is one of the most evocative picture books on Negro Africa that I have come across. Here we have no album of inanimate masks posed against a studio background, or art photographs of 'Ève noire' in summery clothing. The book starts with pictures of the huts and the jungle of West Africa, and then, in the distance, the mysterious bulk of a Nalou 'buste de jeune fille' mask, clearly related to the great *nimba* masks of the Baga. The photographs range over the N'Zo and Nalou of French Guinea, the Dogon, Bobo, Coniagui, Bassari and Senufo of the French Sudan and the Ivory Coast, and the

Banda, Fali, Moussai, Sara and Dangaleat of the Cameroons and Ubangi-Shari-Chad areas. Various aspects of African dancing are evoked: its movement (Bobo, pp. 120f.); dignity (Dangaleat, pp. 88f.); virtuosity (Guéré acrobats, pp. 73f.); comedy (N'Zo stilt dancer, pp. 69-72); and grace (Ivory Coast, pp. 78f.). Strange masks and fantastic headdresses are illustrated, gaining in vividness from being photographed as worn, as part of the pattern of the dance and the life of the Negro. Colour plates give some idea of how colourful African tribal dance and costume can be (e.g.

pp. 30f.)—but unfortunately the quality of the reproduction does not inspire complete confidence. A running commentary to the photographs is provided, but this and the preface are mere accessories; it would have been more useful to provide captions to the photographs on the same pages, instead of on a folder at the end. I do not like the paper cover, which is plastic-surfaced and very prone to crack, peel or stick to the hands. Apart, however, from these few objections, I can heartily recommend this book; it is one of my favourites. M. A. BENNET-CLARK

AMERICA

Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied. By Oscar Lewis. Urbana (Univ. of Illinois P.), 1951. Pp. xxvii, 512. Price \$7.50

221

Robert Redfield went to Tepoztlán in 1926 and spent eight months there. He did not regard this as sufficient time for a field study but, unable to return, he nevertheless published a book on it a few years later. He divided its culture into the two elements of folk culture and the culture of the city. The work is, in effect, an essay upon the process of change 'whereby primitive man becomes civilized man, the rustic becomes the urbanite' (Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 14).

He was followed, 17 years later, by Oscar Lewis who arrived in the village 'to do a broad ethnographic and historical study of the social, economic, political and religious life of the community, with special emphasis upon an analysis of the changes which had occurred in the village since 1926' (p. xi). Lewis worked for a longer period and with a staff of student fieldworkers and the assistance of two agronomists, two doctors, two social workers and an artist. The book contains a quarter of a million words and an impressive quantity of statistical tables, charts, drawings and some excellent photographs.

The interest of a review, written six years after its publication when it is already numbered among the classics of Mexican anthropology, must surely lie in the opportunity which it presents to evaluate the methodological innovations of the last quarter of a century and the commentary which it provides on the conceptions which Redfield first began to formulate in *Tepoztlán*. However, it also raises the question of the subjective element in anthropological studies, for there is a wide measure of difference in the portraits which the two writers draw of life in this Mexican village.

The volume of data displayed is enormous and very detailed. It is given in straightforward language and comprehensible figures. Professor Lewis sets out in a masterly manner the agricultural economics and the ways of gaining and spending money. As far as diet, labour and prices are concerned it would be hard to give a more complete picture of any community. The historical comments are well documented, the illustrative data abundant and well presented. Many tests were given including a series of Rorschach Tests whose conclusions, written by persons unacquainted with the village, are formulated in terms which appear to me too vague to have much significance for anyone who has not read Professor Lewis's description of what he calls 'inter-personal relations,' and to be redundant to anyone who has. However it must be assumed that they helped him to understand his data. I would prefer, instead, a systematic analysis of the laws which govern such matters as the legal status of the head of a family and the rights of inheritance of widows and children, matters very relevant both to inter-personal relations and also to the stability of the system of land-ownership. For, though a few haphazard hints are thrown in here and there as to custom in regard to succession the reader is left to piece them together as best he may without the assistance of the index. There is scarcely any mention of the law, or the interpretation of it, in this book.

But Professor Lewis's rigorous concern with factual detail gives rise to two points of methodological importance. He is able to demonstrate effectively 'the discrepancy between actual and ideal roles (of husband and wife) in the organization of the family' (p. 320) and in the roles of the sexes outside the family (p. 420).

The perception of a level of reality distinct from that of ideal behaviour runs through the other aspects of the book; it is shown, for example, in the moral judgments regarding thieving or in the treatment of the old. And, though the theoretical implications of this are not discussed it nevertheless gives his fieldwork a value which less empirically orientated accounts do not have. If I have understood him rightly, he sees this discrepancy only as evidence of 'disorganization.'

Secondly, Lewis examines the assumptions made by Redfield's concept of the folk-urban dichotomy and brings useful precisions in distinguishing in historical perspective between the cultural traits associated with different elements of the community. He shows that the complexity of the culture which Redfield typified as 'folk' is greater than appears from the latter's account and that the process of change is not uniform and in one direction only. He seems to reject any general theory of cultural change and to prefer to examine each instance on the evidence—this is sound empiricism—but in the end he prefers to offer advice to administrators rather than to assault the problem which is Redfield's fundamental concern: the different natures of urban and rural society. His discussion of the origins of the culture of Tepoztlán would have been aided, moreover, by a greater knowledge of Catholicism in the Old World. This would have saved him from wondering whether (p. 366) the custom of confining the woman to the house after childbirth until her presentation in church 40 days later was a pre-Conquest Indian feature, and would have enabled him to perceive its ritual significance.

His criticism of Redfield is spoiled by the captious treatment of the latter's material and he also misrepresents him on several important points. Thus, for example (p. 430), he attributes to Redfield a theory of 'social class,' using a quotation from a context which shows clearly that Redfield's use of the word 'class' refers not to 'social class' but to the conceptual categories of 'tontos' and 'correctos,' categories which Lewis (who objects to Redfield's usage) prefers to call the 'less acculturated' and the 'more acculturated.' In fact, the subject of social class is marginal to Redfield's theme and his book nowhere discusses it. I regret that he did not do so, but that is a different matter. The incident serves to underline the difference in essential interest of the two authors.

There is also a difference in their feelings about their material and this forms the basis of one of Lewis's criticisms of the folk-urban dichotomy: 'Again and again in Redfield's writings there emerges the value judgment that folk societies are good and urban societies are bad' (p. 435). But Lewis does not rectify this by striving for a method of description which is free of value judgments. His sympathies go the other way: 'The brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work . . . makes him an individualist' (p. 296). By 'individualist' Lewis appears to mean someone who does not co-operate in ways that he thinks people ought to co-operate. The complaint echoes through the book. But what the objective, as opposed to the value, content of the term is remains obscure. The reader is surprised on p. 289 to learn that the Tepoztecs' 'individuality is either undeveloped or suppressed.'

Another example of the ambiguity inherent in the attempt to value the values of others can be found on p. 290: 'Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown: romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken.' Yet there is evidence of continual writing of love letters and serenading

and half the young couples elope in order to marry against their parents' wishes. How does Professor Lewis conceive romantic love?

Or again (p. 302): 'This attitude [fatalism, acceptance of things as they are] is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests.' Yet these are people whose history is full of rebellions, whose hero is the revolutionary Zapata and who, as on p. 117, take to violence to defend what they believe to be their communal rights. In this last instance Lewis concludes, 'these facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers.' I agree. It is very unco-operative to rebel.

'If the analogy with the natural sciences is to be taken seriously,' and Professor Lewis implies that it should be, 'we must develop methods of checking our observations and the validity of interpretation.' But interpretations can only be checked as valid when they are formulated in terms which are unequivocal and empirically verifiable. The sobering lesson of this book seems, then, that while the need for complete and detailed data has been recognized, and the methods of collecting it have been greatly expanded, the conceptual categories in which these data are analysed are no more objective than they were when Redfield first set out for Tepoztlán.

J. A. PITT-RIVERS

ASIA

Ch'eng-Tzū-Yai: The Black Pottery Culture Site at Lung Shan-Chen in Li-Ch'eng-Hsien, Shantung Province. Edited by Li Chi, Liang Ssu-yung and Tung Tso-pin, translated by Kenneth Starr. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London agents: O.U.P.), 1956. Pp. 232. Price £1 8s.

This is a translation of the full text of the excavation report published by the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica in 1934. It was intended as the first number of the series *Archæologia Sinica*, but proved to be the only report so published. The Japanese invasion stopped the Institute's fieldwork in 1936. Excavation began again in 1950 after the establishment under the present régime of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences. Liang Ssu-yung died in 1954, and the other two editors of this volume are now in Formosa.

The discovery of the Lungshan site, which proved to be of unprecedented importance for the neolithic period of China, is owed to Wu Chin-ting, a young archaeologist who later studied in London and produced an important book in English on the neolithic sites of North China. The importance of Ch'eng-Tzū-Yai was so apparent that Academia Sinica's work on the Shang Dynasty capital near An-Yang was interrupted for a season in order to divert resources thither. The result was the establishment of the criteria for a new culture: hard black burnished pottery of angular metallic forms; rampart fortifications; pisé building; storage pits; the larger domestic animals; and scapulimancy. This last, the storage pits, animals and pisé, are all leading features of the bronze-age civilization of the Shang at An-Yang, so that the great excitement of the excavators is understandable.

Since the excavation of Ch'eng-Tzū-Yai much has been discovered about the Shang bronze age and the distribution of the Black Pottery Culture in Central China, this culture intervening there between the painted-ware Yang-Shao neolithic and the Shang

levels. But no more can yet be said about a derivation of one from the other. Ch'eng-Tzū-Yai produced no metal artifacts. The origin of the advanced bronze of Shang and this culture's mysterious links with the Black Pottery tradition are still problems to be resolved.

For a time there was loose talk about black pottery, the colour and a certain hardness being apparently deemed sufficient for the identification of the Black Pottery Culture. This confusion may be attributed partly to the nature of the present report, where verbal description abounds, and insufficient thought is given to the reconstruction and analysis of the shapes of the coarser wares. It is now understood that the fine hard burnished black ware of characteristic shapes is to be taken as diagnostic, but we still must wait for a thorough review of the whole distribution of the culture, with its regional variants.

The chief defect of the report is the paucity of sections, plans and photographs. The trench method of excavation is badly represented in diagrams, and clearly is not adequate in a site which deserves exhaustive examination of a part, if not of the whole. That is undoubtedly what it will receive some day under the present authorities. But to carp at methodology is ungracious indeed when one considers the harassing circumstances of the time and the limitations of material and human resources. There is plenty left to dig.

The motive for the publication of this translation is possibly the very laudable one of making available an all but unobtainable book. There can hardly be another, since anyone prepared to read so detailed a report must be a specialist, who again could hardly be such unless he were able to read excavation reports in Chinese. The translation is accurate, the fruits of a hardly credible devotion to a necessarily dry and often unnecessarily verbose text.

WILLIAM WATSON

EUROPE

Documents in Mycenaean Greek: 300 Selected Tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenæ, with Introduction, Commentary and Vocabulary. By Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, with a foreword by Alan J. B. Wace. C.U.P., 1956. Price £4 4s.

The belated appearance of Evans's *Scripta Minoa II: The Linear B Inscriptions*, published posthumously by Sir John Myres in 1952 a full half-century after their discovery was welcomed by frustrated scholars who might have tackled their decipherment many years earlier. 'Thus,' say Ventris and Chadwick, 'two generations of scholars had been cheated of the opportunity to work constructively on the problem.' The same might still be said of the jealously guarded Hittite bilingual of Karatepe. Undeterred by Evans's unwillingness to publish, scholars like E. L. Bennett, Jr., worked on such scraps of Linear B as were available, and had already reached certain conclusions when *Scripta Minoa II* finally appeared. But Sir John Myres was sceptical. I quote from his letter to me bearing the

date 1 January, 1953: 'You have probably noted the views of Ventris about the Cretan script. He makes large assumptions, and takes a philologist's liberties with his transcriptions, but I understand that John Chadwick . . . inclines to agree with him, and that a manifesto is to appear in the J.H.S. [*Journal of the Hellenic Society*] for 1954.' For 1954 read 1953.

It is a pity that two scholars, 50 years apart in age, should have thus failed to agree on the crucial question of decipherment, with the result that the work of one is a corpus of Linear B inscriptions, the other a detailed account of their decipherment. Together, they would have made a standard work for all time, especially if the advice of Indo-European scholars had been called in to supply the much-needed corroboration from non-Greek sources. But the two works are monumental in their respective ways.

The present volume analyses the tablets discovered up to Easter, 1955, with a preamble on the early work of decipherment, and the dramatic emergence of Linear B as archaic Greek. Despite some

inevitable repetition the material is well analysed. The chronology and description of the Ideograms, the Eteocretan Syllabary (Linear A, mostly from Hagia Triada), and the Mycenaean Syllabary are accompanied by comparative tables which are very well executed (by Ventris, who was a skilled draughtsman), and the known phonetic values of Mycenaean are given. One wrong value mars this part of the work, viz. the failure to recognize 'pa' as *qa*, thus *qa-si-re-u* spells *gwasi-leus* 'Stadt-holder.' This error—*pa* for *qa*—is unfortunately reproduced in my article 'Mycenaean and Indo-European' (MAN, 1956, 26), in which I took Ventris's values on trust after only a few hours' acquaintance. In the same article the IE phonemes *j*, *l* and *r* went awry after proof-correction. As to Ventris's unknown value of sign 85, this is almost certainly to be read as *ksu*—(also *ksun*—=*suu*— in names).

The weakest part of the book is that headed Morphology (read Phonology), where Mycenaean phonemes are given their alleged Indo-European prototypes. Here the failure of the two authors to consult a wider circle of Indo-European scholars is very much in evidence. A review is no place for detail, but the character of the IE semivowels (*i*, *u*, *ɛ*, *o*) is quite misunderstood: *hātero*-, *worzei* and *api-go-to* (whatever it spells) do not contain IE semivowels. Doubtful reconstructions by continental scholars have at times been preferred to the concrete evidence of Mycenaean itself (hence the confused attitude to labials versus labio-velars), and the importance of the archaic spelling *U-ru-pi-ja* 'Olympia,' showing IE *u* plus *u*, has been misunderstood. Moreover sigma is not 'initial only in words of foreign origin.' Almost the very reverse is true. As to Mycenaean *te-o* 'god' and *do-e-ro* 'slave,' these spellings are worth more as evidence than all the speculations ever made about the origin of θεός and δούλος. The preposition *o-pi* 'at, near' illustrates the caution needed for interpreting ambiguous symbols. Despite the existence of Lat. *ob*, Osc. *opi* 'athwart,' etc., the Mycenaean word may well stand for **osphi* 'near,' seen as a negative in Gk. νόσφι 'far.' Mycenaean *qe-to* is not Gk. πῆθος (a cognate of old Norse *biða*) but may be for *quertos* 'pot,' from a root **qwer*—'finger, make.' Cf. Lat. *figlinum* 'pot' with the same semantic connexions. The etymological confusion here displayed is repeated in the Vocabulary.

The most disappointing aspects of the Mycenaean discovery are

the scantiness of the material (mostly inventories), the small amount of grammar it yields, and the ambiguity of the spelling. Thus *go-to* may spell *gwoito*-, *qwoito*-, *sqwoito*-, *qworto*- and other variations: *po-da* may represent *poda* or *sponda*. But the labio-velar character of *μωρφή*, *τροπή* and *ἄλφῆ* (cf. the name *A-ga-ro*—=presumably *Alphāstos*), once postulated on the basis of Lithuanian and other evidence, is now beyond reasonable doubt, and the *w* phoneme is everywhere explicit except initially before IE semivowels.

That Mycenaean mainlanders overran Crete, and not *vice versa*, is borne out by the new facts, but the Eteocretan inscriptions found in the smaller town sites still defy elucidation, though they can, for the most part, be mechanically transcribed with Mycenaean values. Whether, as I believe possible, Eteocretan will turn out to be Pelasgian, or an archaic form of Albanian, in view of the fact that the syllable values of some of the signs do actually spell the beginnings of Albanian words, is for the moment a speculative matter: the important thing is that the work of Ventris and his able ally Chadwick rests on virtual certainty, based as it is on internal statistical evidence alone. The fact that these two scholars did not even know what language they were looking for makes it a double triumph, and the tragic death of Ventris at the age of 34 is a real loss to Classical and Indo-European scholarship. The authors were right, even at this empirical stage, to bring out their work and thus satisfy the demand of linguists with an interim interpretation. More facts will doubtless emerge, but the foundations have been laid for an entirely new, fascinating and rewarding branch of linguistic study.

S. E. MANN

Note

The Hon. Editor of MAN, when visiting Sir John Myres at Oxford in 1952, consulted him (in an exceptional departure from normal editorial practice, due to the highly specialized subject) about possible reviewers for *Scripta Minoa II*. Sir John at once said that Michael Ventris was the one man who could do the material justice; it was quite clear that he regarded Ventris's work at that time as original and valuable. Mr. Ventris was asked to write the review, and it was published in MAN, 1952, 111.—ED.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Study of Race Relations. Cf. MAN, 1957, 146

224

SIR,—Mr. Richmond's summary article conveys the impression that 'Studies of Ethnic Relations in Britain' have as their chief task the investigation of 'ethnic prejudice.' He allocates nearly all his space to discussion of psychological phenomena and neglects the influence of objective factors in conditioning the situations in which these phenomena are manifested. Thus one searches in vain for any suggestion that colonialism has an influence upon relations between white and coloured people in Britain, or that economic competition plays a part worthy of consideration.

Even apart from this, people's behaviour towards members of other groups cannot be understood by reference to antipathetic sentiments alone. Many people in Britain feel that they are under an obligation to help and look after colonials; implicit in such an attitude is the view that the colonial as a ward or pupil occupies an inferior status and that it is not appropriate to behave towards him in the same way as towards a fellow Briton. The combination of antipathy, benevolence and patronage creates a pattern of behaviour explicable in terms not of hostility, but of the avoidance of coloured people in relationships that imply social equality.

Avoidance of coloured people may be seen as a consequence of the negative prestige connotations of colour in our society. Coloured people are identified with the lower classes. This hypothesis was first put forward by Dr. K. L. Little and has recently been elaborated by Dr. A. T. Carey in his book *Colonial Students*. When a landlady's rooms are of too poor a standard for the rents she asks, and white people will not take them, she may still be able to obtain coloured

lodgers. The difference between the market value and what the coloured man has to pay represents the 'colour tax'; it measures social disapproval in material terms. The 'colour-class-consciousness' theory is thus offered as an explanation of why Britons will go to a certain length to avoid association with coloured people unless they are of superior class status. When Mr. Richmond translates this theory into psychological terms and asserts that it is postulated 'as an explanation of the aversion to close association with Negroes' he reveals a serious misunderstanding of one of the most important 'theoretical orientations' in this field. It will also be noted that his argument immediately following this passage is self-contradictory.

The article opens with the statement that prejudice is a function of three variables. I take this to mean that as any of the variables increases so will prejudice increase, but an examination of the factors in question makes one wonder. The first variable is the existence of two or more distinguishable groups. Every sociological writer hitherto has regarded this as a condition for the generation of prejudice and as in no sense a cause. Does Mr. Richmond mean that the more groups there are, the more prejudice? or that the more distinguishable they are, the more prejudice? The second variable is the existence of false stereotyped ideas, but this is no more than another way of describing prejudice itself; prejudicial thinking is dependent on the use of stereotypes and the latter foster prejudice. Stereotypes cannot be an independent variable standing in functional relation to prejudice. The third variable, we are told, is the existence of insecurity and frustration. It may be agreed that a rise in unemployment is likely to lead to an increase in inter-

group hostility, but to translate 'unemployment' into 'insecurity' is to ignore the other elements involved in this and similar situations and to turn aside at the point where a sociological analysis begins.

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Joking Relationships in Central Africa. Cf. MAN, 1957, 140

225 SIR.—Professor Wilson's remarks on joking relationships between the Nyakyusa and certain other tribes may be supported by evidence from the Songea Ngoni of Southern Tanganyika. These Ngoni are quite clear that there was no *utani* with other tribes in pre-European days, for 'how could there be when we fought against all other tribes in war and knew no friendship with any of them? All we knew was war,' said one informant. *Utani* (Ngoni always use the Swahili words in this matter) has arisen concurrently with the rise of labour migration to the sisal and other employment regions of Tanganyika, and *watani* are all the members of those tribes for which the Ngoni have respect, either because of their fierceness and courage in earlier warlike days or because of some other prestige which the Ngoni feel worthy. Thus the Songea Ngoni recognize the Hehe, Bena and Nyakyusa as good, 'fair' fighters who were even able on occasion to inflict defeat on the Ngoni in particular campaigns. 'Unfair' fighters such as the Pogoro who favoured poison arrows from the depths of the thicket (see Moreau, 'The Joking Relationship (*utani*) in Tanganyika,' *Tanganyika N. & R.*, Vol. XII, 1941, pp. 1-10) were and are not awarded such prestige. In the second category are placed the Nyamwezi, and possibly the Sukuma, whom the Ngoni feel are numerous strong peoples who early established themselves as successful migrant labourers in the coastal areas where the first Ngoni met them. The Songea Ngoni were and remain contemptuous of the easily defeated peoples who comprised the remainder of the neighbouring and nearby tribes, e.g. the Kinga, Pangwa, Makua, Ngindo, Matengo, Mwera, et al.

Moreau's list of Ngoni *watani* ('Joking Relationships in Tanganyika,' *Africa*, Vol. XIV, 1944, pp. 386-400) is misleading because he failed to distinguish between the Songea Ngoni comprising two friendly chiefdoms formed by breakaways from the Mbelwa Ngoni shortly after the death of Zongendaba (see Gulliver, 'A History of the Songea Ngoni,' *Tanganyika N. & R.*, Vol. XLI, 1955, pp. 16-29) and other small and scattered groups of Ngoni and pseudo-Ngoni who live in Kahama and Mahenge Districts and here and there throughout the Southern Province of Tanganyika and the adjacent region of Portuguese East Africa. These other groups may well have *utani* with such tribes as, for example, the Makonde in the south, the Ha in the west and the Luguru in the east-centre. Certainly the Songea Ngoni do not and they see no reason why they should, of course, for either they do not know them or they look down on them.

The Ngoni explanation of the origin of *utani* is that when they began to go away to work in distant areas under strange conditions, they often found themselves in the midst of hundreds of alien Africans with only a few fellow tribesmen nearby to whom they could look for assistance, friendship and sympathy and whom they could respect. Consequently, members of the few tribes which commanded respect were regarded in a special way. The Ngoni felt, so they relate, that now that they were necessarily at peace with them they could at least trust and respect the Hehe or the Nyakyusa; indeed it was felt that they had the right to expect assistance from these erstwhile, commendable enemies who were kindred spirits. Conversely, an Ngoni, now prevented from molesting them, felt no kind of mutual sympathy with the formerly easily defeated, insignificant peoples.

Out of such feelings, here mentioned excessively briefly, arose *utani* or joking relationships which were moulded by the Ngoni on the lines of their own cross-cousin joking relationship, in the same way as Professor Wilson records in her letter (*loc. cit.*) for the Nyakyusa. Of course, not all Tanganyika tribes have the institution of cross-cousin joking relationships, but it would appear that some have a similar relationship with reference to other types of kinspeople. Residually, other tribes have no indigenous joking relationship to serve as a kind of model, and they seem to have merely

copied the useful customs of members of other tribes whom they have met in the employment regions. It is clear that the detailed operation of *utani* is not the same between all pairs of tribes, which is as may be expected. Today almost every tribe whose members go out to work in any number has *utani* connexions with at least one other tribe, although former military respect is not necessarily the basis in all cases. I personally know of no such tribe in the case where its territory is distant from the employment regions. By now the pattern of *utani* distribution seems to have crystallized; at least this is so for the Ngoni, so that new joking relationships with other tribes do not arise.

Arusha, Tanganyika

P. H. GULLIVER

Numbers in Africa. Cf. MAN, 1957, 141

226 SIR.—While unable to offer any interpretation of the numbers reported by Dr. Colson, I have found the same phenomenon—a series of children's numerals—on the very fringe of the Bantu area among the Kpe (also known as the Bakweri) on the slopes of the Cameroon Mountain.

The normal series of numbers is as follows (*ve* class, and orthography simplified):

<i>foko</i>	<i>vevake</i>	<i>veyao</i>	<i>venii</i>	<i>vetaa</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>motova</i>	<i>lisamba</i>	<i>wambi</i>	<i>liwua</i>	<i>liome</i>
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

All these are derived regularly from common Bantu forms. The following children's series also exists:

<i>foko</i>	<i>mbale</i>	<i>ngongo</i>	<i>tanda</i>	<i>kiele</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>milondo</i>	<i>feke</i>	<i>myumba</i>	<i>mbonde</i>	<i>tos</i>
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

The number (1) is the same in both series, and *mbale* is in some ways closer to the common Bantu for (2) than *-vake*. However, *mbale* also means 'truth' in the neighbouring Duala language, in which *kiele* (5) means 'tomorrow,' and *tanda* (4) 'mangrove.' *Myumba* could mean 'knockings,' *Mbonde* is a man's name, and *ngongo* is a kind of leaf. The others I cannot explain and if they have meanings they are likely to be equally arbitrary. *Tos* is almost certainly a nonsense word, as the final *s* without a following vowel is most uncharacteristic of the area.

After these numbers are ticked off on the fingers they are followed by *Na kee, na fimb' o wanga, foo!* (I cut it off and throw it in the bush, foo!) In this last respect there is a resemblance to another counting game on five fingers:

- (1) *Ono na' a nyinga nyinga, kolo.*
This shakes shakes, kolo.
- (2) *On' a sa nyinga nyinga, kolo.*
This doesn't shake shake, kolo.
- (3) *Ono gbata w' ekoko, kolo.*
This a long time on the branch, kolo.
(*gbata wo molana* means 'long-established wife'.)
- (4) *Ono Ngol' a Matanda, kolo.*
This is Ngolo son of Matanda, kolo.
- (5) *Ono na kee na fimb' o maliva.*
This I cut and throw in the water.

There are probably many unconnected systems of children's numeration, all over Africa and not only in the Bantu area. I found this series in Ibo country on the borders of the Oratta and Isuama tribes:

<i>mbubo</i>	<i>mbubo</i>	<i>kwelese</i>	<i>anata</i>	<i>ngara</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>mgba</i>	<i>caa-caa</i>	<i>ekete</i>	<i>ngara</i>	<i>udu</i>
(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)

From (3) to (10) all these words can be given meanings: 'nod,' 'beetle,' 'basket,' 'bamboo to stop hens flying,' 'the cry of the weaver bird,' 'round basket,' 'basket' (again), and 'water-pot,' but one is little the wiser. Like 'eeny, meeny, miny mo' and 'this little pig went to market' these counting games seem to be part of the universal arcana of childhood.

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(a)



(d)



(b)



(e)



(c)



(f)



ATTRITION OF THE TEETH AMONG TIBETANS

(a) Rinchen T'hargye of Nang-chen, Kham, aged 72 years; (b) and (c) plaster casts of his maxillaries, closed and shown separately, made at Kalimpong, 28 November, 1956. (d) Gonbo Dram-dii of Suruk, Kham, aged 65 years; (e) and (f) plaster casts of his maxillaries, closed and shown separately, made at Kalimpong, 1 February, 1957

ATTRITION OF THE TEETH AMONG TIBETANS*

by

H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK

The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, 1948-1954

227 During the course of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia (1948-54), from June, 1951, until February, 1955 (that is, overlapping its original length of time by about six weeks), I took anthropological measurements of 5000 Tibetan men and women at Kalimpong, District of Darjeeling, West Bengal, India. Kalimpong, which is situated 48 miles from the closest point of the Tibetan frontier and at the end of the trade road from Lhasa, is particularly well suited for the observation and study of Tibetans. The town itself has a resident population of about 3000, and besides these some 20,000 merchants, muleteers, pilgrims, beggars and noblemen from the central provinces of Ü and Tsang, and from the outlying provinces of Kham, Amdo, Hor, Tö and Lho-ka, come down through it every year.

Since 1951, the Government of India has made it compulsory for these Tibetans to seek permission to enter and to remain in the country, and for this they must register at the police station and obtain a residential permit, valid for six months, renewable, however, at the end of this period. Thanks to the kindness of the local Frontier Inspector of Police and Additional Registration Officer, and to the recommendations which the latter obtained concerning me from Dr. B. S. Guha, then Director of the Anthropological Survey of India and Tribal Adviser to the Government of India, I was allowed to work every day in the police station and to measure, anthropologically, those Tibetans who came through.

The work was done on behalf of the Medicinsk Anatomisk Institut of the University of Copenhagen. I had been supplied with the necessary instruments and with prepared forms in which the desired measurements were to be recorded, as well as a number of observations which I was requested to collect. Among these were the nature and appearance of teeth, with emphasis on the possibility of shovel-shaped incisors, mainly in the upper jaw. I was able to find a very great number of these, and it was in the course of this particular research that I was struck by the peculiar appearance of some of my specimens' front teeth.

I noticed that many, especially those from the Tsang province of Tibet, and to a lesser degree from Kham, presented a form of incisors and of canines which I could only describe at the time as 'molar-shaped.' When a man or a woman with teeth of this nature opened his or her mouth, one was struck by the flat, round appearance of the front teeth, which made them look like those of ruminants. I noted carefully on the forms at my disposal those who were thus endowed. I also, eventually, had some mouldings made of those subjects who were willing to submit themselves to having them taken (not an easy thing to persuade Tibetans to tolerate). It was only when I had shown the plaster casts made from these mouldings to the Institute

in Copenhagen that I heard that the real cause of this dental anomaly was attrition.

Encouraged by Professor P. O. Pedersen, whose work on the teeth of Greenlanders is well known (see bibliography), I am publishing below my observations on the attrition of Tibetan teeth, with photographs of some of the specimens which I was fortunate enough to be able to mould.

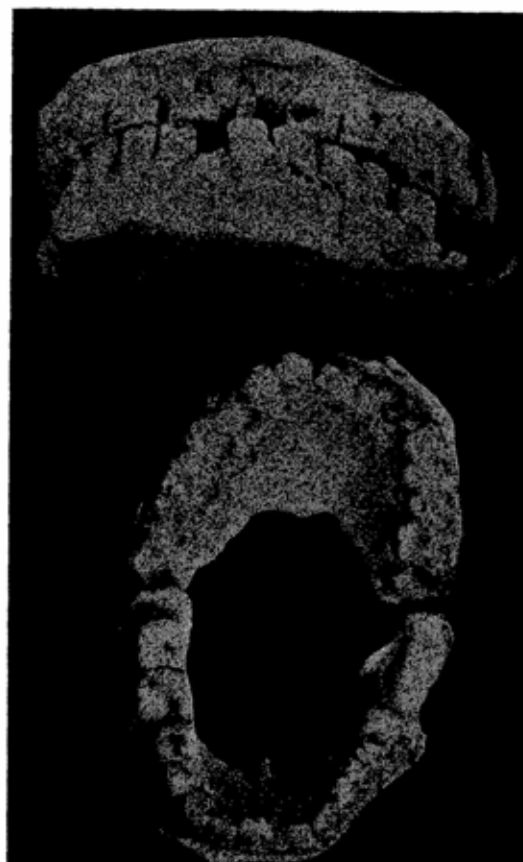


FIG. 1. PLASTER CAST OF THE MAXILLARIES OF PEMBA OF TASHILUMPO

(a) Closed, (b) shown separately. Casts made at Kalimpong, 12 February, 1957

Out of a total of 5000 Tibetans measured and observed, I found 357 cases of dental attrition. The proportion is thus of 7.14 per cent., out of a very mixed lot coming from every part of Tibet. On an average, there were about four men to one woman measured, there being far more caravaneers and merchants of the male sex than pilgrims, beggars and members of the nobility who were female. Out of this proportion, I noticed 328 men with dental attrition and 29 women. There was one child, a boy, below 12 years of age; all other persons recorded were over that

* With Plate Q and a text figure

age. The average age of those interviewed was 40, 51; the oldest, a woman, was 80 years old, and the youngest, a boy (the one under 12), was 7. His teeth, although unmistakably worn, were deciduous. His home town was Dam, just north of Lhasa. The old woman was from Yang-chen in Tsang.

From the results, I note that the numbers are distributed according to regions as follows:

Tsang	155	Kong-bo	3
Kham	83	Dam ³	1
Sakya ¹	28	Amdo	1
Tö	23	Lho-ka	1
Lhasa and U	22	Khampa-dzong ⁴	1
Chumbi valley (Tromo)	16	Nepal (Gurung) ⁵	1
P'hari-dzong ²	15	Sikkim ⁶	1
Hor	5		

(See notes at the end of the article.)

It may be of interest to note that the main centres from which those of Tsang and Kham came were the following:

Tsang: Shigatse 47, Gyantse 19, Lhatse-dzong 12, Je 11, Shang Namling 7, Dobtra 6, Ningri-dzong 5, Lha-dzong 5, Tsarong, Tsang 5, Tinggye-dzong 3, Panam-dzong 3, Tana 2, Huyuk 2, Nangkartse-dzong 2, Kala 2, Rong Kuling 2, and the remaining towns one each: Chega, Chupe, Tang Takpa, Tingri-dzong, Rhe-dzong, Pödong Yutok, Dongdo Gompa, Rong Ripung, Khana-dzong, Tashigang, Samada, Changö, Riwoche (Tsang), Yangchen, Nyashar, Tobgye, Nyiru, Namling-dzong, Gyankar, Chasong and Libu.

Kham: Gartok Markham 33, Tsarong, Kham 12, Chamdo 12, Goshö Markham 4, Derge 3, Gonjo 3, Pembo (near Chamdo) 2, Lho-dzong 2, Nang-chen 2, and the remaining towns one each: Pashö, Noyu, Jyekundo, Pangtsula, Chakalo, Litang, Gyat'hang, Rongbuk, Shopado and Bumda.

I now give three specimen cases by way of illustration:

1. Rinchen T'hargye (Plate Qa), aged 72 years, born at Nang-chen, Kham, in 1884, by profession a bard of the king Gesar of Ling (gLing) saga. Plate Q shows the plaster cast of his teeth, both closed (b) and with each maxillary separate (c). The two upper central incisors are missing, not because they have been knocked out for any reason but because he has accidentally lost them; caries accounts for the poor condition of the remaining teeth in the upper maxillary, and of the damaged molars in the lower. Note the marked labiodonty when the jaws are closed.

2. Gombo Dram-dü (Plate Qd), aged 65 years, born at Suruk, Kham, in 1892, by profession also a bard of the king Gesar of Ling saga. Plate Q shows the plaster cast of his teeth both closed (e) and with each maxillary separate (f). The man is seen wearing the traditional headdress of his profession. The two upper central incisors are missing here too, for the same reason as in the previous case; caries has also accounted for some missing teeth. Note the considerable attrition of the upper and lower canines, equal to that of the lower incisors. Marked labiodonty is also very apparent here.

3. Pemba, aged 65 years, born at Tashilumpo, Shigatse, Tsang, in 1892, by profession now a beggar since he was incapacitated in one leg, and before that a monk of the Panchen Lama's monastery at Tashilumpo. Fig. 1 shows the plaster cast of his teeth, both closed (a) and with each maxillary separate (b). Note the pronounced attrition of the incisors and canines and marked labiodonty. Missing teeth are to be accounted for by caries, although this man's dentition was in a better condition than those of the other two. No photograph could be obtained of him, as he refused to let me take his picture.

The moulds and plaster casts of these teeth were made for me by the local Chinese dentist of Kalimpong, Mr. Chou, to whom I am indebted, as I am to my Tibetan assistant, Kesang Tsewang, for persuading these Tibetans

to let me take imprints of their teeth. The plaster casts are at present with the Medicinsk Anatomisk Institut in Copenhagen.

What is the cause of this attrition of Tibetan teeth? Professor P. O. Pedersen, writing (1955) of the Greenlanders, among whom similar wear occurs, has suggested the dietary and chewing habits of the natives: chewing of hides, dried meat and fish, vigorous and prolonged mastication of tough foods, use of teeth for various types of work and bruxism occurring during kayak paddling. Something similar may be possible as an explanation of Tibetan attrition. Tibetan diet is fundamentally made up of *tsampa* (parched barley flour), *sha-kham* (dried yak meat and mutton), *chura* (dried cheese), supplemented with buttered tea, turnips and mineral salt. Of these foods, *tsampa* is produced by the grinding of the parched grains between large millstones and it is possible that a considerable amount of stone powder enters into the resultant flour. The dried meat is of a very tough nature, necessitating much mastication. *Chura* is particularly hard and a piece of it can be chewed for hours without it dissolving appreciably in the mouth. I have collected specimens of all these foods during my work in Kalimpong and they have been sent to the laboratory of the Institute in Copenhagen for analysis. We shall know more about them when this has been done.

Apart from the attrition described above, I noticed many other abnormalities in Tibetan dentition, such as extra teeth growing behind the others (in some cases a whole second row in the upper maxillary), the uneven wear of both incisors and canines, and the presence of enamel nodules in the centre of molars. On the whole, I was struck by the apparent resemblance between Tibetan teeth and those of the Greenlanders, as described in the publications listed below.

For this reason, it is, I think, worth while to put this material on record at once, as one of the objects of the taking of Tibetan measurements and observations by the Expedition was to obtain comparative data which might facilitate the better understanding of Eskimo migration and origin, and the affinity of the Greenlanders with other mongoloid races. Not being versed in dentistry, I give the facts simply as I observed them, and I hope that specialists will find them of interest.

I was very much impressed by the fact that the Tsang province of Tibet, and particularly its capital, Shigatse, furnished the greatest number of specimens presenting marked dental attrition. It should be noted also that those non-Tibetans who were in the same category, the Gurung from Nepal and the Sikkimese Bhotia, were culturally Tibetans, living in a Tibetan way and off a Tibetan diet. This diet, incidentally, as described above, is strictly that of Tsang and neighbouring regions such as Sakya, whereas in Kham, other foods of Chinese origin are added or replace it, the area being more prosperous and more under the influence of Chinese culture.

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Ethnic Odontography,' in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, Copenhagen (C. A. Reitzels Forlag, Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri), Vol. CXLII, No. 3 (1949).

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Notes

¹ From the area around Sakya monastery, which is wholly within the province of Tsang. As the chief of the Sakya monastery, the Sakya Pandita, once ruled Tibet on behalf of the Mongol emperor of China, Kublai Khan, and as the privilege of self-rule over his monastic possession has been retained by him since the advent of the Dalai Lamas, no subject of Sakya will admit that he is a resident

of Tsang, but will insist that he is a Sakya-pa. I have therefore classed these people separately. It is, actually, interesting to do so, because I found a relatively very high proportion of attrition among those coming from Sakya.

² Situated between Tsang and the autonomous Chumbi valley (Tromo), P'hari-dzong is administered directly from Lhasa and therefore is classed separately here.

³ North of Lhasa, dependent on the capital, but not within the province of Ü.

⁴ Khampa-dzong is also semi-autonomous and not part of Tsang, to which it is contiguous.

⁵ This Gurung, one of a number of them from Mane, Kasipokhra, Nepal, was completely Tibetanized in dress and custom and bi-lingual. He was a pilgrim to the Buddhist holy sites in India.

⁶ A Sikkimese Bhotia (Tibetan) from Chisong, Sikkim.

SOME PROBLEMS OF OBJECTIVITY IN ETHNOLOGY*

by

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228 The ethnologist who goes into the field to study an alien people undertakes to gain an insight into and to make intelligible to others an alien way of life. His first task as a field ethnologist is to gather data and interpret these in as valid and objective a manner as possible. He must not simply describe the ways in which this alien life is carried on, but he must also show how those who live this life explain and justify their actions, how they think and feel, and what meanings and values life has for them.

The ultimate purpose of his study may be to offer a valid picture of this culture at one period of time, or to describe its past history and how it has come to be what it is today. Or perhaps, he hopes to interpret some limited facet of the native life in a wide theoretical or historical context. In any case, he is faced with a double problem. The first is what data to select; the second is how to perceive or understand these details as significant aspects of an intelligible whole. However, no matter how great the mass of data which he may have collected from an active or flourishing culture, that which he has seen and heard, participated in or shared, recorded and remembered can be only a limited sample drawn from a large, complex whole. That sample has, of course, been consciously and unconsciously selected, and the ethnologist cannot escape the bias caused by such selection.

This selection has been due to many factors: the accidents of his sojourn in the field, his theoretical and methodological orientation as a scientist, and his own personality as an individual.

No matter how skilled in pursuing his field researches, or how generously received by his native hosts, many of the events that determine what raw data he can collect lie outside the ethnologist's control. Another equally competent ethnologist in his place, or the same ethnologist at a

different time, would inevitably have observed or learned something different and would therefore have made a somewhat different selection of raw data. Thus, complete objectivity, even on a simple descriptive level, is impossible.

The ethnologist can never overcome the limitations of his data, but he can minimize the inherent dangers. How he does this and the extent to which he is successful depend upon the techniques and methods which he employs in the field and also upon his theoretical orientations. The last, of course, not only define for him the nature of ethnology and its problems, but guide him in recognizing data as potentially significant, and thus determine how he collects and interprets these.

I should like, therefore, to discuss some aspects of theory and method as they affect the problems of validity and objectivity in ethnological work.

The wider and more catholic the theoretical frames of reference used by the ethnologist, the greater the range of his own interests and of his appreciation of the interests of his colleagues, the broader will be his own insights, and the better will he be equipped to place his data and interpretations in a wider, and therefore in a truer perspective.

The ethnologist, of course, never transcends completely the limitations of his day and age, that is, of the current preoccupations or theoretical orientations of his science. He can, however, avoid the worst pitfalls of adherence to a school, of following blindly the teachings of a master, of fancying that certain problems are already solved or others unworthy of study. He can avoid, too, exclusive preoccupation with current ethnological fads, or with limited techniques, problems, or methods of interpretation.

In this, his most important guide is, I believe, a holistic concept of culture. There are no ultimate 'legitimate isolates' for the study or understanding of culture, whether these be defined as single cultures of one place or time, or as so-called 'functioning institutions.' The significant interconnexions run from feature to feature in a people's life,

* A paper read to the V International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 3 September, 1956

linking the past with the present, and the ways of one group with those of their neighbours. There are no absolute boundaries in either space or time. Although we have to focus our attention on some salient feature or features at any given moment to achieve intelligibility, we must remember that in so doing we are perceiving only one aspect of a greater reality, that has spatial and temporal extensions and vital depths beyond our immediate range of vision. What we now perceive becomes, in fact, significant only in so far as we are aware that it is an aspect of such a totality, perceived in a particular perspective.

That total reality, itself, may never be wholly perceived or completely delineated. It is multi-dimensional, characterized by patternings and configurations at various levels, but never completely determined by such patterns. Even in a language, perhaps the most rigorously patterned aspect of human culture, there are always irregular forms, uniquely twisted idioms and modes of utterance, that lie beyond or outside the regularities of the formally structured morphology and phonology. It is the employment of these, as well as of the regular forms, that gives life and stylistic vigour to speech and that brings about unconscious changes. So too, culture is never in complete equilibrium nor completely consistent. The culture of any people contains elements of idiomatic uniqueness that cannot be reduced to general principles, and that certainly cannot be explained in terms of pseudo-biological 'functionalism.'

'Survival' from the past or diffusion from outside may be insufficient explanations for such anomalous features. Obviously some are due to new fads, or are deviations restricted to certain individuals or small sub-groups. Others seem to be wanton or playful embroideries in areas where there are no strong compulsive cultural patterns, or they may even be escapes from or challenges to such imperatives. However, the dynamics of cultural processes, of change, stability, regularity and deviation, cannot be adequately understood without reference to a temporal dimension. The ethnological present, when treated as if there were no past, is an arbitrary and artificially selected world, and therefore lacks objectivity.

We need, therefore, a sense of the past to explain the present, and an awareness of present cultural forms as shifting patterns, built upon the old but moving towards something new. We should not reject attempts to reconstruct that cultural past simply because the reconstruction, no matter how full the documentation, is bound to be more or less hypothetical. American ethnologists usually cannot escape being partly ethno-historians and archaeologists, for the living Indians whom we study today are the descendants of those whose archaeological remains are scattered over our land, and our history on this continent is interwoven with theirs. In many ways, they are also our cultural ancestors,¹ as are the peoples whom we left behind on the other side of the Atlantic. Archaeology, therefore, is not for us as divorced from ethnology as it must be for scholars whose archaeology deals with their Roman, or Celtic, or Stone Age ancestors, but whose ethnological work must be pursued in far distant lands with an alien past.

Ethnology owes to archaeology a very real debt of two kinds: first, in giving us a clearer sense of cultural depth in time, and second, in preserving a sense of the importance of cultural detail for its own sake. For the archaeologist knows, perhaps more clearly than his ethnological colleague, that he cannot afford to neglect any cultural detail. It is this last which I feel has been in danger of being slighted by some ethnologists, and I would like to say a few words about it, because it has a bearing upon problems of objectivity and validity in ethnological work.

Of late years, it has become the fashion among some ethnologists in America to condemn the old-fashioned ethnology of the past generation. Whatever the shortcomings of the so-called 'classic monograph' in which they presented their work, this was an honest effort to record all the details of the culture of a given people, before native life was destroyed and forgotten. And the goal was an objective and comprehensive view of a whole culture.

Contemporary criticisms of these efforts have probably been due to the rise of new interests and problems. Some of these have dealt with cultural configurations, that is, with the patterns of values, attitudes, and ways of thought, both consciously and unconsciously held by a people, which give their culture a peculiarly characteristic stamp or unique quality. These configurations not only formulate the goals for a people, but determine how these should be pursued, and they also determine what aspirations of individuals may be fulfilled or thwarted. Obviously these larger and deeper configurations, that characterize the ethos of a culture, represent the fundamental strands of the cultural fabric. They are dynamic forces, not confined to any of the traditionally recognized aspects, such as social organization, economics, or religion, nor are they given full expression in any one major institution. For this reason, the data in the older ethnological monographs often have had to be reorganized, reinterpreted, or supplemented with new material to exhibit these psychological dimensions of culture.

Other new interests have centred on problems concerning the relationships of personality to culture, especially on how culturally conditioned experiences mould the growing individual, on how he in turn fulfils himself through his cultural heritage or is warped by it, or what psychological adjustments and maladjustments accompany cultural change. Obviously, these studies required new sorts of data, gathered and interpreted in new ways.

While these new developments have brought fresh vitality and understanding to ethnology as a whole, for some ethnologists they have unfortunately not meant the adding of new techniques and insights to enrich the old, but the substitution of specific new aims at the expense of the old. Paradoxically, preoccupation with configurations, integrated patterns, styles and themes in culture and in individual personality has too often led to a lack of interest in cultural content. Instead of the patient exploration of all aspects of a culture, to salvage and treasure cultural details, which was the method of the old ethnology, some have relied upon brilliant intuition alone to cut through the

tedious routine of scholarship, or have sketched major configurations by presenting certain striking features, sometimes even tending to ignore that which did not fit or which seemed irrelevant.

However, the ethnologist who goes into the field pre-occupied with any specialized problem runs the great danger of deciding in advance what sorts of data are likely to be relevant, and of selecting certain lines of investigation and ignoring others. Yet he cannot foresee what he will find or what will be of value to him and to his colleagues. What may appear to him as a most unlikely field of inquiry, for example the techniques of basket-making, may uncover, from the remarks and attitudes of his informants, such important understandings as how children are expected to behave, or how the native conceives the relation of man to the rest of nature.

Culture, which is human life, is not lived in the compartmentalized units which we, as ethnologists, employ for analysing it—preferably *after* we have learned as much about it as we can. Let me repeat what I have said on another occasion: the problem-oriented ethnologist is too often like the old-fashioned tomb-robber or pot-hunter, digging only for what he considers worth taking, ignoring and spoiling what might actually be of greater scientific value.

Valid, sound conclusions are possible only to the ethnologist who conscientiously devotes himself to all the minutiae of culture, patiently and without prejudiced preconceptions, investigating, recording and analysing all that he can, because every bit is significant for itself and for an understanding of a totality which is beyond the power of any single individual to grasp. It is from such work that the solutions to his special problems can more objectively be drawn. Moreover, such an ethnologist always gives us more than he realizes, for though his data are never complete, his records will contain information the full significance of which he failed to see, but which can be reassessed and reinterpreted by others.

If I have seemed to undervalue brilliant intuition and insight, I do not wish to do so. They are of supreme importance, for without them the ethnographical record remains dead and lifeless. In receiving such life, the work of the ethnologist will reflect something of the writer's own personality, as well as of the personality or style of the culture he describes. Obviously there can be no complete objectivity here. To think that it can be achieved is to fool one's self, and to attempt to achieve it is to destroy a greater truth.

To make an alien way of life intelligible to others requires that the ethnologist himself must gain a sympathetic insight into the thoughts and feelings of the people whom he studies. He must do this through a partial and vicarious identification with his subjects. He cannot remain an outside observer or a hidden watcher, and if he could, would see only the overt and the obvious. He cannot 'go native' and become a complete participant, because he is an alien and an ethnologist. He must try rather to take account of the disturbance his presence creates and utilize this to make his observations richer and more valuable. To do this, he must create his role as

ethnologist—the friendly, interested, patient and sympathetic student of his native teachers—for he can play no other role. He must make his aims intelligible to the natives in order to mobilize their interest and sympathy in his endeavours, so that they can play their roles as informants. There must be a mutual trust and confidence, and a sense of sharing something of value, for ethnologist and informants are collaborating in a common, creative enterprise. How he achieves this, and with which persons he works and in what ways, will depend upon the ethnologist's own personality, upon those of his native associates, and upon how the situations in which they find themselves are culturally defined. These personalities and their interplay are inevitable factors in the field situation. The ethnologist is never a blank sheet of paper or an unexposed photographic plate, ready to make an 'accurate' or objective copy of native life.

In final analysis, the work of the ethnologist cannot be based exclusively upon scientific techniques and methodology, but demands the creative intuition of the artist, if it is to give the deepest insights. As a human document, written by one person about other persons, it inevitably betrays the subjective stamp of the writer's own humanity. And indeed in this lies its value. In essence, it is the picture drawn by one careful and sensitive person of a whole cultural universe, based upon the observed actions and reactions of certain individuals who live within that universe. He cannot encompass it all within his canvas. Although another ethnologist would have painted a slightly different picture, his remains valid in so far as it suggests another perspective from which that world might also have been viewed.

It must also be remembered that the individuals who live within that world vary among themselves, just as do ethnologists. The world for the Indian 'Two Crows' is a somewhat different world from that of 'Hungry Bear,' even though both are Omaha. Or shall we say that it is really the same world, though seen and experienced differently by these two Indians? That which 'Hungry Bear' can assert as an eternal verity or prizes as of great value, 'Two Crows' with equal honesty can deny.² The ethnologist must deal with these contradictions, for the disagreements between 'Hungry Bear' and 'Two Crows,' as much as their unanimities, form the very stuff that is living culture. Somehow they have to be shown as facets of a complex whole that permits such diversities.

Ethnologist Smith may find the viewpoint of 'Hungry Bear' and his tribesmen of like mind more intelligible than that of 'Two Crows,' while the latter may seem to ethnologist Jones to have the deeper understanding. It is inevitable that Smith and Jones, being who and what they are, should be somewhat influenced in their interpretations by the informants with whom they feel the closest personal affinity and trust. As neither 'Hungry Bear' nor 'Two Crows' can be judged as simply right or as simply wrong when they disagree, so neither can the somewhat differently tinged reports of Smith and Jones. If they accurately reflect the world of 'Hungry Bear,' or of 'Two Crows,' their pictures are true and valid.

But the ethnologist cannot hope to be objective by ignoring the discrepancies and contradictions present in his human data. If he omits these, reporting only the agreements and the norms, he is drawing only the outlines of a world of shadows, in which lives the synthetic 'average Omaha Indian,' a figment of the ethnologist's own imagination.

Notes

¹ See A. Irving Hallowell, 'The Impact of the American Indian on American Culture,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LIX (1957), pp. 201-17.

² See the brilliant discussion by Edward Sapir of the statement 'Two Crows denies this,' referring to J. O. Dorsey's *Omaha Sociology*, in 'Why Cultural Anthropology needs the Psychiatrist,' *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*, edited by David G. Mandelbaum, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 569-577.

SHORTER NOTE

The Decipherment of the Minoan Linear Script B and the Problem of the Linear Script A. By W. C. Brice, M.A., University of Manchester

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In his review of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick (*MAN*, 1957, 223), Mr. S. E. Mann states that the work of decipherment described therein 'rests on virtual certainty, based as it is on internal statistical evidence alone.' This may be so, but it is not apparent from a study of the two published accounts of the process of decipherment, the book mentioned above, and the article 'Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives' (*J. Hell. S.*, Vol. LXXIII (1953), p. 84). This decipherment is now being used for work on the Linear Script A as well as the Linear Script B, and it would seem therefore the more important that both its basis and the limits within which it can be safely applied should be clearly understood. The following questions are posed in the hope that they may contribute towards this end.

It is disappointing that the account in *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* of how the decipherment was achieved is very brief, and gives considerably less detail than the article of 1953. As is well known, the technique used was to draw up a basic grid and enter in it the syllabic signs in such a way as to show those which had in common a vowel (in the vertical register) or a consonant (horizontally). But only the article gives the evidence on which the signs were entered in the grid. Kindred syllabic signs can reasonably be recognized where they occur as suffixes and can be interpreted as inflectional; but neither the article nor the book explains the grounds on which alternative signs in initial or medial positions can be assumed to have a common consonant or vowel. Nor is it clear why so much faith can be placed in 'alternative spellings' when scribal errors are frequently assumed in similar contexts elsewhere.

It is important to know next exactly how the consonant and vowel values were allotted to the several columns of the grid. But the two accounts of this process are very cursory and in some degree discrepant. In 1953 it was said that the recognition from their contexts of certain genitives and participles and of particular words and phrases (πάρηρ, μάρηρ, τοσσαί(δε), τοσσαί(δε) and others) was the first step, and that the five Cretan town names and corresponding ethnics confirmed these identifications. From the account of 1956, however, it appears that immediately after the vowels *a*, *e*, *i* and *o* and the consonants *j* and *l/r* were entered in the grid margins, largely from the evidence of inflections, the Cretan town names and ethnics were recognized, and that the further consonants thus revealed were confirmed by the reading of archaic declensions and of various vocabulary words, notably several names of trades.

In whatever way syllabic values were allocated to the signs, it is clear that the grid underwent considerable modification in the course of this procedure. A comparison of figures 3 and 4 of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, giving the state of the grid before and after the vowel and consonant values were entered, shows

that of 59 signs placed on the final pattern only 30 occupied the same position on the earlier plan; 17 changed position, and 12 were entered after being previously unplaced. It would appear that the process of giving the grid its final appearance involved a degree of experiment, the details of which the reader is left to infer.

For instance, the sign now read as *qi* was not entered in the grid in its earlier state. This sign occurs in the opening word of each of the tablets in the 'chariot series' from Knossos (Nos. 265-74), *i-qi-ja* (sometimes 'dual,' *i-qi-jo*), which is linked with ἵππειος ('horse- [sc. vehicle]'), and interpreted as the Mycenaean name for a chariot. The only other of the obelized words (that is, words which can be related in structure and meaning to known Greek forms) in the whole vocabulary which contains the element *qi* is *qi-si-pe-e* (*xiphee*, 'two swords,' from ξίφος); but this is on a tablet which was not discovered until after the decipherment was made. The conclusion must be that the sign concerned was allotted the value *qi* to suit the initial word of the tablets in the 'chariot series.'

There would, of course, be less need for concern about the means by which the decipherment was reached if it produced a convincing quantity of acceptable readings. But the volume of confirmatory evidence is not overwhelming, and only 252 words worthy of an obelos have been recognized on the whole 3500 tablets which are known. Of the 300 tablets chosen for interpretation, many are very short and fragmentary, and 22 include only proper names and ideograms. Moreover, in several series, and notably in the Pylos 'land-ownership' sets, the general syntax of the text is clear and its form is very repetitive, so that the interpretation of the whole follows automatically from the reading of a few standard formulae.

Another feature of the interpretation of the selected tablets is that the translations are not always consistent with respect to the conventions which can in some instances be reasonably assumed to govern the order of words on the tablet. It seems, for example, strange that a preposition (*pa-ro*) and a place name (*ma-ro-pi*) should occupy such similar positions at the beginning of phrases in the Pylos 'sheep and goat inventories,' Nos. 61 and 62. Again, the word *i-qi-ja/jo*, already noticed as the opening word in a series of 'chariot' tablets, is in each case written in signs larger than those of the remaining words of the tablet, and is interpreted reasonably enough as the name of the object described. In fact, a large proportion of the tablets from Knossos rubricate the initial word, which might therefore be expected always to have a similar significance. If *i-qi-ja* means 'chariot,' then *a-mo-to* and *e-ri-ka*, which head some 'wheel' tablets, should in each case mean 'wheel'; but the first is explained as either a past participle ('well fitted') or as an ancestral form of ἄρματα ('chariot'), and the second as an adjective ('of willow wood'). Elsewhere in *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* these rubricated words (Myres's 'principals') are variously interpreted not only as commodity names and adjectives, but also as place names (as on No. 95),

total formulae (No. 212), personal names (No. 158) and ethnics (No. 99).

But the most debatable question which emerges from the translations concerns the extreme flexibility of the code, as defined by the rules of spelling. Under this system, for example, *pe-mo* might express (as assumed) σπέμα, but also βήμα, πήμα or φέμα. The latitude implicit in the spelling rules themselves becomes even wider when they can be relaxed to allow metathesis (as with *re-wo-te-re-jo* = *lewotreios* from λωερά), when dialectal forms are allowed, or when scribal errors are assumed, as they are in 33 instances in the vocabulary.

Mr. Mann refers to the ambiguity of the spelling as one of 'the most disappointing aspects of the Mycenaean discovery.' But there is another permissible point of view from which to see this feature of the decipherment, and the possibility must be faced that even if the projected syllabic values were to a large extent in error, such a set of rules might admit of so wide a range of possible readings that there would be a fair chance of finding for any word a plausible meaning to fit its assumed context.

Unfortunately, a system which is so pliable is very difficult to assess, and until more is known of how it was arrived at, it must be judged primarily by the tablets discovered since its earliest publication. But first a brief consideration may be given to the 'semi-bilingual' nature of the script, as it has come to be called, whereby the scribe is supposed frequently to have both drawn a pictogram and written alongside it the corresponding noun. This characteristic of the book-keeping seems to be accepted as almost axiomatic; but such an extraordinary duplication of effort surely calls for careful verification.

In this respect the Knossos tablet No. 232 (*Scripta Minoa II*, No. 875) is of help, though its significance is not fully described in either of the two published accounts of the decipherment. In this tablet, each of the six lines opens with a different word, this being followed by a phrase which is in every case the same, except in the last line, where a drawing of a goblet takes the place of the two-sign word transliterated as *di-pa* in each of the first five lines. The reason for this substitution would seem to be economy of space, for some sort of colophon is crowded on to the end of the last line. It would appear, therefore, that the word read as *di-pa* is a noun meaning a goblet.

Now in the Pylos 'vessel inventory' No. 236, the word *di-pa* (-e) is written five times alongside the drawing of a goblet. This would seem strong evidence in favour of recognizing the 'semi-bilingual' principle, and it is confirmed by a study of the occurrences of the word read as *ta-ra-nu* (-we) and the 'footstool' ideogram in the 'furniture inventories' of the *Ta* series from Pylos (Nos. 242-6).

But on the Pylos 'vessel inventory' No. 236, the word which,

on the 'semi-bilingual' principle, is the noun describing the drawings of tripod vessels is transliterated *ti-ri-po* (-de), and the newly discovered half of the Knossos 'horse inventory' No. 84 gives two words corresponding to equine heads which are read as *i-go* and *o-no*. Both these inscriptions, having been discovered subsequently to the first publication of the decipherment, are clear of any suspicion of having contributed thereto, and it would appear impossible that coincidence could account for the conformity of these three readings to their corresponding pictograms.

Unfortunately, with a key of such elasticity and such a scanty corpus of material on which to work, it is highly difficult to speak with certainty. It is not easy, therefore, to understand Mr. Mann's regret that *Scripta Minoa II* and *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* were not published as a single work. The one is a definitive publication of documents which will be a permanent work of reference, however ideas concerning the script may change: the other is a brilliant essay in interpretation, produced with scrupulous care, which, however, by its own admission leaves many questions unanswered, and by its very nature is sure to need modification in course of time.

The hazards which attach to the use of this decipherment are illustrated by recent attempts to apply it to the Linear Script A, which, as is well known, has many signs in common with the Linear Script B. It is now generally assumed that each of these scripts was used to write a different language, but tentative theories about the affinities of the language of the Script A, based on the application to it of the Script B decipherment, mention Greek, Lycian, early Asianic tongues, pre-hellenic languages of Crete, and North-West Semitic dialects. Clearly, the procedure of applying the decipherment to the Script A, which begs the questions both of the reliability of the syllabic values proposed for the Script B, and of their applicability to the Script A, is fraught with grave difficulties. Ventris, to whom I owe an immense debt of gratitude for his help in editing the definitive publication of the documents in the Linear Script A, which was left by Myres as part of the projected *Scripta Minoa III*, told me that his own attempts to read the Script A with the aid of the Script B decipherment had produced no results of any recognizable value.

It is suggested that the problem of the Linear Script A may be best approached by a methodical analysis of the arrangement of the signs, without concern for any possible syllabic values. Such an analysis might throw light on the structure of the language involved, and on its degree of similarity to that of the Script B; and more particularly on the question of whether the numerous prefixes and suffixes have a grammatical significance or are capable of some other explanation.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization. Edited by Gustave E. von Grunebaum. Chicago (U. of Chicago P.) (U.K. agents, O.U.P.), 1957. Pp. 385. Price £2 5s.

This book is the work of a conference which included some of the most distinguished of Western Islamists. Their concern was to enquire into the question, based on a theme of Professor Redfield's, of 'the relation between "universal" and "provincial" civilization' in the Muslim world. The book includes studies of a historical nature and some accounts of modern developments in Muslim societies. Professors Duchesne-Guillemin, von Grunebaum, Meier and Brunschwig discuss the general problem;

Professors Schacht, Gabrieli and Cahen and Dr. R. Ettinghausen discuss the law, literature, political theory and art; Professors Spuler and Minorsky write of Persia and Professors Abel, le Tourneau, Anderson, Drewes and Lewis write of Spain, North Africa, Tropical Africa, Indonesia and Turkey; and Professor Caskel brings the work to a close with an account of Westernization.

The range of the subject in geographical area, size of population and historical depth is immense and the difficulty confronting such a conference is the greater in that relatively little has been done in the way of research into the social history and social anthropology of the countries concerned. As Professor Brunschwig says, in many

respects our Islamic studies lag behind other fields of knowledge and 'the gap is greatest where research breaks away from the pure history of events to try to get some solid information about the fundamental realities of living.' Taking this into account, most of the individual contributions are of the high standard of scholarship which might have been expected of the authorities concerned. The central question of unity and variety, universal and provincial, has not, however, proved sufficiently tractable to direct this co-operative work to any ordered conclusions. The terms of reference are too vague. Professor von Grunbaum, in setting the problem which is before the conference, says that culture may 'with more than one grain of salt' be described 'as a "closed" system of questions and answers concerning the universe and man's behavior in it which has been accepted as authoritative by a human society. A scale of values decides the relative position and importance of the individual "questions and answers."' Thus he would give to culture the definition which would at one time have been given to religion, and he goes on to use such phrases as 'the . . . civilization by which people actually live.' Had these statements been made simply of Islam as a religion, it would at least have been assumed that people do not invariably live according to the theory of their 'answers,' but it is more difficult to conceive of people's acting against their culture, failing through human weakness to 'live by' their civilization. Such a use of language opens the way to the confusion of theory with practice and to the slightly more subtle danger to which Professor Minorsky draws attention, that of assuming that theory must be the cause of practice. It brings us no closer to the 'fundamental realities of living.'

Not all of the papers are closely relevant to anthropological studies. Professor Brunschwig gives a perceptive account of considerations which should be borne in mind whilst embarking on research into culture and of some lines of enquiry which might be followed. Professor Schacht's paper on the law shows how the law was able to develop according to circumstances in spite of the logical appearance of rigidity of the revelation. Of the area studies the best are probably Professor Lewis's account of Turkey and Professor Drewes's *Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism*, the latter of which provides a most interesting account of Islam as manifested in a Far Eastern society, very different from that of the countries where it first spread and developed. PETER LIENHARDT

De Oudste Mensheid in Europa en Indonesië. By J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan. *The Hague (Servire)*, [1957]. Pp. 168. Price 8.90 florins

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Professor Kleiweg de Zwaan gives us here two separate essays, on evidence for the earliest men of Europe and Indonesia. The essays are general surveys for the benefit of the thoughtful non-specialist. The Heidelberg jaw and the Neandertal type occupy most of the first essay and the author seems to favour the view that Steinheim, Swanscombe and Fontéchevade represent an early stock from which both Neandertal man and *Homo sapiens* diverged, the former with absolute extinction at the end of the mid-Pleistocene. One wishes that the author had included the Mount Carmel skulls in his review. The survey of the men of the Upper Palaeolithic and of early Indonesia makes one feel increasingly that a new approach may become possible when we know more about the genes involved in the determination of anatomical features now inevitably rather crudely studied by measurement. The essays are the products of long experience and moderate scientific conservatism with good judgment gently expressed. They help readers to orient themselves to most of the main facts about early man in these two regions. There is a short reference to discoveries in Africa. H. J. FLEURE

Zur Frage der anthropologischen Beziehungen zwischen der mittleren Donaubecken und Mittelasiens. By P. Liptak. *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. V, Part 3, Budapest, 1955

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Inner Asia shows a fairly long-headed population in parts of Afghanistan and the Himalaya. In the Pamirs brachycephaly is very pronounced, and in the Altai Sayan region there is indication of

mixture due to oriental, Mongol influence. In Hungary, the Avars appear to have had more influence on the physique of the people than their Hun forerunners, and there is reason to think that in successive waves of conquest along the steppe from the southern Urals to the Hungarian lowland via Carpathian passes both Pamirian and Altai elements have played their part. H. J. FLEURE

Culture, Language and Personality. By Edward Sapir. *Selected Essays* edited by David G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of Calif. P.) (U.K. agents, C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. ix, 207. Price 13s. 6d.

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These essays are not easy to read. Their style is wordy, and the sentences are often long and involved. In an essay on personality, for example, one sentence begins: 'The term may be used in a descriptive psychophysical sense as referring to the human being conceived as a given totality, at any one time, of physiological and psychological reaction systems' (p. 164). Sapir's views, even when stated more clearly, are not always easy to assent to. Discussing religion he says: 'So far as the normal individual is concerned, a belief in the reality of molecules or atoms is of exactly the same nature as a belief in God or immortality' (p. 125). I have yet to hear, however, of anyone who attends a weekly ceremony to testify to his belief in atoms. Later he says: 'The profound commonplace that all culture starts from the needs of a common humanity is believed in by all anthropologists, but it is not demonstrated by their writings' (p. 204). His profound commonplace is an obvious fallacy; if it were true all cultures, so far as climate permitted, would be exactly the same. Sapir has more valuable things to say than these, but one feels that the essays do not do justice to one who must have been a man of considerable parts. RAGLAN

Progress in the Age of Reason. By R. V. Sampson. London (Heinemann), 1956. Pp. 259. Price £1 1s.

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In the Middle Ages, the author tells us, 'the fate that had overtaken Adam for his daring to taste of the tree of knowledge suggested that the attempt to pry into nature's secrets was liable to forfeit the protection of the Deity' (p. 17). It was Bacon's attack on those who held this view that initiated the age of science. The author deals at length with the theories of those who followed Bacon, from Descartes to Marx, in so far as they are concerned with the idea of progress and the attempt to establish a philosophy of history. He shows that with the exception of Hume they all tended to substitute an ideal for an actual history, and also, while believing that progress was desirable and inevitable, to suppose that pristine man had been in some ways better and better off than the men of their day. Even Rousseau, it seems, when he wrote that 'man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains' was uncertain whether the chains which bind civilized man are those of slavery or of moral obligation (p. 79). We may observe in modern anthropology tendencies to regard cultural advance as a theoretical rather than an actual process, and to suppose that civilized man is in some sense degenerate in that his institutions, unlike those of the savage, are not perfectly adapted to his needs.

The author's learning is wide and deep and his extracts from and comments on sources are often interesting and valuable. He has not, however, marshalled his material in such a way as to make his book very easy reading, and he has a tendency to lapse into long sentences punctuated by inappropriate commas. To exorcise a scapegoat (p. 10) sounds a difficult feat. RAGLAN

The Proper Study of Mankind. Revised Ed. By Stuart Chase. London (Phoenix House), 1957. Pp. xii, 327. Price £1 5s.

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The first edition of this book appeared in 1950, and was reviewed by Sir John Myres (MAN, 1950, 202). This new edition, we are told, contains about a third of new matter based on the results of more recent researches, but there seems to have been little alteration in its general outline. That the Atlantic is still a cultural gulf is attested by the fact that of nearly 200 works cited only about a dozen are by British authors, and of these only two were published in this country. RAGLAN

The Biological Basis of Human Freedom. By T. Dobzhansky. New York (Columbia U.P.) (London, O.U.P.), 1956. Pp. 139. Price 18s. 6d.

236 This book consists of the Page-Barbour Lectures for 1954 at the University of Virginia. It is a well written account of

what is now known of genetics, and tells the reader how far individual characteristics can be regarded as due to heredity and how far to training. It can be recommended to those who know little or nothing of the subject.

RAGLAN

EUROPE

Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain. Edited by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1956. Pp. xxiv, 310. Price £2 2s.

237 This collection of 11 accounts of recent excavations in Great Britain, together with a chapter on post-war air reconnaissance, is intended for the interested amateur, the men—and women and children—with slight knowledge and great keenness, who make exploratory archaeology possible in these days of dear and scanty labour. It reflects very vividly the changes in approach and in method which have been taking place among both professional archaeologists and their lay assistants. Less than a century ago a characteristic work addressed to a similar audience would have been Llewellyn Jewitt's *Grave Mounds and their Contents*: the antiquary was more interested in the dead than in the living. Today, no fewer than six of the excavations related here are concerned with settlements of a domestic character; only one is concerned with a burial—and that the spectacular ship grave at Sutton Hoo; while one deals exclusively with a religious site and two with fortifications.

The first question the layman asks is usually 'How do you know where to dig?' These accounts therefore stress the circumstances which brought the archaeologist to the site, whether the accidents of agriculture (as at Snettisham) and building operations (as at Mawgan Porth) or whether rather as a result of a calculated programme of research and the framing of specific questions to which that particular site had the answers, as at Star Carr and Wharram Percy. Then great emphasis is laid on the actual methods of a modern excavation, so that sometimes the reader is taken down almost layer by layer, and may relive the excitements and uncertainties of discovery. This has the greater value in that many of these sites will become classics of excavation technique; Star Carr, for instance, for the recovery of water-logged organic materials; London for work on heavily overbuilt urban sites; the Carrawburgh Mithraeum for the disentangling of the complex history of a single building.

The illustrations are a particular feature of the book. The amateur is rightly credited with the ability to digest plans and sections culled straight from the excavation reports. In addition, his imagination is fed more richly with reconstruction drawings from the pen of Alan Sorrell. These, in all their vitality and accuracy, are no less valuable for the excavator than for the reader, for they impose on him the discipline of seeing his site not as it is today—so many heaps of stone or smudges in the sand—but as once it was lived in by human beings.

Finally one may commend these brief but detailed accounts to the professional who, tied by necessity to a narrow period of study, yet wishes to learn of recent work in fields outside his own. That, indeed, is the final measure of the authoritative character of the reports here offered to the general reader. **LESLIE ALCOCK**

The Ghetto. By Louis Wirth. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents, C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. xi, 298. Price 10s. 6d.

238 A new book on the Jews with no mention of Hitler or Palestine would be something of a curiosity, but this is actually the fourth impression, unaltered, of a book first published in 1928.

It gives a general survey of the origin and history of the ghettos of Europe, particularly that at Frankfurt on the Main, and then turns to America. It describes how the Jews lived there during the years before about 1880, when they were not in great numbers, and how nearly two-and-a-half million, mostly from Russia, crossed the Atlantic in the next half century. These formed ghettos, in many ways like the European ghettos, in the great cities of the U.S.A. There was this difference, however, that they could move out, and those who made money soon began to move into the suburbs. They were followed by others, till Jewish suburbs were

formed from which the first comers again moved out. This outward movement has been to some extent balanced by an inward movement of Jews who, cold-shouldered by the Gentiles, have again sought the society of their co-religionists. The absorption of the Jews into the general population is proceeding fairly rapidly, especially since the falling off in the immigration of orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe. Few Jews have joined the regular Christian bodies, but many have become Christian Scientists or Unitarians.

RAGLAN

Märchen und Wirklichkeit. By L. Röhrich. Wiesbaden (Steiner), 1956. Pp. 260

239 This folkloristic investigation has two great merits. Dr. Röhrich does not claim a more realistic background for *Märchen* than he can prove, and the balance of the various aspects has been established with great care, whether he discusses the tales of primitive or European peoples, magical practices or traditional customs, the influence of place and time or the social setting. His wise restraint from tackling too many problems at once is richly rewarded in the most prolific chapter on traditional customs (pp. 92ff.), in which he merely deals with engagement and wedding customs.

The study of *Märchen* demands a profound understanding of the story-tellers as well as the listeners. The author is fit for both these tasks. Noteworthy are his references to the farmers' reluctance towards *Märchen*; the avoidance of the term *Märchen* in those communities which still believe in them and their insistence on a literal 'truthful' rendering (pp. 129-130).

Rather amusing is the experiment which was recently carried out in the lowest form of a German girls' school, also attended by the daughters of French officials and officers. The story of Red Riding Hood was read, discussed and then illustrated. The pictures exposed even more national differences of approach than the most experienced folklorist would have thought possible (p. 145).

ELLEN ETTLINGER

Die Volkskunde der Altbayrischen Gnadenstätten. By R. Kriss. Munich (Fischer), 1953. 3 vols.; pp. 295, 339, 375, 189 text figs., 5 maps. **Volkskunde Europas: Vol. I, Eisenopfer.** By R. Kriss. Munich (Bayerische Landesstelle für Volkskunde), 1957. Pp. 75, 31 plates, 2 maps

Some 25 years ago, the author's first book on Bavarian pilgrimages was published. Since then, largely owing to his relentless efforts, it has been realized how greatly the study of pilgrims' beliefs and customs benefits our understanding of, e.g. vows, offerings and healing practices.

In the first two volumes of this considerably enlarged edition, Professor Kriss describes little-known and well-known Bavarian places of pilgrimage (Griessau near Regensburg has been omitted). In the third volume he discusses the ideas underlying pilgrimages past and present, the cult of trees and wells, aetiological legends, records of miracles, and the different types of votive offerings. In view of the general interest in these subjects I regret the poor printing of the text which will impede perusal by foreign readers.

All the more welcome is the exemplary production of the catalogue of iron votive offerings in Professor Kriss's collection, now on loan at the Bavarian National Museum. A short introduction takes us across Central Europe from Belgium to Yugoslavia and back to the twelfth-century Bavarians who settled north-east of Verona. The combined study of the geographical distribution, the historical records and above all the techniques of the smiths elucidated an aspect of folk art which until now seemed destined to remain forever in obscurity.

ELLEN ETTLINGER

OCEANIA

Records of the American-Australian Expedition to Arnhem Land: Vol. I, Art, Myth and Symbolism. By Charles P. Mountford. Melbourne (Melbourne U.P.) (U.K. agents, C.U.P.), 1956. Pp. xxx, 513, 157 illus., 68 figs. Price £6 6s.

Mr. Mountford is well known in Australia as a writer and lecturer on the Australian aborigines. He has given professional anthropologists an object lesson in public relations, and has shown that there is a public ready and waiting for non-technical, serious anthropology which the professional fails to provide. Mr. Mountford's work, seen from this angle, is positive and valuable.

The present work, however, backed by the Australian Government and the American National Geographic Society, is presented as a major scientific contribution. Its scientific value is, in fact, extremely meagre. It contains two sets of useful materials: abundant reproductions of aboriginal paintings, and a collection of associated myths. But since the book is an old-fashioned 'ethnological' collection of 'facts,' with no explicit theoretical analysis whatsoever, it can only be of very limited value to the social anthropologist, the artist, the student of folklore or the comparative ethnologist.

It seems to me, too, that the whole purpose of the expedition (17 people from many different disciplines for nine months) was quite misconceived. It appears to have 'just grown.' If there was any particular point in studying Arnhem Land, I suppose it was the presence of the aborigines that was decisive. But the expedition contained no professional social anthropologist. And if 'cross-disciplinary' research was the idea, where is it?

These larger questions aside, one cannot gain much from reading myths baldly recounted from pidgin English 'translations,' with no systematic relationship to the social structure; where the social structure is not described, and what attempts are made are often wrong; where the 'texts' are nonsense language in a hit-and-miss orthography, etc. Nor is there any attempt to evaluate the paintings as aesthetic productions.

Some of the facts presented here are useful: I myself have found here myths which I did not obtain on Groote Eylandt. But in general the book must stand as a monumental demonstration of the truth that Professor Fortes has emphasized: it is no longer possible for the amateur to make a serious contribution to anthropology. The errors, major and minor, are so numerous that it would take a book of comparable size to correct them. One trained field worker stationed at one spot for nine months would have produced incomparably more valuable work. And how seriously aboriginal studies need just this!

PETER M. WORSLEY

Die Grundlagen der Klanbildung. By Erhard Schlesier. Göttingen (Musterschmidt), 1956. Pp. 134, diagrams, map. Price D.M. 12.80

This book consists of two parts. The first is 'Bases and process of an endogenous transition from the matri-clan to the patri-clan, brought to light by a new (functional-historical) technique of ethnological reconstruction'; the second: 'Dislocalization and formation of clans.'

The redoubtable title of Part I makes one fear some nebulous world-encompassing theory, based on much speculation and little fact. To one's relief this section turns out to be a lucid and factual account of the internal stresses to which a number of matrilineal societies in Melanesia are subjected. The author rejects the idea that matrilineality necessarily must precede patrilineality; but a matrilineal society, which is also matrilocality, is open to 'endogenous' change, due to the fact that the men, in spite of being the sex which possesses the leadership in political life and ritual, are the ones who have to live as lodgers in a strange community. A second factor which makes for internal instability in matrilineal society is the conflict between 'paternal love and avuncular duty' in matters of inheritance. Forceful personalities in such cultures will manage to go against the rule as to locality and inheritance; and a change in these respects will gradually lead to a modification of the descent rules themselves.

Part II, also using Melanesian material, traces the course of what the author considers to be a most important occurrence which

can be observed or inferred in Melanesia: the progressive loosening of the ties connecting a clan with a certain locality, 'dislocalization' of the clan. Clans were originally local. Various factors, such as exogamy, degeneration of clan myths and clan cults, lack of harmony between the rules of locality and of descent, lead to this 'dislocalization,' of which six stages are recognized. It has certain specific results: in the first place, decay of the unity of the clan and of unilineal descent rules, and a greater importance of the conjugal family.

Schlesier is certainly justified in pointing to 'dislocalization' and the decay of matrilineality as important tendencies operating in the cultures with which he is mainly concerned, and elsewhere; but his emphatic claims to have developed a 'new technique' in anthropology seem somewhat exaggerated. Nor, surely, is it true that the two subjects he discusses have been 'completely ignored' (p. 8), or their importance 'not yet recognized' (p. 7). For a discussion on a theoretical level of 'dislocalization,' for example, I need only mention Titiev's article on 'The influence of common residence on the unilateral classification of kindred' (*Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 511ff.); and the break-down of the matrilineal code is quite a hoary subject.

What the value may be of Schlesier's theories on the history of clan organization depends on what exactly the author claims as the scope of his theory, and this is not quite clear. A universal history of unilineal kin groups, supposing that it could ever be possible to write one, would obviously have to take many more factors into account, would have to consider many more devious developments than these few simple ones, and would, to mention a detail, have to be more precise in the use of the term 'clan.' The decay of matrilineality and the loosening of local ties are certainly factors which one may encounter anywhere. As a pointer to the importance of these factors in Oceania, this book is certainly a success. From a less specialistic point of view, the book's main interest lies in its being an attempt by a German anthropologist to combine the historical preoccupation of the *Kulturhistorische* school, so long dominant in his country, with a more functionalistic outlook (p. 11).

P. E. DE JOSSELINE DE JONG

Hébridais: Répertoire bio-bibliographique des Nouvelles-Hébrides. By Patrick O'Reilly. Publ. de la Soc. des Océanistes, No. 6. Paris (Musée de l'Homme), 1957. Pp. viii, 290, illus.

This *Who's Who* of the New Hebrides covers notable personalities past and present, European and indigenous. It is similar in format to Father O'Reilly's *Calédoniens*, reviewed in MAN, 1954, 38, and like it is a useful reference book. There is one surprising omission: John Layard.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Un Siècle et Demi de Contacts culturels à Tanna, Nouvelles-Hébrides. By Jean Guiart. Publs. de la Société des Océanistes, No. 5. Paris (Musée de l'Homme), 1956. Pp. x, 426

M. Guiart has added a further important contribution to his numerous studies of the societies of the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. In this lengthy discussion he has attempted, on the whole successfully, to describe the revitalization movements of Tanna in relation to traditional culture and European influences. This is the most detailed and circumstantial account of a Melanesian cargo cult that has yet been published. In order to elaborate on his central theme, M. Guiart had to carry out two subsidiary yet invaluable tasks. Hitherto, the only systematic account of Tanna culture has been that of C. B. Humphreys. This was obviously sketchy and imperfect, and M. Guiart has demonstrated without doubt that on many points it was quite misleading. His first task was to rewrite the ethnography, and this he has done with particular emphasis on ritual, mythology and political organization, showing incidentally the tenacity of values in the face of heavy disturbance. His second task has been to step into the historian's shoes to elaborate on the nature of relations between Europeans and the people of Tanna over the past century and a half. Most such accounts have been

generalized and a little stuffy. M. Guiart's documentation is vivid; it pulls no punches, yet carries conviction; and above all it gives reality to the contention that relations between Europeans who claim authority are of major significance as a determinant of cultural change.

But there are weaknesses. Apart from one small point, M. Guiart has (perhaps with little choice) turned his back on abstract concepts and theoretical elucidation. With this in itself there can be little quarrel; but one cannot help feeling that his treatment of authority and prestige would have been more effective if he had put Humphreys and New Caledonia out of his mind and had thought in terms of the analyses which Hogbin has made for Malaita and

Oliver for the Siuai. Social structure appears to be based on exogamous minor patrilineages, with cross-cousin marriage, grouped together into endogamous local units; but the discussion is confused because of the author's impression that these are unique and that clans are absent. M. Guiart's dislike of the early neurotic phase of missionary enterprise is understandable; but one would have liked a weightier account of Mission policy today to redress the balance.

These are minor blemishes, which cannot affect the interest the book is bound to arouse. I hope that the unnecessary inclusion of 141 pages of 'sociological inventory' does not put the price beyond the means of readers.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW

CORRESPONDENCE

The Study of Race Relations. Cf. MAN, 1957, 146, 224

245 SIR,—I welcome the opportunity to clear up any ambiguities that may be observed in the summary of my paper, 'Theoretical Orientation in the Study of Ethnic Group Relations in Britain,' the published version of which had to be reduced to one-quarter the length of the original. I shall endeavour to take each of Dr. Banton's points in turn.

1. I have devoted nearly half the space to a discussion of institutional factors in a sociological frame of reference together with questions of social adjustment.

2. I omitted my references to the role of colonialism from the summary because this subject was also dealt with by Dr. Freedman in his introduction. In any case my terms of reference included Jews and other minority groups as well as coloured colonials in Britain.

3. On page 122, col. 2, lines 6-10 I have stated explicitly what I believe to be the part played by economic factors.

4. I did not use the term 'hostility' and I think that most people would regard 'avoidance of coloured people in relationships that imply social equality' as a manifestation of prejudice.

5. It is not I but the authors themselves who have presented the 'colour-class consciousness' theory in psychological terms. However, Dr. Banton introduces a qualification into the theory when he suggests that people in Britain 'will go to a certain length to avoid association with coloured people unless they are of superior class status.' This is nowhere stated by either Little or Carey, and is in fact contrary to the evidence which these writers offer from their field studies of students and others. The deference sometimes accorded to visiting African Chiefs and Indian Maharajahs does not constitute an exception because they seek no place in the traditional system of social stratification in Britain. Nor does my assertion that coloured persons bearing the symbols of higher social status find it easier to gain acceptance constitute a 'self-contradiction' because they almost invariably meet with the same resistance as other coloured people when it comes to the kind of relationship about which people in this country are most sensitive, viz. becoming part of the household or family, or entering into other intense primary group relations. Coloured people are not 'identified with the lower classes,' as Dr. Banton suggests. They are simply regarded as 'not belonging,' and it is the ambiguity of their status which arouses resistance to their assimilation.

6. Dr. Banton has misinterpreted my use of the term 'function' in this context. Substituting the term 'social phenomenon' for the mathematical term 'quantity' I mean by a functional relationship one in which a social phenomenon 'is so connected with another that no change can be made in the one without producing a change in the other.' The relationship between the variables in this case is a qualitative rather than a quantitative one. Dr. Banton is on dangerous ground methodologically speaking, when he introduces the term 'cause' into a sociological argument. I would prefer to use the formulation 'necessary conditions of existence,' in which case the apparent difference between my position and that of Dr. Banton on this point disappears.

7. Dr. Banton suggests that 'false stereotyped ideas' are another way of describing prejudice but this is not so. Ethnic prejudice may depend upon the existence of stereotypes but stereotypes can exist without prejudice. We all have our stereotyped ideas of the mem-

bers of other professions, as well as nationalities and races, without necessarily being prejudiced either for or against them.

8. Although the insecurity generated by unemployment appeared to be most important in the enquiry reported in the *Sociological Review* in 1950, I have at no time suggested that unemployment was the only factor of importance in the situation or the only source of insecurity.

ANTHONY H. RICHMOND
Department of Social Study, University of Edinburgh

Joking Relationships in Central Africa. Cf. MAN, 1957, 140

246 SIR,—Professor Wilson's comments on the historical recentness of inter-tribal joking relationships induce me to add some comments on the Luvale and allied peoples. In *African Studies*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1955), p. 102, I pointed out that the Luvale largely lack joking relationships of any of the types commonly found in Central Africa. Familiarity of address is found between persons who call each other *musonyi* (cross cousin) or *nyali* (brother or sister in law); it is also permitted between grandchild and grandparent (*muzukulu* and *kaka*) in the patrilineal line or on the mother's side outside a man's own matrilineage, as e.g. mother's mother's husband. A man's matrilineal grandparents may indulge in familiarity with their grandchildren but such familiarity on the part of the grandchildren to their matrilineally linked grandparent is improper.

There is no formalized inter-clan joking relationship among the Luvale such as has been described for paired clans among the Bemba or Ambo. Nor have the Luvale any joking relationship with adjacent tribes such as Luchazi, Mbunda, Lunda or Chokwe. Relationships between these tribes were by no means peaceful in the past. It is common to find the Luvale referring to the Mbunda as their old enemies, and the Luvale raided the Lunda to a considerable extent during the last century. These hostile relations, however, were never wars for survival nor did they take the form of rivalry between equals; they were raids for plunder, especially for slaves. The war between the Luvale and Lunda at the end of the last century has often been magnified into a major affair, especially as the Lunda called upon the Lozi for help, but it certainly did not leave any joking relation behind as an aftermath.

Today the Kaonde sometimes indulge in urban areas in joking relations with the Luvale, and the latter claim that this is copied from the joking relationships which they have seen in urban areas between e.g. Ngoni and Bemba. They point out that in the past there was little or no contact between Luvale and Kaonde except when the Luvale occasionally raided as far east as the Kaonde for slaves.

These points agree closely with the argument advanced by Professor Wilson, and serve to show that cases exist where such inter-tribal joking relationships have not yet developed.

Secretariat, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia

C. M. N. WHITE

'De Kunst van Nieuw Guinea.' Cf. MAN, 1957, 178

247 SIR,—Dr. Needham's review of my *De Kunst van Nieuw Guinea* shows that writing a fair review is sometimes beyond the power of otherwise capable scholars.

Dr. Needham fails to indicate that my book is popular in character; it is intended for the layman and for scholars whose

knowledge lies in other fields. The facts that it is written in Dutch for the Dutch public and that most of the examples are taken from the collections of the Leiden Museum explain the emphasis on the stylistic areas of western New Guinea. It is regrettable that the reviewer did not note that this ground is not covered in Linton and Wingert's *Arts of the South Seas*.

It is because of its popular character that the book is without exact references to the literature of which I made use. This would have been a grave omission had the work been written for scientific use by anthropologists. That I realize the importance of references would have been clear to Dr. Needham if he had looked at my paper on the ceremonial clubs of the Marind Anim (MAN, 1952, 139). Here, writing for a scientific public, I analysed certain art forms of the Marind Anim in relation to the social functions of the objects giving expression to them. Finally I suggested a possible derivation of the figure in the openwork blade of a ceremonial club (*hayam*) from an anthropomorphic three-dimensional figure (*ahat dema*). This hypothesis, however, is not mentioned in my book, where the significance of the ornamentation of *hayam* blades is described merely as 'not clear' (p. 107). This should be sufficient for the layman or non-specialist scholarly reader, who could be confused by unproved hypotheses.

This explains why other aspects mentioned by Dr. Needham have not been dealt with: for example the interpretation of the prominent Sepik nose. Such a treatment would involve a number of hypotheses. One—the possible relation of the beak-like nose to the belief in a soul-bird—was mentioned by the reviewer. But such a discussion could not omit reference to Speiser's theory of the derivation of the nose from the trunk of the Indian Ganesha, and consequently I would have had to discuss and criticize the methods of the *kulturhistorische* school, which would have been far beyond the scope of the book. To summarize, I deliberately kept within the bounds set by the type of public at which I aimed.

Dr. Needham seems to suggest that I am not interested in questions of the type he mentions. The contrary is true. To discuss one of the points he raises: it seems to me that to describe Leach's discussion of the Trobriand shields (MAN, 1954, 158) as elucidating the aesthetic mechanics of an art form necessarily implies a purely aesthetic and highly personal approach which, from a scientific viewpoint, is hazardous.

To the criticism of the illustrations of my book my answer is that out of 16 reviews not one has commented unfavourably on the work of C. Zwanenburg and J. van der Post, responsible respectively for the photographs and the drawings. For readers of MAN who may have no opportunity to form a personal judgment may I quote Mr. H. D. Gunn, reviewing my book in the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. LVIII, Part 4, p. 767), who describes the photographs as 'very fine' and expresses the view that these and the 'characterful drawings' constitute a 'very solid virtue of this book.'

At the end of his review Dr. Needham expresses the hope that 'an ethnographer from the newly investigated highlands will bring us some true insight into New Guinea art.' As I am very interested in this subject I hope so too. I also hope that Dr. Needham has remembered that the highland area as a whole is very poor in material culture and that art is almost entirely lacking, and that he realizes that though an ethnographer may provide valuable information on the art of a particular area he will almost certainly fail to deal satisfactorily with more general problems of primitive art unless he has specialized in this field.

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

S. KOOIJMAN

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SIR,—Since I do not read Dutch it may seem presumptuous of me to comment on Dr. Needham's review of Dr. Kooijman's *De Kunst van Nieuw Guinea* (MAN, 1957, 178). However, I have been able to make some use of this book, and I believe that some at least of Dr. Needham's criticisms are unjustified because they are based on a misconception. He seems to overlook the fact that it is cheap, popular (in no pejorative sense) and in Dutch—in other words, that it is written for a public very different from that which reads MAN, and one to which English is a foreign language. This shows itself in his comment on the omission of 'Partington & Heape' from the bibliography. Edge-

Partington & Heape's *Pacific Album* was issued in four volumes between 1890 and 1898, in a limited edition of 150 copies (175 of the last volume). Sets now fetch £50 or more. It would seem rather pointless to recommend it in a work of this type. Similarly Dr. Leach's discussion of the Trobriand shield, interesting though it is to the specialist, would surely be indigestible fare for readers unfamiliar with New Guinea art; its evaluation requires an anthropologist's knowledge of the literature. The same misconception seems to be at the basis of Dr. Needham's criticism of the illustrations. Certainly I have seen more artistic ones in more expensive books, but these seem to me clear, well chosen and good value for the reasonable price of 8.90 guilders.

British Museum, London, W.C.1

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

'Esquisse d'une ethnographie navale des peuples annamites.'

Cf. MAN, 1957, 176

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SIR,—In my recent review of the second edition of Paris's valuable *Esquisse d'une ethnographie navale des peuples annamites* I criticized the quality of the plates, suggesting that the old blocks had been re-used. I was then under the mistaken impression that the first edition was not available in the Institute. I have now compared the two editions and I realize that owing to the efforts of Dr. Nooteboom and his assistants the plates of the second edition are considerably clearer and often larger than those of the first. I am glad to make amends for this injustice.

British Museum, London, W.C.1

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Rock Gongs and Rock Slides. Cf. MAN, 1956, 23, 73; 1957,

32-34, 96, 142, 182

250

SIR,—It may interest Mr. Greenaway to learn that Pembrey 'sliding' on Good Friday is still a long way from degenerating 'into a mere children's game.' Only a month ago I met one who as a young man—not a child—had, with many others, practised the 'sliding' with his girl friend, after which they had to go together to a certain well for the water which was to be drunk by them—no other water would do. Most 'sacred' wells were sacred long before they were christianized, just as standing stones worshipped by our heathen forefathers were made 'respectable' by having small crosses cut into them by the early Christian missionaries or Saints.

In *Sunken Cities: Some Legends of the Coast and Lakes of Wales*, recently published, Dr. F. J. North makes the interesting suggestion, supported by geological and archaeological evidence, that inundation stories such as these told of Wales, the Scilly Isles and Brittany originated among the people who brought the Megalithic culture to Wales during the neolithic period. May not this culture have included wells and slides in: addition to stones? London, N.W.3

MARY WILLIAMS

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SIR,—Further to Bernard Fagg's letter in MAN, 1957, 32, paragraph 14, on lithophones, the following may be of interest. In J. T. Bent's *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians* (London, 1893), pp. 40f., there is a text illustration of 'Abyssinian Church Bells': these are long pieces of slate suspended from a beam supported by two poles 'which, when struck, make a not altogether unpleasant call to worship.' Bent adds that 'they are precisely the same as the *semaudra* used in churches in remote parts of Greece and have undoubtedly the same origin.'

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

Reviews and Correspondence in MAN

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In the course of discussions between the Hon. Editor and the printers of MAN for the purpose of restricting so far as possible the financial effects of recent rises in costs, it has been found that a material economy can be effected by a reversal of the positions occupied by the Reviews and Correspondence sections in each issue. In the January, 1958, and subsequent issues Correspondence will accordingly be found before Reviews, which will be placed last.

The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

Anthropology, or the Science of Mankind, is concerned with the study of the physical characters and structural development, the material and social culture, the folklore and the modes of thought of all human peoples, ancient and modern, civilized or otherwise; its materials may be drawn from every aspect of human nature and activity. Anthropological study may be pursued both for its own sake, as a science, and for its applications to human welfare: it seeks, by the systematic collection of data, and the induction from them of principles, which bear upon the varied problems of human development, and especially upon the relations between differing groups and cultures, to provide statesmen and administrators with the accurate scientific information which is essential to progressive government; and anthropological knowledge is today being increasingly used in the administration of peoples in various stages of culture and in many parts of the world.

The Royal Anthropological Institute was founded in 1843 as the Ethnological Society—by whose amalgamation in 1871 with the Anthropological Society of London the Institute was established as such—and has taken a prominent and continuous part in the development of anthropology in this country from its beginnings as a science. It provides a central organization and clearing house for anthropologists of Great Britain and the British Empire. Its membership is open to all who are interested in any branch of the science, and no specialized knowledge is required.

PUBLICATIONS

The *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* is published annually in two parts and contains fully illustrated papers by British and foreign anthropologists on all aspects of the science, the text of Presidential Addresses, Huxley Memorial Lectures and other important transactions, and the Institute's formal reports. *Man* is an illustrated monthly record of anthropological science, in which shorter articles appear, besides book reviews, reports of meetings, notes and correspondence on topics of current interest.

THE LIBRARY

The Institute possesses a very large library, unrivalled of its kind, which contains sets of all important anthropological periodicals published in Great Britain or elsewhere, in addition to an extensive collection of photographs and lantern slides, and much unpublished material. A postal borrowing service is maintained for the convenience of Fellows.

MEETINGS

Meetings for the reading and discussion of papers on all aspects of the science are held regularly at the Institute, and special meetings are from time to time arranged at University centres outside London. Fellows are invited to bring guests to all meetings.

COMMITTEES

Special Committees are appointed as occasion arises for the investigation of specific problems, and much important work has been carried out by this means in recent years. Whenever possible, the Institute acts in co-operation with the British Association for the Advancement of Science and with other British and foreign scientific societies in all questions affecting anthropological science; in particular, the Joint Committee on Anthropological Research and Teaching, established under the auspices of the Institute at the request of the British Association, provides an efficient means of communication and co-operation between all British Universities, societies and other bodies interested in anthropology. The Blood Group Committee administers the Nuffield Blood Group Centre of the Institute for the systematic co-ordination of data in this field on an international basis.

MEMBERSHIP

Any person interested in the sciences of anthropology and archaeology may apply for membership either through a Fellow or directly to the Hon. Secretary at 21 Bedford Square, W.C.1 (tel. Museum 2980), who will gladly supply full details of the Institute's activities and of the rights and obligations of Fellows. Forms of proposal should, in general, be signed by a Fellow who has personal knowledge of the applicant; but when an applicant does not already know a Fellow, the Hon. Secretary may be able to assist by listing Fellows resident near the applicant.

Fellows receive the *Journal* free, and may subscribe to *Man* at the reduced rate of twenty-four shillings a year; they may borrow up to ten books at a time from the Library (by post, if desired), for a period of a month; and, among other facilities, they may bring guests to lecture meetings.

The annual subscription of three guineas becomes due on election (unless this takes place in November or December) and on the first of every January thereafter. There is an entrance fee of one guinea, and payment of fifty guineas entitles a Fellow to membership for life.

There is also Associate membership for persons under 26; the annual subscription is one guinea and Associates receive *Man* instead of the *Journal*; full information will be given on application.

